

Preserving the White Picket Fence: Interracial Conduct in an Integrated Neighborhood

by

Sarah Ann Mayorga

Department of Sociology
Duke University

Date: _____

Approved:

Eduardo Bonilla-Silva, Supervisor

Linda Burton

S. Philip Morgan

Kim Blankenship

Emilio Parrado

Dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Department of
Sociology in the Graduate School
of Duke University

2012

ABSTRACT

Preserving the White Picket Fence: Interracial Conduct in an Integrated Neighborhood

by

Sarah Ann Mayorga

Department of Sociology
Duke University

Date: _____

Approved:

Eduardo Bonilla-Silva, Supervisor

Linda Burton

S. Philip Morgan

Kim Blankenship

Emilio Parrado

An abstract of a dissertation submitted in partial
fulfillment of the requirements for the degree
of Doctor of Philosophy in the Department of
Sociology in the Graduate School
of Duke University

2012

Copyright by
Sarah Ann Mayorga
2012

Abstract

My dissertation identifies and deconstructs the interracial codes of conduct produced and enacted by three distinct racial-ethnic communities in an integrated neighborhood. My analysis of CreekrIDGE Park is based on data collected via in-depth interviews, a neighborhood survey, and participant observation. By addressing the particularities of an integrated neighborhood, this project augments traditional index-based studies of segregation research and examines how the concept of social distance can explain the quantity and quality of encounters between Black, White, and Latino/a residents. I also evaluate the social environment of an integrated neighborhood by documenting and questioning the attitudes, behaviors, and relationships of neighborhood residents. Finally, I analyze the data using modified grounded theory, an iterative process that uses data and existing theory to develop conceptual models. Overall, this project emphasizes the importance of race as a social marker of status, privilege, and marginalization; the limits of diversity as an emancipating ideology; and the importance of power as a conceptual tool in analyses of White and nonwhite experiences in integrated settings.

Contents

Abstract	iv
List of Tables	vi
List of Figures	vii
Acknowledgements	viii
<i>1. Inside Creekridge Park</i>	1
<i>2. White Habitus and Diversity</i>	35
<i>3. White Codes and de facto Segregation</i>	73
<i>4. Creekridge Park in Black and Brown</i>	116
<i>5. Solving the Wrong Problem</i>	166
Appendix A: Guide for In-depth Interviews	176
Appendix B: Interview Participant Demographics	178
References	180
Biography	195

List of Tables

Table 1: 2000 and 2010 Census Estimates for Creekridge Park	18
Table 2: School Attended by Children of White Survey Respondents.....	64

List of Figures

Figure 1: On the average Blacks/African Americans have worse jobs, income, and housing than White people. Do you think these differences are mainly due to:.....	20
Figure 2: How important is the issue of race relations to you?	21
Figure 3: Some people say undocumented or illegal immigrants help the economy by providing low-cost labor. Others say they hurt the economy by driving wages down. Which is closer to your view?	21
Figure 4: How would you describe the neighborhood?.....	48
Figure 5: Five Closest Friends by Race (Whites Only).....	56
Figure 6: Race of Students at CreekrIDGE Park Elementary	64
Figure 7: Do you think the percentage of renters should increase, stay the same, or decrease?	88
Figure 8: Contents of Baggie Distributed at Block Party by Latino Nonprofit	90
Figure 9: Perceptions of Neighborhood Safety	107
Figure 10: Neighbor-to-neighbor relationships for White residents	127
Figure 11: Neighbor-to-neighbor relationships for nonwhite residents	127
Figure 12: Neighborhood Friendship Data (Survey)	133

Acknowledgements

I would first like to thank my committee members. Thank you to Emilio Parrado and Kim Blankenship for providing me with opportunities to grow as a researcher and for continuing to support me even when you both moved to bigger and better challenges. Thank you to Phil Morgan for your faith in my work and for your thoughtful questions. You forced me to always be prepared. Linda Burton, you helped me conquer the insurmountable – both the NSF and the job market! Thank you for your wisdom and encouragement. A very heartfelt thanks to my advisor, Eduardo Bonilla-Silva. I am a more confident, thoughtful, and rigorous scholar because of your feedback and trust in me. Gracias por todo.

My career has been marked by the investment of several other faculty members. I am particularly thankful for the guidance and friendship of Rebecca Bach. Becki, thank you for showing me the importance of defining my own path and maintaining friendships in academia. I would also like to extend a special thanks to my undergraduate advisors, Drs. Charlotte O'Kelly and Eric Hirsch. Thank you for introducing me to what sociology could be and for your support in and outside the classroom.

To my good friends and colleagues: Kimberly Bickham, Rebekah Burroway, Liz Essary, Ryan Finnigan, Katelin Isaacs, and Sara Pilzer. Thank you for your ears, insight,

heartening words, and laughs over the years. Thank you to Candis Watts Smith - you are a constant source of inspiration and information. A special thanks to Danielle Spurlock for keeping me on task this last year. Lastly, thank you to Elizabeth Hordge-Freeman and Rose Buckelew for always having "a minute" - my project and I are better as a result.

I would also like to thank my family. Mom and Dad: thank you for your love, prayers, and translations; please call me Dr. Sarita from now on. To my siblings: Oscar, Jill, Carla, Roger, Luis, and George: thank you for your open ears, your advice, and your excitement. To Richard and Fran Gallo, Amanda, and AJ: thank you for your support, enthusiasm about my work, and for sharing Jonathan with me.

Lastly, I would like to thank Jonathan Gallo. It has been a long six years and this degree is, in part, yours - all the pep talks, reality checks, and laughs made it possible. Thank you for reading (and re-reading) everything I ever typed and for being proud of me even when I failed. I share this and all my accomplishments with you.

1. Inside Creekridge Park

I feel like Creekridge Park—it's not, no one set it up and said, put a sign in front of it and said 'this is Creekridge Park.' The only reason it is a neighborhood is because people have banded together to, um, to work together towards, you know, the betterment of their own area and...common goals. —Adrienne

During the fall of 2010, the Creekridge Park Neighborhood Association (CPNA) held their annual picnic. The main purpose of this gathering is holding the CPNA board elections. This year the picnic was at Seth's house on Harris Street. Seth has a covered garage with a long and wide driveway that serves as the party area. It seems uncharacteristically new and large for the neighborhood. As I chat with a few residents (all White and most of whom I have met through neighborhood association events and interview referrals), Roberta walks up. Roberta is a short Black woman whom nobody seems to know; her arrival is met with silence. As she signs in, I see that she is carrying a grocery bag of some sort. I think it includes a food item she has brought to share, as the picnic advertisements requested. She asks Tammy, who is running the table, how much a Creekridge Park Neighborhood Association (CPNA) shirt costs. Roberta ends up buying one, although she comments that the cost is "steep." Another woman in attendance agrees, although she does not make eye contact with Roberta. Roberta proceeds to buy a \$1 raffle ticket and is told by Tammy not to write on top of the book they are raffling off. I notice Tammy's tone, which seems cold, but Roberta seems unfazed. Roberta then heads to the food table set-up nearby, cuts herself a piece of cake, grabs a drink, and sits down in a chair. Most other attendees are standing around,

chatting. When she sits down, I wrap up my conversation with Scott, say hello to Deborah, and then say hello to Roberta. She tells me that she is a North Carolina native who lives in an apartment off of Cardinal Street and that she walked to the party. She said that she learned about the picnic from a flier and decided to 'step outside [her] comfort zone' and attend.

Over the course of the next hour, I greet other residents that I know and introduce myself to some new faces, hoping to schedule a few more interviews. I also, however, make sure to keep track of Roberta throughout the evening. She never leaves her chair and the other residents generally ignore her. Deborah and Beth, two White homeowners and CPNA board members, and Connie, a Black homeowner, are the only individuals I see speak to Roberta. Towards the end of the picnic, I go back and ask Roberta if she is having a good time and if she would like to speak with me about my project at a later date. She agrees without hesitation, giving me her phone number. She also tells me where she works. As we are chatting, we get called over to start the elections process. Residents vote on the preset slate of board members, most of whom are incumbents. They need twenty neighborhood association members for a quorum and they have twenty one. Before I leave the picnic, I say goodbye to a few people, mostly board members, but also Roberta and Robin, who agreed to be interviewed. I tried calling Roberta several times after the picnic and searched for her information through her employer's database, but was unsuccessful. Unfortunately I was not able to

learn more about her experience in Creekridge Park or her feelings about the neighborhood picnic.

My project deconstructs the events, codes of conduct, and ideologies of White, Black, and Latino/a residents in Creekridge Park. For example, how does a predominantly White neighborhood organization understand and justify their representation of a neighborhood that is almost 60% nonwhite? I want to unpack the meanings White and nonwhite residents attach to this multiethnic space and their experience within it.

My dissertation bloomed from my two interests in race and ethnic stratification and demography. Segregation research, both incredibly rich and profuse, is one of the areas that bridge these two fields. The central concern of this research over the last few decades, however, has been on the quantitative measurement of this phenomenon. Indices of segregation, such as the dissimilarity index, dictate our national conversation on segregation. Recent news publications even herald a new era of reduced segregation based on the lower indices of segregation in 2010 (Glaeser and Vigdor 2012). This project challenges the premise of these conversations. Rather than assume that segregation indices represent the day-to-day interracial experiences of Americans, I conduct an in-depth study of an integrated neighborhood to examine the social relationships, neighborhood norms, and ideological elements of life in multiethnic America.

In order to conduct this study, I focus on an integrated neighborhood as an implicit comparison to the numerous studies of segregated cities and neighborhoods already conducted (Itzigsohn 2009; Charles 2006; Denton and Massey 1991; Frey and Farley 1996; Fong and Shibuya 2005; Iceland 2009; Krivo and Kaufman 1999; Maly 2005; Meredith 2009). By studying a non-segregated space, I am able to see if neighborhood norms still produce interracial social distance without the need for spatial distance (Kleit 2008; Park 1924; White, Kim, and Glick 2005).

When I first began constructing my dissertation project, I looked for a multiethnic neighborhood with clearly delimited boundaries. As I explored the Durham County census data, I found a neighborhood called CreekrIDGE Park.¹ As I researched CreekrIDGE Park (CP), I found that the neighborhood association claimed CP was “mixed income” and “diverse.” The pictures on its website, however, featured only White neighborhood residents. This juxtaposition is the crux of my project.

Two research questions serve as the base of my project: What do integration and diversity mean for White, Black, and Latino/a CreekrIDGE Park residents?² What are the interracial and intraracial codes of conduct in this multiethnic neighborhood? In the following sections I present background information on CreekrIDGE Park, including

¹ CreekrIDGE Park is a pseudonym I use throughout this project to maintain the anonymity of my research participants.

² I focus on these three racial-ethnic communities because they are the largest groups in Durham, North Carolina.

demographic and historical data. I also discuss relevant research on segregation, integration, and multiethnic settings and specifically address the importance of Durham as a new Latino/a destination city. I subsequently describe the three methodological components of my study and discuss why I choose to focus on White residents in Chapters 2 and 3. Lastly, I reflect on my role in the field and outline my dissertation.

Why an Integrated Neighborhood in Durham?

The need to study the interracial codes of conduct and ideological elements of an integrated neighborhood stems from the depth of knowledge already gained from segregation research. From DuBois' (1899) *The Philadelphia Negro* to Massey and Denton's (1993) *American Apartheid*, racial residential segregation continues to be a mainstay of sociological research. From decades of Census-based research, we know Northern cities typically have higher levels of segregation than Southern cities (Massey and Denton 1993). This difference is often attributed to the persistence of residential patterns from the antebellum South into the twentieth and twenty-first centuries (Massey and Denton 1993; Roof, Valley, and Spain 1976; Schnore and Evenson 1966). Black exclusion from White neighborhoods is a consistent and central finding of residential segregation research (Charles 2003; Frazier 1965; Galster 1989). This is particularly important because of the correlations between Black residential segregation and poorer neighborhoods, health, education, and other measures of inequality (Massey and Denton 1993; Peterson and Krivo 1999; Wilson 1987).

Besides city-level comparisons, neighborhood-level analyses are the most common in segregation research. Neighborhood analyses typically use Census tracts and blocks to approximate neighborhoods (Massey and Denton 1993). As Parrado and Flippen (2009) argue, however, Census tracts serve as an administrative definition rather than a theoretical conceptualization. Deciding where to draw boundaries around a neighborhood can be difficult, but should always be locally meaningful (Chaskin 1997). Hallman (1984) defines a neighborhood as both a “physical place and a social community,” and “a limited territory within a larger urban area where people inhabit dwellings and interact socially” (13). His definition, which I adopt for this study, is predicated on both proximity and social interaction. The connection between these two concepts is what I aim to uncover with this project; in particular how residence in the same neighborhood influences Black, White, and Latino/a interactions and relationships. Besides its statistical integration, which is discussed in the next paragraph, I chose the target neighborhood because it has official boundaries registered with the city. These boundaries help define the scope of the project by dictating where surveys should be sent and what spaces should be included for observations. I also interviewed residents just outside these boundaries who live in adjacent neighborhoods to investigate the saliency of the official boundaries for relationship-building.

Studying an integrated neighborhood is a logical extension of the residential segregation tradition. The emphasis on racial segregation as the “linchpin” of racial

inequality in the United States has led many scholars to promote residential racial integration as a policy measure because of the presumptive relationship between spatial and social distance (Massey and Denton 1993, 231). Integration has been defined in two ways. I adopt the 'proportional representation of all groups' concept for this project (Maly 2002). This definition confirms, for example, that integration exists in CreekrIDGE Park because the percentage of Blacks, Latinos, and Whites are the same across the county and neighborhood. The other definition, which those who argue for the importance of "sharing spaces on relatively equal grounds" use, defines integrated neighborhoods as those with a Black population that comprises 10%-50% of the total population (Ellen 1998, 29). CreekrIDGE Park also qualifies as integrated under this criterion since, according to 2010 Census data, Black residents comprise 37.5% of the population. The 2010 White population in Durham County is estimated at 42.1% (Census 2010 Summary File 1).

The focus of this project is to understand the particularities of interracial conduct in integrated, multiethnic spaces by exploring the relationships between Black, White, and Latino/a neighbors. Recognizing how Latino/a integration and segregation may work outside the dominant Black-White segregation dynamic is important to comprehending immigrant incorporation. By using research methods other than traditional quantitative indices this project observes multi-group segregation outside the linear ranking model (Maly 2005).

Additionally, a subsection of research on multiethnic cities focuses on the stability of integrated neighborhoods (Card, Mas, Rothstein 2011; Frey and Farley 1996; Iceland 2004). For the most part researchers define stable, integrated neighborhoods as those that maintain integration over an extended period of time. The period of time most commonly used is the ten year gap between decennial Censuses (Ellen 1998). Studies on multiethnic segregation have pointed to the potential for increased integration in areas experiencing new waves of Latino/a and Asian immigration (Frey and Farley 1996; Maly 2005). In regards to the prevalence of stable, integrated neighborhoods, scholars are split in their prognoses. Some researchers argue that stable, integrated neighborhoods are not yet a reality because multiethnic neighborhoods are more likely to experience residential transitions (Denton and Massey 1991; Iceland 2004) while others contend that stable, integrated neighborhoods currently exist and are on the rise (Ellen 1998, 2000; Maly 2002).

Relatedly, CreekrIDGE Park has experienced significant neighborhood change over the last few decades, although it is not a traditionally gentrified neighborhood (Freeman 2009; Ley 2003; Zukin 1987). Unlike conventional gentrified neighborhoods, CP was a White, middle class neighborhood in the early twentieth century. As the housing stock aged and original owners passed away, however, CreekrIDGE Park began a neighborhood transition (Taub, Taylor, and Dunham 1984; Woldoff 2011). The 1990 Census estimated the White population at the block group level (which includes a few

blocks in addition to Creekridge Park) at 75%, the Black population at 20%, and the Latino/a population at under 1%. In 2010, the neighborhood was estimated at 34% White, non-Hispanic, 39% Black, and 25% Latino/a. Similar to Zukin's findings in gentrified neighborhoods, private rehabilitation efforts supported by government funding were also part of CP's contemporary character (1987; Hallman 1984; Nager 1980; Rabrenovic 1996). Pine Grove Apartments, the largest apartment complex in the neighborhood, was built in the mid-1970s (Durham County Register of Deeds). In fact, because of these changes and the presence of nonwhites, some White residents assume Creekridge Park is a gentrifying neighborhood. A few residents did clarify, however, that displacement and other negative factors associated with urban neighborhood rehabilitation were not really issues in CP.

Although not policy-centered research, this study has direct implications for federal programs like HOPE VI, a US Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) program to "eradicate severely distressed public housing" partly through "promoting mixed-income communities." (Public and Indian Housing). The studies these policies are based on present integrated residential arrangements as the crux of reducing the economic and social marginalization of communities of color (Joseph and Chaskin 2010; Wilson 1987). This approach, however, misses the particularities of integrated neighborhoods. As I present in the following chapters, distinct social distance norms still reinforce racial stratification (Kleit 2008: 253). The rich data produced by this

multi-method research design provides insight into how integration in a multiethnic community can both challenge but also maintain racial inequality, informing the current policy debate.

Another important contribution to the literature and facet of this project is its location in a new destination city for Latino/a migration. Studies on multi-group segregation have focused on traditional sites of immigration, such as Los Angeles (Bobo et al. 2000; Charles 2006; Horton 1995), New York (Maly 2005; Rosenbaum and Friedman 2007; Sharman 2006), and Chicago (Maly 2005; Wilson and Taub 2006). Over the past two decades immigrants have begun to settle in non-traditional sites, such as small cities in the Midwest and South (Hirschman and Massey 2008, 3). Like all other new immigrant destinations, Durham can be characterized by the absence of any historic Latino/a population in the area. In 1990 Durham's Latino/a population was estimated at 2,054. This number leapt to 17,039 in 2000. As of 2010, Durham's Hispanic population was estimated to be 36,077, 13.5% of its total county population – an 111% increase since 2000 (Census 2010 Summary File 1). Durham's population shift emulates changes across the nation and its experiences are arguably more comparable to other growing American cities, rather than those of New York, Los Angeles, or Chicago (Hirschman and Massey 2008, 3). Studying Durham complements research on other major Southern cities experiencing a recent growth in their Latino/a population such as Atlanta, Charlotte, and Nashville (Winders 2009, 2008). This project uniquely acknowledges the social and

residential context of Latino/a migration in an area without a historic Latino/a population, addressing concerns related to contemporary Latino/a incorporation (Huntington 2004).

The recent arrival of Latin American migrants provides an opportunity to see how an area with an existing racial order adjusts to the introduction of a new group (Kim 1999). In many ways Durham, North Carolina's history of race relations is a common one. Like other Southern cities its residents experienced slavery, Reconstruction, Jim Crow, and Civil Rights. At the same time, Durhamites of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries lived through a period of Black prosperity. W. E. B. DuBois cited the city as an example of Black entrepreneurship and middle class success. Anderson's history of Durham County attributes this economic achievement to the 'hands off' approach of the White elite (1990). This triumph, however, was not across the board. In *The Souls of Black Folk* DuBois specifically addresses the distinction between the reality of Durham's Black middle and lower classes (1903, 260). As in other former-Confederate cities, the division between Black and White was also very clear; "It is usually possible to draw in nearly every Southern community a physical color-line on the map, on the one side of which Whites dwell and on the other Negroes" (DuBois 1903, 166). Both spatial and social distances dictated the lives of Blacks and Whites in Durham, and are still influencing them across the city (Adams et al. 2006; Anderson 1990). Although a site of convenience (Lofland et al. 2006), Durham is an interesting location

for neighborhood research because of its rich history and recent population changes (McClain et al. 2006; Parrado, McQuiston, and Flippen 2005)

Additionally, unfolding the complex power relationships between established and new racial-ethnic communities is an important element of this project. Fennelly's study in a Midwestern town illustrates this point well (2008). She finds a racialized employment hierarchy in the Devereux meat plant that is "exacerbated" by the vulnerable status of undocumented Latino/a workers (2008, 173). This heightened sense of vulnerability and the clear differences in power between native Whites and undocumented Latino/a migrants is present in North Carolina, exemplified by stories of White officials targeting Latinos (*Ex-Officer Pleads Guilty to Stealing From Hispanic Drivers*). According to recent research, the reactions of native residents to Latino/a migrants has ranged from "indifferent, insensitive, and sometimes even hostile to newcomers," to supportive outreach, based on good will and "functional interdependence" (Hirschman and Massey 2008, 18).

Why Mixed Methods?

Traditional segregation studies use Census data to compute a variety of segregation indices, the most popular of which is the dissimilarity index (Massey and Denton 1993; Massey and Denton 1989). Although effective for large-scale comparisons across cities, these indices do not provide a detailed understanding of how segregation and integration structure day-to-day activities and neighbor-to-neighbor relationships.

This project brings people to the forefront, an element absent from aggregate-level, cross-city comparisons. Therefore, it necessitates data that can illustrate how integration produces norms of social distance that impact the interracial conduct between Black, White, and Latino/a residents. To collect these data I conducted in-depth interviews, participant observation, and a neighborhood survey. By doing so I was able to observe, document, and question: (1) the types of neighbor-to-neighbor relationships residents engage in; (2) the factors that influence how residents approach and characterize their relationships with their neighbors; (3) the types of events that structure neighbor-to-neighbor relationships, including block parties, neighborhood association meetings, and conflicts; (4) the types of social roles residents assume within the neighborhood; and (5) the racial attitudes of neighborhood residents. Each distinct methodology complements the others, facilitating a more complex and nuanced analysis (Massey 1987).

Relevant Theoretical and Empirical Approaches

Social distance theory guides this project. In traditional segregation research, spatial distance serves as a proxy for social distance. For Park, and those working within his Chicago School tradition, social distance (i.e. limited interactions between different groups of people) maintains the current order of race relations (Park 1924). Therefore, if Blacks keep their social distance from Whites by limiting social interactions, the current order of racial inequality is maintained. Subsequently, challenges to the norms of social distance, such as interracial relationships and integrated neighborhoods, are necessary

to create egalitarian race relations. For that reason spatial distance should be minimized so, by association, social distance and racial inequality will decrease. The premise of this project, however, highlights the relationship between social and spatial distance from a different angle. This project asks: what happens when the starting point is one of minimal spatial distance? Does high social distance (i.e. limited intergroup interaction) still exist, and if so, how does it structure interracial codes of conduct?

Park argues that maintaining the racial order does not necessitate spatial distance if social distance is maintained (1924). Close proximity and interactions between groups may not lead to decreased racial inequality if the code of interracial conduct is followed (Johnson 1943). Gordon Allport speaks to this in *The Nature of Prejudice*, emphasizing the importance of equal status between groups to reduce prejudice and inequality (1958, 267). Therefore, the factors that structure neighbor-to-neighbor relationships are incredibly important to understanding how social distance may maintain inequality. If, for example, nonwhites are more likely to be renters while Whites are more likely to be homeowners, as indicated in the demographic data, interracial dynamics may be dictated by nonracial dynamics, such as housing tenure. When the findings, however, highlight the antagonistic relationships between White homeowners and nonwhite renters and the positive relationships between White homeowners and White renters, we can argue that there are particular *racialized* social distance processes at work in dictating codes of conduct between renters and owners.

My project also greatly benefits from the work of critical whiteness scholars (Frankenberg 1993; Hartigan 1999; Lewis 2004; McDermott and Samson 2005; Roediger 2007; Wellman 1977). Hartmann, Gerteis, and Croll's recent "empirical assessment" of the field divides whiteness studies into concerns over racial identity, understanding privilege, and colorblind ideology (2010). My project interrogates how privilege operates in this neighborhood, particularly for White homeowners, and examines the ideological justifications of both race and class privilege. Shannon Sullivan's framework of "unconscious habits," which she discusses in *Revealing Whiteness* (2006), is helpful in unpacking how one's normative behaviors veil, protect, and reproduce whiteness' privileged position. Her framework is particularly instructive when considering the use and meaning of multiracial spaces:

one of the predominant unconscious habits of white privilege is that of ontological expansiveness. As ontologically expansive, white people tend to act and think as if all spaces - whether geographical, psychical, linguistic, economic, spiritual, bodily, or otherwise - are or should be available for them to move in and out of as they wish. Ontological expansiveness is a particular co-constitutive relationship between self and environment in which the self assumes that it can and should have total mastery over its environment...When a white person makes a well-intentioned decision not to live in an all-white neighborhood, for example, doing so can simultaneously disrupt her habit of always interacting with white neighbors and augment her white privilege by increasing her ontological expansiveness. The sheer fact that she is able to make a choice about which neighborhood in which she lives is, after all, an effect of the privilege she has because of her race and economic class. That privilege is only strengthened by attempts to change her environment (10).

Sullivan's framework, in the tradition of critical whiteness studies, allows us to challenge and scrutinize the everyday to uncover how privilege and power work.

Bourdieu's work on "habitus" and "distinction," in combination with the whiteness literature, provides a critical framework for understanding Creekridge Park as a white space that is shaped by and privileges White residents, especially homeowners (Bourdieu 1989, 1984; Butler 2008). For example, Bonilla-Silva's extension of Bourdieu to contemporary racial life allows us to interrogate the norms, values, and ideology of this multiethnic space. With 'habitus,' we can push the critical conversation beyond the individual to

the deep cultural conditioning that reproduces and legitimates social formations. Although individuals possess unique ideas and experiences, they tend to act predictably because they reside in the same social niche with others who are affected by similar rituals, belief systems, and interests. While the habitus does not determine action, it orients action. Thus, people observe and participate in social closure but tend not to see it as problematic as it resonates with their habitus. The habitus helps normalize and legitimate social closure (Bonilla-Silva, Goar, and Embrick 2006, 233).

By using the narratives and themes repeated and shared by White Creekridge Park residents, I unpack and identify how nonwhite residents are included and or/ marginalized in this integrated space.

Lastly, any US-based project dealing with issues of race and ethnicity must contend with issues of power (Mills 1997; Collins 1991; Hall 1986, 1980; Blauner 1972; Barrera 1979; Cox 1970). I use Giddens' conceptualization of power as "the capacity to achieve outcomes," which is "generated in and through the reproduction of structures of domination" (1984, 257-8). Giddens emphasizes the importance of resources in defining and enacting power. He writes:

Resources are media through which power is exercised, as a routine element of the instantiation of conduct in social reproduction. We should not conceive of the structures of domination built into social institutions as in some way grinding out 'docile bodies' who behave like the automata suggested by objectivist social science. Power within social systems which enjoy some continuity over time and space presumes regularized relations of autonomy and dependence between actors or collectivities in contexts of social interaction. But all forms of dependence offer some resources whereby those who are subordinate can influence the activities of their superiors. This is what I call the *dialectic of control* in social systems (15-16).

His theory of power, which highlights the role of individuals in reproducing and maintaining structure, is particularly relevant for my study of neighborhood life and social interactions. As he proclaims, "It is always the case that the day-to-day activity of social actors draws upon and reproduces structural features of wider social systems" (24).

Who lives here?

Creekridge Park (CP) is an urban neighborhood in Durham, North Carolina. Spanning fourteen Census blocks, CP was home to 1,363 total residents and 612 households in 2000 (Census 2000 Summary File 1). By 2010, this number grew to 1631. In 2000, 47.3% of the population identified as White, non-Hispanic. The 2010 estimates indicate that the White, Non-Hispanic population has decreased in both numbers and as a percentage of the population. The Black population has remained very stable over the two censuses, comprising 39.9% of the population in 2000 and 39.1% of the population in 2010. 6.6% of Creekridge residents identified as Hispanic in 2000, while that percentage grew to over 25% in 2010. Only about 5% of the 2010 population identified as something

other than Black, Latino/a, or White. For a full comparison of the 2000 and 2010 block level data across race, gender, and age, please see Table 1.

Table 1: 2000 and 2010 Census Estimates for Creekridge Park

	Total Population		Percent of Population	
	<u>2000</u>	<u>2010</u>	<u>2000 (%)</u>	<u>2010 (%)</u>
<i>Male</i>	641	843	47	51.7
<i>Female</i>	722	788	53	48.3
<i>Under 18</i>	290	398	21.3	24.4
<i>18+</i>	1073	1233	78.7	75.6
<i>White, Non-Hispanic</i>	645	558	47.3	34.2
<i>Black, Non-Hispanic</i>	544	638	39.9	39.1
<i>Hispanic</i>	90	349	6.6	25.6
<i>N</i>	1363	1631		

I computed dissimilarity indices, which range from 0 to 1, for the 2000 and 2010 Census data. The dissimilarity index indicates how evenly each racial group is represented across the fourteen Census tracts of Creekridge Park. The 2010 Latino/a index is .12, indicating that 12% of the Latino/as in Creekridge Park would have to move to different tracts to create an even distribution. This is a significant decrease from the 2000 Latino/a index of .30. The dissimilarity index for Blacks in 2010 was .31, indicating

that 31% of Black residents would have to move from one tract to another. This is a slight increase for the 2000 Black dissimilarity index of .22. Lastly, Whites also experienced a small increase in their dissimilarity index. They went from .29 in 2000 to .34 in 2010, which means that 34% of White residents would have to move for Whites to be proportionally represented across tracts. Using Massey and Denton's .3 cutoff, .34 still indicates low-moderate segregation across these tracts (Massey and Denton 1993).

Census data about occupations and income are not available at the block level. My research, however, indicates that residents hold a variety of occupations and participate in several industries, including Agriculture; Real Estate; Educational Services; and Arts, Entertainment, and Recreation. The neighborhood is described by the neighborhood association as mixed-income, with most respondents agreeing the 'mix' includes working and middle class households. Housing values also ranged. For example, two homeowners I spoke with who live on Pine Avenue have tax values of about \$69,000 and \$201,000, respectively. The range on Pine Avenue reflects the range across CreekrIDGE Park.

Politically, CreekrIDGE Park residents score better than the national average on multiple racial attitudes questions. For example, when asked why, on average, Black Americans are worse off economically than Whites, 57% of my respondents said it was because of lack of opportunity, while 47% of the national sample acknowledged lack of opportunities as an issue. As you see in Figure 1, none of my respondents said it was

because of less in-born ability, while 10% of the 2010 national sample did (Smith et al 2011). As Figure 2 indicates, 72% of my respondents said the issue of race relations was either important or extremely important to them (ibid.). Lastly, Figure 3 shows that over 66% of my respondents believe that undocumented migrants help rather than hurt the economy, while a recent NYT/CBS News Poll shows that over 74% of respondents believe undocumented migrants are detrimental to the economy (2010). Therefore, based on these numbers, and that residents chose to live in this type of neighborhood, studying CreekrIDGE Park is really a best case scenario. If any environment should produce interracial interactions, it should be this one with these residents.

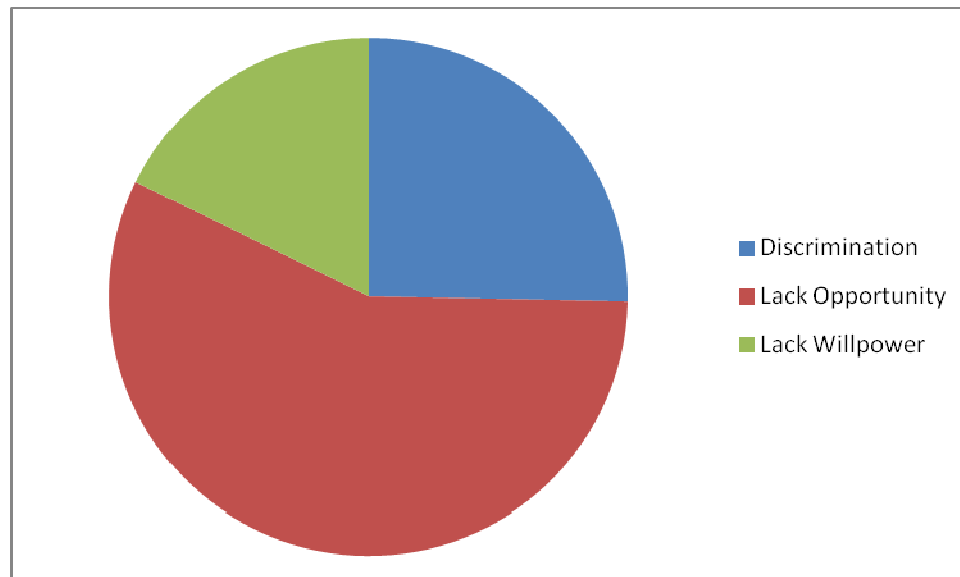


Figure 1: On the average Blacks/African Americans have worse jobs, income, and housing than White people. Do you think these differences are mainly due to:

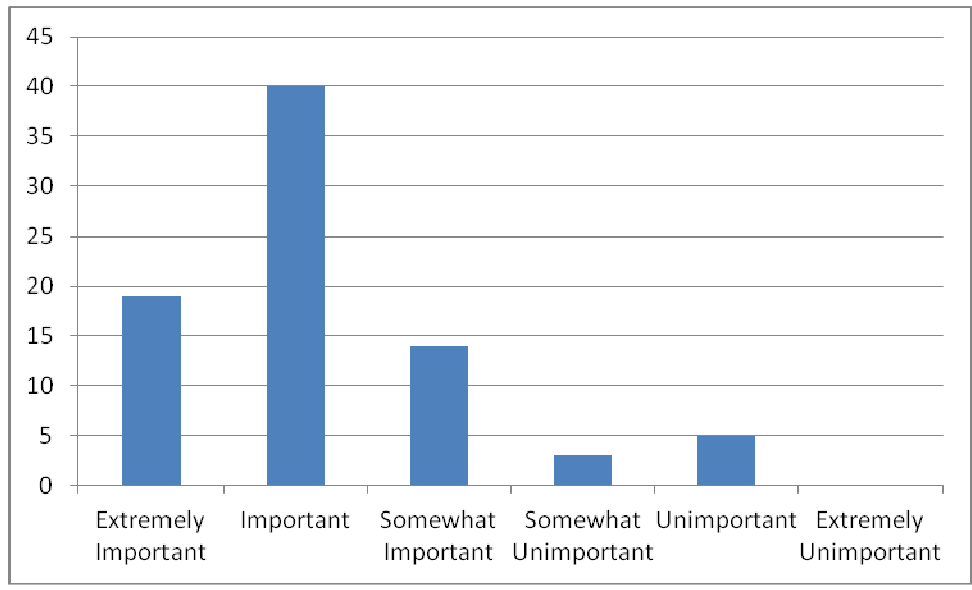


Figure 2: How important is the issue of race relations to you?

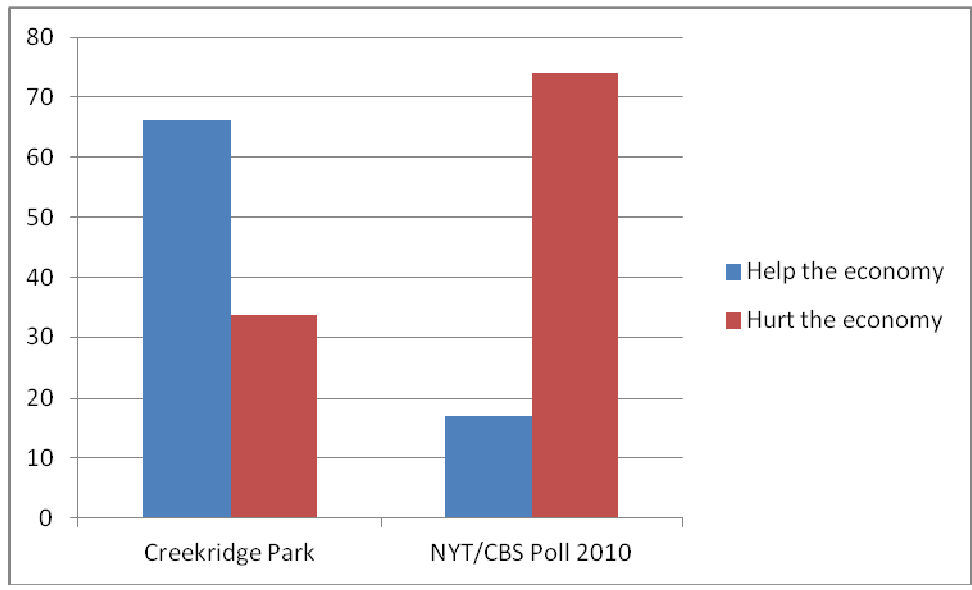


Figure 3: Some people say undocumented or illegal immigrants help the economy by providing low-cost labor. Others say they hurt the economy by driving wages down. Which is closer to your view?

Neighborhood History

During their interviews and at neighborhood events, many residents shared their knowledge of Creekridge Park history. There is a lot of consensus in their narratives, as word of mouth seems to play a large role in how residents transmit this information. As such, Daniel indicated that he heard a few stories, but was not sure of their accuracy:

Uh, you know for the first couple of years I lived there I was involved in the neighborhood association. Um, so I heard the various stories that people have told, although nobody seems to have a very definitive story about even the name or anything.

There were some residents, however, who did independent research for their own knowledge or as part of the historic home purchasing process. Seth, who falls under both of these categories, shared a few facts about where the neighborhood came from:

the neighborhood kind of developed, um, it developed in pockets. Mostly from consolidating small farms, so, you know, there's—you drive down the street and you'll see several houses of a particular era and then you might see one that's not a particular era or you get to another section and it's obviously a much later era. And so it's, it was not only, here's this big swap of land that's gonna be laid out just like this and there's gonna be these types of houses and it's all gonna look like, there was none of that. It was somewhat hodge podge, um, but certainly right around here, um, American Tobacco was a big employer....

Cynthia agreed, stating that her house “was built in the early [19]30s and the houses that are, you know, are next door might be 1950, or—and different vintages.” Beth shared more information during our interview about the development of Creekridge Park:

I know that, uh, it was originally platted, and that means that some kind of—here are the lines for lots that they were gonna sell, and it was originally in 1929. Um, and the first houses were built in the [19]30s there. They were right along Mason [Avenue]. And all that Peach [Avenue], Central [Street], all of that wasn't developed, but soon after it was. I know the land was originally a part of the Planter Family's farm and the Carolina House restaurant on Cardinal Street is the family home. So, uh, and each area, each section was developed at different times throughout the area. The part on the east side of Cardinal Street is much older than the west side of Cardinal Street. There's like 40 years of difference. I know the first houses were built by people who worked at the university as professors in the [19]30s. This would have been out in the country homes.

Lori also discussed the Carolina House during her interview:

the house that's now Carolina House was kind of a, I guess, maybe, a plantation house, or may-plantation house might not be the right, the right, right word, but that was the house that people lived in and then had a farm in this area for a while. And then I know that after they stopped with active farming, um, they ended up with Creekridge Forest...that there are still sort of remnants of. And then the houses gradually came in around it. That's the extent of what I know.

Besides discussions of the Carolina House, large estates are not a part of the Creekridge Park narrative. A few residents did discuss the relationship between Groveland Estates, a more affluent adjacent neighborhood, and Creekridge Park. Denise mentioned during her interview that:

Our understanding is that a load of the houses around here were looking to house people that were looking after the bigger estate places down in Groveland Estates. I've heard the area described as mesh and surrounded by a ghetto which is a slightly negative way to describe the area, but some history.

Sandra shared similar information, stating

Someone even told me-I don't even know if this is true, but that the houses in Groveland Estates were the people who had servants, like in the [19]50s, but that lived-I live in a little tiny house and a lot of the houses around me, I mean 720 square feet, are the same exact houses as mine and I was told that it's possible that the servants or the help might have lived in these house. I don't know if that's true or not (laughs). That's the only kind of history I heard.

Bryan also revealed his home was a handyman's house:

Our house was built by the farmer's handyman, the house next to us, we share a driveway with the house on the corner across the street from the Fire Station, that was the farm house. The farm hand bought our lot and, um, built his house there. And then he lived there and then eventually they sold of the rest of the farm and the rest of the neighborhood was built. So we're the third owner of the house.

Creekridge Park's smaller home sizes in comparison to Groveland Estates help residents construct it as a relatively affordable neighborhood with modest and/or starter homes for working and middle class homeowners.

Russ, who grew up nearby and attended Creekridge Park Elementary as a child said that the neighborhood used to be a much more traditional middle-class neighborhood:

I think it's probably more two, two parent, more a two parent family neighborhood back then, um, the way things were in the [19]60s and [19]70s. Uh, and now it's much more eclectic, um, single folks, married folks, grad students, young families, pretty much everything. So it was probably more of a two family kind of neighborhood back when I was a kid, definitely.

Jamie, who lives on Creekridge Road, reiterated Russ' characterization:

I knew that, I knew it was a, um, middle-class neighborhood. You know, the people who originally had, um, homes here were merchants and shopkeepers. And, and, you know, they weren't like, um, head of the mills or something like that. It was more middle-class.

David, who moved to the Creekridge Park area in the late 1930s and still lives in the area, shared that "people in the community either worked at a cotton mill or at the tobacco factory [when I was growing up]."

Lastly, there is a large apartment complex in Creekridge Park called Pine Grove Apartments. Cristina, who has lived in these apartments for a few years, shares what she knows about the rental property:

Lo que he notado es que tengo entendido que anteriormente era un lugar mucho más exclusivo, tengo entendido que antes era muy difícil, hace unos veinte años, porque son apartamentos antiguos, tengo entendido que hace unos veinte años era difícil entrar a vivir ahí. Era difícil el criterio que usaban para que las personas pudieran vivir. Mi vecina de al lado, ella es profesora y es anglosajona y tiene veinticinco años viviendo ahí. La persona de enfrente trabaja en una clínica muy conocida acá y tiene veinte años o más viviendo ahí sola, entonces eso demuestra pues toda una longevidad, antigüedad, antigüedad en los apartamentos. Sin

embargo, yo tengo entendido que últimamente han llegado más familias nuevas y más se han mudado, ya no son tan constantes y tan continuos como mi vecina y mi otra vecina.

(What I have noted is that previously this was a place that was much more exclusive. I understand that before it was very difficult, twenty years ago, because they are old apartments, I understand that twenty years ago it was difficult to gain access to live here. The criteria they used for people to live here was difficult. My next door neighbor, she's a teacher and Anglo Saxon [White] and she has lived here for twenty five years. The person in front works in a very well-known clinic here and has lived here for twenty years by herself, so that demonstrates a longevity, an antiquity in these apartments. Regardless, I understand that lately a lot more families have arrived and more have moved out. Now they're not so constant and continuous like my neighbor and my other neighbor.)

Study Designs, Methods, and Data Analysis

The data for this project were collected via three methods: (1) semi-structured interviews; (2) participant observation; and (3) a neighborhood survey. Semi-structured in-depth interviews are the centerpiece of my data collection process. Interviews uncover the rich data of individual accounts, directly addressing the research questions concerned with neighbor-to-neighbor relationships, including how residents approach and characterize these relationships. The initial questions were developed after preliminary interviews, including a neighborhood tour, with three key informants. These questions were continually refined, as different conceptualizations and themes were uncovered. Interviews took place in both English and Spanish, depending on the language preference of the respondent. I conducted all the interviews myself and am fluent in both languages. The interviews generally took place at the respondent's home or a neighborhood space, such as a coffee shop. The locations of these interviews generally depended on respondent preference. If I met them at their home, I always

brought respondents some type of food item from a local bakery. If we met at a restaurant, I always offered to purchase coffee or a meal. This gesture, although minimal, was meant to achieve some semblance of reciprocity, especially since I could not afford to pay respondents for their time (Snow and Anderson 1986; Williams et al. 1992). As a young, petite woman, I also took some precautionary measures to ensure my safety when I met respondents. For example, I met most male respondents in public spaces, such as restaurants. The only men I interviewed in their own homes were interviewed with their partner present or were elderly.

I employed Small's (2009) sequential interviewing method as I conducted my interviews. Small affirms that "case study logic can be effectively applied to in-depth interview-based studies" and is better suited for qualitative work than the sample-based logic of quantitative methods (2009, 24). Rather than attempting to import the logic of statistics into qualitative research in vain, Small argues that researchers should change the criteria for their interview data and attempt to attain saturation through the literal and theoretical replication of cases/interviews. Instead of focusing on the representativeness of the sample, the researcher should purposefully choose respondents based on her "increasingly refined and continuously re-evaluated understanding of the underlying phenomenon" (2009, 26). The evidence-based recruitment criteria for this project included: housing tenure (i.e. renter/owner), time in neighborhood (i.e. short-term/long-term), racial-ethnic background (e.g. Black, White,

Latino/a), gender (i.e. male/female), and socioeconomic status (e.g. professional, self-employed, fixed income). Sampling across these categories is an attempt to maximize understanding of the processes in play and illustrate the different ways residents understand and experience life in an integrated neighborhood. I interviewed 63 total respondents, including 21 White males, 28 White females, 3 Black males, 4 Black females, 4 Latinas, 2 Latinos, and 1 other female³. I discuss my focus on White residents below.

Ultimately, the central concern of the sequential interviewing method is on understanding the ‘how’ and ‘why’ of social phenomena rather than identifying the ‘what’ and its rate of occurrence in the general population. This approach is more insightful than an attempt at random sampling because I can make inferences about the mechanisms of racial integration and social distance in a multiethnic context and the meanings and values attached to these processes by residents. Each interview serves as a new case, providing information about the variation within the neighborhood. Using each interview as an independent case facilitates the construction of data-driven theories and hypotheses that were tested and modified throughout the interviews (Brown-Saracino 2010).

The participant observation component addresses research questions about neighbor-to-neighbor relationships, and the events that structure these relationships.

³ I will not identify the racial-ethnic identity of this respondent to maintain her anonymity.

Often reports on interracial social interactions and friendships are exaggerated by survey respondents (T. Smith 2002). By personally observing potential sites of interracial interaction I cross examine self-reported data from interviews and the survey on interracial interaction in public spaces and at neighborhood-wide events (Allan 1989).

The final component is the neighborhood survey (Drake and Cayton 1962; DuBois 1899). With the household survey, data on residents' racial attitudes were collected, in addition to data on neighbor-to-neighbor relationships. Demographic and behavioral questions (e.g. where do you do your grocery shopping) were also included. The questions for these surveys were based on field observations and in-depth interviews, as well as national survey instruments related to interracial relations, attitudes, and behaviors. The survey provides the unique opportunity to analyze neighborhood racial attitudes and social networks, serving as a comparison to other nationally collected data on these subjects (Kleit 2008). Although causality cannot be inferred from a cross-sectional comparison, the data are still important to understanding how residents of integrated neighborhoods differ from the national and regional means. Theoretically, if integration at the residential level is important for the improvement of racial attitudes and access to interracial social networks then differences in these measures should be present between the neighborhood survey data and national data sets. In fact, as presented earlier, residents of CP score very well on racial attitudes measures.

The survey distribution was divided into two phases. The first phase was dissemination through an online format. The online survey was advertised via the neighborhood association listserv, neighborhood association quarterly newsletter, and hand-delivered bilingual fliers to each home, including each individual apartment in the complexes. The fliers included the survey link and also indicated that paper versions of the survey were available.⁴ The survey was available in both English and Spanish. The second phase included a targeted mailing of the survey to streets with low response rates (less than 10%), primarily focused on the large apartment complex.⁵ Survey participants who provided their contact information on a separate form were entered into a raffle with a 1/25 chance of winning. The prizes were gift cards to their preferred supermarket.

Data Analysis

The case study logic of the interview process demands the continual refinement of interview questions. Therefore, the preliminary analyses of interviews began immediately following the first interview. Analyses of data collected through participant observation were also important to the construction of interview questions and the survey instrument. Organizing and analyzing the survey data followed all data collection phases.

⁴ Several requests for paper versions of the survey were made via telephone.

⁵ Data on where respondents live were collected as part of the survey.

The method of data analysis I used was modified grounded theory, an iterative process of data analysis that uses data and existing theories to inform each other, producing new conceptual models (Burton et al. 2009; Charmaz 2006). Multiple phases of data analysis are necessary to reach a cohesive understanding of the relationship between various concepts. These individual events, interpretations, and accounts are grouped by themes named in the literature and by the respondents. Using respondents as sources of both data and theoretical conceptualizations is one of the strengths of qualitative research. As major themes were identified, codes were then established to group them. Another round of data analyses follow in an attempt to understand the relationships between these different concepts (N. Smith 2002). Highlighting contradictions is a major asset of qualitative research as well, since contradictions often expose unspoken ideological assumptions (Hall 1986). After these concepts, categories, and contradictions are processed, a cohesive theory is presented as a result of these multiple iterations of analyses. The results of these analyses are presented in Chapters 2, 3, and 4. The survey data will provide both descriptive statistics about the means and distribution of traits across the neighborhood.

Researcher in the field

I introduced myself to all of my respondents as a student at Duke University.⁶ I told residents that I was studying life in Creekridge Park and that I was interested in their social interactions and day-to-day activities. I think most people initially assumed that I was an undergraduate because of my somewhat young appearance.⁷ I was generally greeted very openly by Creekridge area residents, particularly White residents. I assume my young appearance, petite stature, and friendly, although somewhat reserved demeanor helped my presence in Creekridge Park seem innocuous. Ultimately, my status as a light-skinned, Duke-affiliated student studying an interesting, if not mundane, topic helped mark me as 'safe' and worthy of engagement, particularly for White residents.

I had a guide of questions, which I followed, but I often started the interview telling participants that I was happy to go off on tangents and talk about whatever they wanted to. This was meant to put the interviewees at ease, as well as emphasize that there were no right or wrong answers - I just wanted to know about them. The interviews ranged from thirty minutes to four hours in length. I dressed casually, but still 'put together' (e.g. jeans, collared shirt, flat shoes). I chose not to wear any jewelry except a ring on my left hand, meant to signal my status as 'not single.' I also wore

⁶ Referring to my graduate student status was somewhat dependent on who I was speaking with. If I was trying to assert my expertise, I was more likely to mention my status as a Ph.D. student. If I was trying to build rapport with someone, especially with somebody with less education than me, I deemphasized my schooling and credentials.

⁷ Some participants asked if my data collection was for my thesis; I always responded "yes, for my dissertation."

minimal make-up. As a young woman in the field, I spent time considering my appearance, making sure that I balanced professionalism with approachability. I wanted to be taken seriously, but I also did not want to come off as self-important (Royster 2003).

How my racial-ethnic identity played out in the field is complex. My standpoint as a light-skinned Latina impacted both the project that I constructed as well as the data I had access to (Hurtado and Stewart 1997). Although I was raised in the United States and am now more comfortable in English than Spanish, my first language was Spanish. The initial exchanges between me and my Latino/a respondents were always in Spanish and often included a discussion of our countries of origin; people were always curious whether I was Latina or if I learned Spanish in school.⁸ Based on comments made, I believe all of my White and Black respondents assumed I was White, non-Hispanic. I never lied or intentionally misled anyone about my identity. I had a few White respondents ask about my family background, which I answered based on their specific question.⁹ In one case, a White male respondent commented that my last name was

⁸ Although a native Spanish speaker, my Spanish is not as good as it used to be. I did occasionally stumble on words and was not familiar with some colloquialisms used by my Mexican respondents. These shortcomings, however, helped balance the power differential, if only a small amount, between myself and my Latino/a participants. Even as a self-identified Latina, I still had to grapple with my own skin color, nativity, class, and English-language privilege when meeting with CreekrIDGE Park residents from Latin America (Twine and Warren 2000).

⁹ If they asked where my family was from, then I said Nicaragua. If they asked where my last name came from, then I responded that I was not sure, but maybe from Spain at some point. If they asked where I was from, then I said I grew up in Miami.

'special' and that he loved it, finally asking if my family had changed it when they came through Ellis Island.¹⁰ His question reveals an inaccurate and racialized assumption about my family's immigration experience (Spickard 2007).¹¹

My conversations with White participants about my family background were more curiosity than anything else (McDermott and Samson 2005). On the other hand, a few Black and Latino/a participants asked me explicitly if I was White or made allusions to my presumed White identity when they were referencing Whites during our conversations. In one instance, which I share in Chapter 4, one Latino respondent asks me if I am White during his interview. I respond by saying, 'no, I'm Latina.' Later on in the conversation, however, he makes a statement about 'you Whites/Americans,' then correcting himself to say 'them Whites/Americans.' Ultimately, there is a reality to these exchanges: regardless of my own identity, experiences, and politics, others read, categorize, and react to me in the way that makes sense to them (Twine and Warren 2000). This undoubtedly played a role in my own data collection process, impacting who felt (and did not feel) comfortable speaking to me. In combination with theoretical considerations and the particularities of life in Creekridge Park, I decided to focus my

¹⁰ His fascination with last names did not end with mine. This respondent also said that my advisor, whose name was on my IRB form, also had an 'interesting' name. He then asked, 'Is he a little bit Hispanic?' When I mentioned that he was Puerto Rican the participant responded, 'Oh, that's good. He'll provide you interesting perspective on other ethnicities.'

¹¹ Unlike the millions of European immigrants who passed through that gateway in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, my parents moved to Miami in the 1980s (Spickard 2007).

interviews on White residents to unpack how whiteness operates in this space, "turning the lens on processes that privilege, rather than focusing on exemplars of disadvantage" (Shaw 2007, 5; Andersen 2003; Hurtado and Stewart 1997). My decision was also impacted by the entree I had gained in White social networks, which I did not achieve to the same extent with Black and Latino/a residents (Lofland et al. 2006).

As Mills stresses, "Racism and racially structured discrimination have not been *deviations* from the norm; they have *been* the norm" (1997, 93). I, therefore, attempt to identify and deconstruct these norms and understand how whiteness, as a set of power relations, operates in this multiethnic neighborhood (ibid., 127). As someone who has light skin privilege, I have the unique opportunity as a scholar of color to study Whites (Royster 2003). I ultimately focused on their experiences and interviewed over four dozen White residents to unveil and understand the particularities of race and class in this space. Chapter 4, however, does highlight the experiences of thirteen nonwhite CreekrIDGE Park residents.

Outline of Dissertation

Chapter 2, "White habitus and Diversity," begins with a discussion of why residents choose to live in CreekrIDGE Park and how they understand themselves and their neighbors in this space. I emphasize the importance of the diversity ideology in understanding White CreekrIDGE Park residents and how they assess their day to day interactions with both White and nonwhite residents.

Chapter 3, "White codes and de facto Segregation," extends Chapter 2's discussion and highlights the behavioral aspects of life in CP. I discuss the interracial and intraracial codes of conduct in this multiethnic setting. Although there were some examples of reciprocal relationships, I find that norms of high social distance and social control generally dictate the modes of interaction between White and nonwhite residents.

In Chapter 4, "Creekridge Park in Black and Brown" I focus on the experiences of Black and Latino/a residents in Creekridge Park. I juxtapose their narratives with those of White residents, illuminating the similarities and differences with which these three groups navigate life in this multiethnic space.

Lastly, Chapter 5, "Solving the Wrong Problem," offers a conclusion to this project and potential directions for future research. I discuss the importance of conducting more multi-method research on integrated spaces. It is imperative that we continue to understand how power works and how both dominant and marginalized communities experience these spaces. Lastly, I challenge social scientists and policy makers to consider whether the goals of 1960's social movements are adequate measures for racial progress in the 21st century.

2. *White Habitus and Diversity*

But I think this idea of diversity and being mixed...comes with the caveat that it is this sort of street by street, block by block thing and perhaps there are these patches that are not-more homogenous inside the neighborhood and maybe we don't do such a good job of integrating between those social status. - Sharon

We've grown to really like the neighborhood. Um, there's patches that aren't so great, but we do pretty well. - Luke

During interviews with Creekridge Park residents, my first questions were: *how long have you lived in the neighborhood and how did you go about finding your current home?* I wanted to know if there was something in particular residents were looking for when they chose Creekridge Park. Unsurprisingly, location and affordability were the two most common criteria. The next set of explanations relate to *taste*: many White Creekridge Park homeowners emphasized aesthetic and political elements that attracted them to Creekridge Park (Shaw 2005). Residents often connected these elements with how they framed and identified themselves. Murphy's work, which applies Weber's theory of social closure to scholarly and scientific fields, provides a helpful frame for this distinguishing process:

The field of scholarship and science are characterized by closure based on particular types of knowledge. Those who share that knowledge are the bearers of specific conventions, share a sense of identity, and make a claim to social esteem and social honour; hence they constitute a particular type of status group. Those who do not hold the knowledge are declared inferior outsiders, deemed ineligible for specific opportunities. This is essentially a process of subordination and the mobilization of power by which scholarly status groups monopolize particular types of opportunity by closing off the opportunities to all those defined as outsiders (1988, 17).

White homeowners highlight factors, such as political involvement, housing stock preferences, and tolerance for diversity, as reasons they love Creekridge Park. These preferences serve to distinguish Creekridge Park homeowners from their counterparts across the Research Triangle who choose to live in new or suburban developments¹.

Similarly, Bourdieu argues that:

agents classify themselves, expose themselves to classification, by choosing, in conformity with their taste, different attributes (clothes, types of food, drinks, sports, friends) that go well together and that go well with them or, more exactly, suit their position. To be more precise, they choose, in the space of available goods and services, goods that occupy a position in this space homologous to the position they themselves occupy in social space (1989, 19).

We can argue, therefore, that Creekridge residents do not just have a preference for a particular neighborhood; other housing alternatives are not an option because they fail to match homeowners' social positions. As such, homeowners in Creekridge Park choose to live in this neighborhood because it resonates with their *habitus*.² Butler's work on gentrifying neighborhoods in London finds similar processes of boundary construction:

In all of these areas, these symbols exist 'in the mind' and it is this realization of cultural capital into social networks that help constitute the mini-habitus in each area and demarcate the boundaries around them. The fact that the socially inclusive rhetorics here are not lived out and result in social distance (social tectonics) is not important; these images matter to the residents and it is only those with the appropriate levels of incorporated cultural capital that are able to capture the nuances of the symbolic messages (2008, 233-4).

¹ The Raleigh-Durham-Chapel Hill area is locally known as the Research Triangle.

² Bourdieu defines *habitus* as "both a system of schemes of production of practices and a system of perception and appreciation of practices. And, in both of these dimensions, its operation expresses the social position in which it was elaborated" (1989, 19).

In this chapter, I explore the specific reasons residents gave for why they moved to Creekridge Park and what they enjoy about the neighborhood. I specifically highlight a neighborhood emphasis on diversity and investigate the multiple ways residents used it: as acceptance, as reinforcing the status quo, as a commodity, and as a liability. I argue that these conceptualizations of diversity are central to White homeowners' habitus and taste, and impact their perceptions of interactions with both White and nonwhite residents.

Why Here?

When I asked residents why they chose to live in Creekridge Park, there were four subsets of reasons they gave: (1) price, (2) location, (3) neighborhood-specific factors, and (4) house-specific factors. In the next section, I elucidate these categories and argue that house and neighborhood-specific factors are enactments of a particular white, urban, middle class habitus.

The Price is Right

"Figure out what you can afford" is the first item the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) lists on its website for first-time homebuyers (HUD). Not surprisingly, affordability is the primary criterion for many homebuyers in

Creekridge Park and surrounding areas. For example, Rhonda, a homeowner³ in her early thirties, explained that when she and her partner bought their house on Peach Avenue price was their main concern:

It was more, like, um, honestly it was price, because at that time I was in school full-time and she was working and even though I didn't have that much left in my program, like, we wanted to have a house and then once I finished with school she went back to school, so, like, we wanted to have a house that we could afford on one income. So that was pretty much our determining factor.

Sandra, a more recent addition to the neighborhood in her late thirties, stated that when she looked for a neighborhood she was looking for a few things: "It needed to be diverse, and I like old neighborhoods and the house was—it was built in [19]49, so. And price, I mean price certainly had something to do with it (laughs)." Similarly, when I asked if there was something in particular that he and his wife were looking for when they first moved in, Bryan, a longtime homeowner on Pine Avenue in his fifties, said:

Um, at the time it was the price range that was the determining factor for where we could look. Um, and then we looked at a number of neighborhoods that met that price range and this was the one that appeared, um, the most ready to have a good life in.

Sharon, a newer addition to Creekridge Park in her early thirties, mentioned that when she chose her current home:

price was a big, big factor. A lot of the houses we really like, like the Lilly Sweet Bungalows, and things like that are just not affordable (laughs). Um, and so we um we told her [the real estate agent] our price range and we also told her we wanted a house that could, like, needed some TLC because we were looking for a house we could fix up.

³ For ease of reading, I have omitted identifying each resident quoted in this chapter as a White homeowner. Unless otherwise noted, the reader may assume each individual discussed in this chapter is a White homeowner.

Ann, who has lived in Creekr Ridge Park for three years and is in her mid-thirties, explained that the affordability of the area was a big change from Boston, where she and her husband previously lived. The affordability of Durham and the neighborhood even allowed her and her husband to endure an extended period of unemployment and the birth of their first child:

we bought [the house in Durham] during the, when the housing market was still, it was still a good time to, well, I guess it would have been better to buy the house later, but, if we had owned in Boston we would have been really screwed and we didn't, we [were] renting up there and so we were glad to not have a house to sell, so, we were able to take a chance and buy something. Yeah, but, it was a, before people started getting laid off and, you know, Ken lost his job [a few] weeks after [our daughter] was born, so it was, like, a double blow there, you know. Just major lifestyle transitions and then not having a job, but we managed to hang on for a year with really neither of us working. I was working part-time during that year and, um, I don't think we could have done that everywhere. I know we couldn't have done it in Boston, if he'd lost his job up there, I don't know what we would've done (laughs). Like, we would have had to, totally change and probably wouldn't have the baby yet and you know, like, would've had to make other, so, you know, I feel like we came down at just the right time, you know.

Creekr Ridge Park's position as a working and middle class neighborhood is anchored in its relatively affordable housing. According to one resident who is familiar with the Durham housing market, Russ, the neighborhood is experiencing a slight economic shift. He described Creekr Ridge Park as "fairly middle class" and "somewhat affordable. I mean, the neighborhood's, the neighborhood's not that affordable anymore, but somewhat affordable." As I mentioned in the introduction, Creekr Ridge Park housing values range from about \$69,000-201,000. According to real estate website Trulia, the median home sale price between September and November 2011 was \$150,000 for the

city of Durham. This average is based on 243 home sales. The average sales price for CreekrIDGE Park's zip code was just over \$106,000, based on nine home sales. The average for CreekrIDGE Park was just under \$139,000, although the basis for this is two home sales. CP's average was slightly below the city average, although it was certainly higher than some Durham areas. For example, East Durham, which is predominantly Black, high poverty, and currently undergoing major redevelopment, had an average home sale price of \$41,000 for the same time frame (based on two home sales).

Location, Location, Location

Many homeowners factored in proximity to downtown Durham and other amenities when they chose CreekrIDGE Park and the surrounding areas (Hummon 1990).

Tina, a resident in an adjacent neighborhood in her early thirties, explained:

I liked the neighborhood because it was close to downtown but also close to the Chapel Hill end of town, and I-I work in Chapel Hill. I wanted to be able to have as short-as short a commute as possible, but still be close to the heart of Durham.

Luke, a recent addition to CreekrIDGE Park, also highlighted the importance of location in making his decision to move into the neighborhood:

we knew what things it was close to and that's important to us, and we'd driven through it lots and that's important to us as well, um, like, being at, like, a space and drivability and it's closeness to the other things that we like.

Sandra disclosed what attracted her to the neighborhood: "It's near downtown. I like urban, so that was kind of important to me." Alan, who was a renter in the neighborhood before he bought his current home, is in his fifties. He pointed out that

while the house itself was part of what convinced him to become a homeowner, the neighborhood was also a selling point:

I liked the location, um, just because it's very convenient. Well, Triangle Terrace was a mall then. Um, close to Chapel Hill, close to downtown and just, you know, certainly in that regard I liked it.

Patty, a homeowner in her late twenties, moved back to Durham after finishing graduate school. She said that she picked her current home because of its location: "Um, well, so, as far as specific location, it had a little bit to do—I work [in] Chapel Hill—ease of access to Chapel Hill, um, but also I have a lot of friends who live in this immediate area." Lastly,

Russ, who grew up in Durham and is in his fifties, said that:

the neighborhood is the main reason [I moved to CreekrIDGE Park]. Yeah, proximity to where I've grown up and I knew the neighborhood and was kind of comfortable there and, um, I liked Durham. It's a good neighborhood, accessible to most things.

Neighborhood-Specific

Location was not the only neighborhood-specific factor residents considered when choosing CreekrIDGE Park. For example, Lori, a homeowner on Emerson Court in her late twenties, indicated that she was looking for three things: "Price range, location, and that it wasn't all, you know, houses that are same, the same five floor plan, plans." As she put it, "we didn't want to live in, um, like, a brand new development... You know, kind of suburban sort of thing." A preference for non-suburban development was brought up throughout my interviews in a number of forms (Hummon 1990). Stephanie, who moved to Central Street with her husband and is in her early thirties, said: "We liked that it was urban. Um, and we, we definitely liked that it's not like a, a little

development with, like, a name and, you know, like a, one of these, that's not us." Scott, a homeowner in his thirties who lives on Harris Street, described his house search as follows:

we had a pretty good real estate agent and we had talked to her about wanting to be in a little bit more established neighborhood, um, we didn't really want to be in kind of a new development with a cul-de-sac, that kind of thing.

The preference for older neighborhoods and urban housing is something we find in the literature on early gentrifiers (Hummon 1990; Ley 1996). As Ley asserts, gentrifiers and the new urban middle class load other housing options, specifically suburban and new developments, with meaning:

Inner city sites in Canada are not cheaper than suburban equivalents for comparable housing; rather, they are often selected *despite* cost advantages compared with the suburbs. But more to the point, it is the suburbs that are negatively valued; to gentrifiers they have a spoiled identity. And their stigma is replete with the cultural criticism hurled at middle-class convention by the counter-culture: the suburbs are too standardized, too homogeneous, too bland, too conformist, too hierarchical, too conservative, too patriarchal, too straight (1996, 205-6).

Although the average listing price for Cary during October and December 2011 was \$376,781, the average Durham listing price was \$218,323. For the more suburban-type Durham neighborhoods CP residents described, the average listing price was \$150,000, while the average listing in Creekr Ridge Park was \$128,000. In comparison, Creekr Ridge Park is certainly more affordable than the average housing option in Cary, but affordability is not brought up by White homeowners when comparing Cary and Creekr Ridge Park. Residents tie decisions to live in Creekr Ridge Park to their individual and group identities. Using Bourdieu's concepts of habitus and taste, I contend that part

of the contemporary white habitus for young, highly-educated, upwardly mobile professionals is identifying with urban space and living. As Ley contends, “The gentrified neighbourhood is implicated in the constitution of a social identity, a status group, a recognizable class fragment” (1996, 314).

The reasons White homeowners live in CreekrIDGE Park is closely related to their conceptualizations of themselves (Butler 2003). For example, Ray, a longtime CreekrIDGE Park homeowner in his sixties, indicated that he and his wife are not “suburban subdivision folk.” As Beth, a homeowner on Emerson Court in her fifties, described it: the typical CreekrIDGE Park resident has no specific demographic characteristic, but is “someone who wants to live in kind of a mixed-up place. You know, as opposed to somebody who likes condos or, you know, that’s what you can say about us that we have in common.” Similarly, Cynthia, a homeowner on Harris Street in her sixties, stated her preference for an urban neighborhood with bus access and other amenities: “I grew up in [the] suburbia of Connecticut and I don’t—I didn’t want to live in the kind of place that I grew up.”

As a result of the meanings White residents attached to this particular neighborhood space, residents viewed their move into CreekrIDGE Park as an extension of their white middle class identity (Bourdieu 1989, 20; Shaw 2005). Julie, a homeowner in her thirties who lives on Cardinal Street, provides us with an example. Her search for a home was closely tied to her search for particular neighborhood-based characteristics:

I wanted to be somewhere that had sidewalks, because, um, if places have sidewalks it seems to encourage people walking around more. Um, and I wanted to ideally be somewhere where I could walk to the grocery store and would have just a very lively walking community. Um, but I also wanted to buy in like, a developing neighborhood, like, um, one of my passions is economic development, um, and like, non-gentrification economic development, and, um, I loved that. And so I wanted to be in, like, a working class Durham neighborhood, um, which is definitely this neighborhood. And, um, it's got a huge population of Latino and a huge Black population, um, and so a lot of white people often think that it's, like, gang-related or, like, it's dangerous because they're people different from them. But that, everyone's working class, so I really like that.

Lastly, longtime residents in particular referenced the greenery of the neighborhood and its quiet "rural" feel in spite its urban character. For example, Daniel, a homeowner in his fifties who lives on Peach Avenue, said that he was not familiar with the neighborhood prior to moving into it. When he first saw his current house, he enjoyed that it was off the beaten path:

my street is very secluded and even though, you know, it's right off Cardinal Street, um, it's quite quiet. Uh, it's, you know, it's only a block long, the street. Um, and it's not a very good connector, so it's not busy. Um, and it's actually the, the entrance to the street from Cardinal Street kind of looks like a driveway, you know, the trees are overgrowing and so, it's sort of set apart.

Deborah, a longtime homeowner who lives on Union Avenue, stated that what initially brought her to CreekrIDGE Park was the house. She then qualified her statement, explaining:

I have to say, too, the neighborhood appearance itself. The trees, the older homes, the general quiet feeling of the neighborhood being set-back off from the busy streets, kind of in its own little closed space. That was very appealing, too. It looked like a very quiet neighborhood and the big trees on our property and around us were a huge draw.

Judy, another homeowner on Peach Avenue in her forties, also shared her feelings from when she first came to CreekrIDGE Park: "the first time I drove down I felt like I was

driving into the country and just, you know fell in love with the neighborhood before I fell in love in the house.”

House-Specific

The last set of reasons residents gave for why they moved into Creekridge Park was specific to their particular home. As an older, urban neighborhood, the historic and older homes attracted many residents. For example, Patty stated that she was originally looking for:

[a] pre-50s home. Um, I wanted some things, like hardwood floors and, um, certain, sort of (inaudible) the time, but basically I wanted some of the architectural features of that era preserved in the house.

Brendan, a new homeowner in the area in his early thirties, described his and his wife’s search for an historic home:

we were trying to find an older home and, uh, we looked probably, gosh, it seems like about 50 homes. I mean, it was really a lot of homes and, um, my wife, our, one day I was up here cause one of my friends was moving and, uh, I stayed at his house for the evening and my wife on the way back, she’s like, ‘why don’t you look at some houses’ and so she was on the internet when I was driving around the GPS into stuff and uh, she goes ‘well, there’s this house for this Preservation Durham website, it’s not on any of the listings’ and so I drove by it and, uh, you know, had some good pictures on it and from the outside it didn’t look too, you know, just an old Bungalow and, uh, so we decided to take a look at it and that’s, you know, how we end up getting the house, uh, through Preservation Durham.

Julie, a homeowner in her early thirties who lives on Cardinal Street, also expressed an affinity for older homes. When I asked what she looked for in a home she replied, “I wanted an old house. I wanted something that had, like, fun charm. You know? Like, it had quirky things about it.” Other residents also mentioned this appreciation for quirky or unique traits. Ruth, a homeowner in her fifties who lives on

Harris Street, shared what she likes about her home. She expresses, “It’s funky (laughs). We like funky. The neighborhood’s funky. Um, and the house just, you know, it’s like a little cabin in the woods but we’re right in town. I like being close to downtown. Um, and all the stuff happening.” During my interview with Adrienne, a homeowner on Mason Avenue in her early thirties, she described what she enjoys about her home:

I really like this house because it was unique. It was built in the, in 1938. Um, when I was looking around on the internet at the neighborhood and stuff like that I managed to find some history about it...So it was one of the first houses on our street and there was just, I liked the uniqueness of it. I liked that it had a lot more land than some of the others [houses we considered buying].

In the same vein as neighborhood-specific factors, the house-specific traits residents mentioned also reflect a particular habitus. For example, Ken, a homeowner in his mid-thirties who lives on Cardinal Street, explained what he appreciates about the area:

It’s a pretty good mix of, you know, old and new families. I think it’s more affordable over here and, like, Durham has a lot of great, you know, housing stock, like, a lot of great, you know, architectural housing stock and I think there are people who are drawn to that kind of, you know, lifestyle. Because I think there’s, you know, probably, you know, in terms of just raw housing, I mean, you could probably find something for, you know, for the money we paid for this house in the suburbs somewhere in a quiet little thing, but people—I think people in this neighborhood, you know, know what they are getting into and, you know, are just not interested in the suburb and, you know, just not their thing, not their quality of house, too isolated or, you know. I mean, it’s suburbs pretty quick going that way.

In his description, Ken includes both what he appreciates about his home, but also how other options did not appeal to him and his wife. As Ley finds in his work, the negative associations of suburban living are not just at the neighborhood-level, but also reflect a distinct appreciation for older and “unique” housing stock found in urban

neighborhoods (1996).

“Typical Durham”

In addition to my interview responses, I also have household survey data. In the survey I asked respondents what three words they would use to describe Creekridge Park. Those results are below in Figure 4.

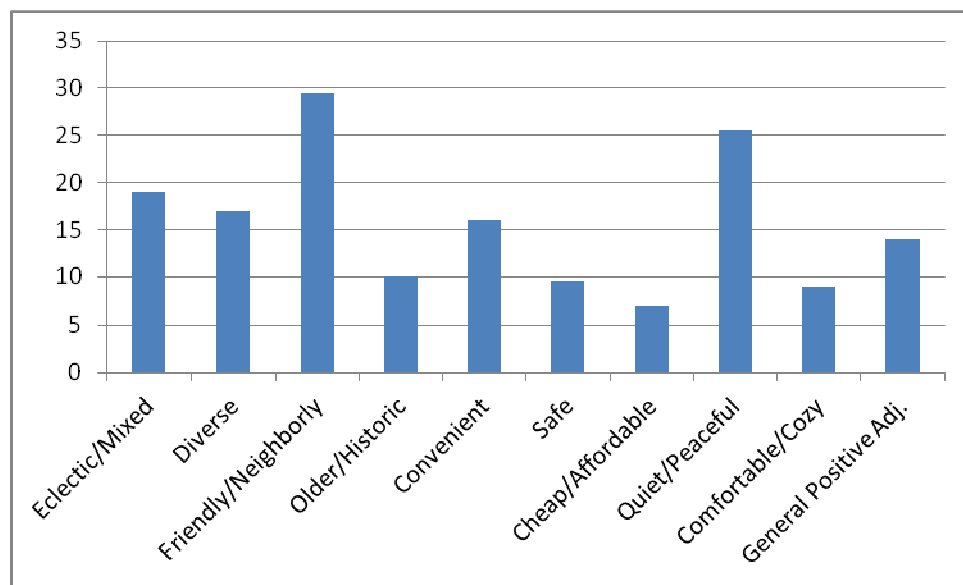


Figure 4: How would you describe the neighborhood?

‘Friendly’ and ‘neighborly’ were the most common set of descriptors. ‘Eclectic’ and ‘mixed’ follow. I separate ‘diversity’ from mixed and eclectic to see how often residents specifically referenced diversity, even though respondents commonly used these terms as synonyms in my interviews. Collapsing these two categories makes it the most popular set of descriptors. ‘Quiet’ and ‘peaceful’ are the next set of most common adjectives, which parallels the interview data.

As I spoke with residents about why they chose to live in Creekridge Park, many of the conversations inevitably turned to how residents viewed the neighborhood and interpreted living in CP. When I asked residents to describe Creekridge Park to someone who was not familiar with the area, the most common label was 'diverse' or a similar term (Hummon 1990). For example, during my interview with Beth, an active Creekridge Park Neighborhood Association (CPNA) member, I asked her who lives in Creekridge Park. She responded: "Oh gosh, it's everybody." Similarly, when describing what kind of neighborhood Creekridge Park is, Luke stated:

this is that kind of neighborhood, where, like, we want you to keep it clean, and we love it when you plant something, um, but, we just like to have, you know, your own space and have nice people and have diversity, well, it's also a really diverse neighborhood for that matter. Age, race, sexual orientation, we have it all here and I like that a whole bunch, too.

Debbie, a homeowner in her late fifties who lives in an adjacent neighborhood, also saw diversity as a main characteristic of the area: "It's definitely diverse. It's economically diverse. It's racially diverse. It's educationally diverse."

Many people described Creekridge Park as a microcosm of Durham because of its diversity. As Russ explained, "Durham's very eclectic, so you have all kinds of folks, you know, so, it's a mixture of everybody basically." He goes on to describe the residents of Creekridge Park as:

Very eclectic, um, fairly middle-class and fairly well-educated, very typical Durham. We've got everything from, um, single adults to families with young kids to retired people, all ethnicities, uh, a very mixed neighborhood. Very typical Durham. If you don't want to live with different kinds of people, don't live in Durham. I mean that's, you know, that's pretty much the case. Very mixed.

With these neighborhood descriptions residents provide insight into what matters to them. The elements they highlight and laud reveal something about not just the neighborhood, but about the residents (Chalmers 1997). For example, Terry, another homeowner in his fifties who lives in an adjacent neighborhood, agreed that the Creekridge area is a microcosm of Durham. In his description he also included his feelings about the area:

Terry: that's one of the good things about living in Durham is the, it's a diverse community. You're not in a cookie cutter, everybody looks just the same, you know, like the, did you ever see [the television show] *Weeds* [on Showtime], you know?

Interviewer: No.

Terry: Well, I mean that's what it's all about, that suburbia where everybody drives the same kind of car, everybody looks the same, everybody's got the same income level, blah blah blah. This neighborhood is not like that. Everybody's different.

Creekridge Park residents often juxtapose their preferences with those of other White homeowners, whom residents do not see as occupying the same habitus. For instance, Emma, a recent addition to Creekridge Park and a graduate student in the area, drew distinctions between herself and other graduate students whom she believes would not enjoy living in Creekridge Park:

I feel very, you know, I enjoy living there. Um, I'm sure not everyone would. Like, if you wanted to live in, like, a ni-, super nice place with new things and, like, people who are just like you in the, in terms of your background and whatever, like, that wouldn't be a good place for you. And if you wanted to live somewhere where there aren't gonna be things that happen that are instigated by poverty, that's, you know, that's not gonna be the place for you.

Emma saw herself as distinct from the typical graduate student because she wanted to live in an older neighborhood rather than a new condominium with "free cable and...24-hour security." Hummon's analysis of Urbanists in 1990 also found similar patterns of

distinction: “[for Urbanists] the imagery of suburbia is defined through its relation to urban life, and it is difficult to understand the unfavorable portrayal that Urbanists often give suburbia unless their views are seen in the context of their beliefs about cities” (86).

Diverse Meanings

In both the interview and survey data, diversity was an important part of how residents understood Creekridge Park. Homeowners’ varying positions in this “mixed” environment were central to their interpretation of the neighborhood and their own practices. As Bourdieu argues:

habitus produces practices and representations which are available for classification, which are objectively differentiated; however, they are immediately perceived as such only by those agents who possess the code, the classificatory schemes necessary to understand their social meaning (1989:19).

In the case of Creekridge Park, those who inhabit the contemporary, white, urban, middle class habitus interpret practices in particular ways (Murphy 1988). These interpretations are the focus of this next section. I specifically discuss the range of meanings White residents attributed to living in a diverse neighborhood (Berrey 2005). Below I explore diversity as: (1) acceptance of difference, (2) reinforcing the status quo, (3) a commodity for consumption, and (4) a liability for White homeowners.

Diversity as Acceptance

Diversity is fundamentally about difference; specifically, the acknowledgment and appreciation of difference. In line with Embrick’s work, I conceptualize diversity as an ideology (2006). By ideology I mean “systems of meaning, concepts, categories and

representations which make sense of the world” (Hall 1980: 334). The diversity ideology, much like colorblind racism, allows individuals to reconcile our national emphasis on egalitarianism in light of pervasive racial inequality within an increasingly multicultural environment (Bonilla-Silva 2009). The diversity ideology generally dictates the promotion and maintenance of egalitarianism through the acceptance of differences in others. Historically, these ‘differences’ were understood as race and ethnicity, since diversity is an extension of multiculturalism and the Civil Rights movement (Embrick 2006). Current interpretations of diversity, however, do not solely focus on race and ethnicity (Berrey 2005). Everyone’s differences are accepted—whether they are race, sexual orientation, or, as I found in my data, lawn maintenance habits (Embrick 2008, 31). Beth gave us some insight into how she understands neighborhood diversity:

It’s houses everywhere from the [19]20s to very recent stuff. Um, we’re majority Democratic, as is the entire county, (laughs) though we got some Republicans. We got one or two and some Independents and people who participate and people who don’t participate and people whose yards are filthy with weeds and people’s whose yards are completely immaculate, people who take their trash can as soon as it’s emptied and people who leave it there all week.

We see with Beth’s examples that diversity is a synonym for difference, mixture, or variation. Popularized by corporate offices, Embrick advances that:

with the broadening of the term *diversity* also comes a minimization or even complete neglect of issues pertaining to racial or gender diversity. By increasing the number of categories of people that fall under the umbrella of diversity, companies are able to effectively escape close examination of racial and gender inequalities that might occur in their workplaces. As long as no one brings it up, it can be ignored (2008, 31).

Diversity now serves as a call to accept individuality, rather than rectify any historical or structural inequity (2006, 81). Beth’s comments on the lack of involvement of nonwhite

residents in the Creekridge Park neighborhood association, which I discuss in Chapter 3, are a good example of this practice.

The acceptance of individual preferences and difference is central to how many homeowners frame Creekridge Park (Joseph and Chaskin 2010). Ruth, a homeowner on Harris Street, described CP as “a neighborhood that you live and let live. There’s not a lot of poking into other people’s business, which is nice. Um, and I, I think it’s a really friendly neighborhood.” Deborah, a homeowner who participated in the neighborhood association, said that most people in the neighborhood love it because of its green spaces. She followed that by saying, “But it’s also the diversity. I think people come here for that, too. They just feel comfortable here. You can be anybody, you can come from anywhere.”

Charles, a homeowner in his early thirties on Peach Avenue, stated that one of his neighbors has a “suburban mind-set about what constitutes um, proper behavior for, for, um, property owners,” which includes calling city agencies, such as Neighborhood Improvement Services, to report his neighbors. He followed by clarifying, “I would say that that generally isn’t the vibe that people have [in this neighborhood].” Charles’ comments both affirm the normative nature of the diversity ideology in CP and point out that not all members of this neighborhood interpret living in a diverse neighborhood the same way. I discuss this “suburban mindset” in subsequent sections.

Many residents stated that Creekridge Park is a place for people who tolerate diversity, or as Beth previously commented, who want to live in “kind of a mixed-up place.” Although seemingly contradictory, White residents used diversity and its affiliated political stances to decipher who in the neighborhood is a potential friend. An appreciation of difference is a similarity many White residents sought out in their neighborhood friends, particularly other White homeowners. For example, Ann, who is a recent addition to Cardinal Street, described the neighborhood and its residents:

It’s ethnically diverse and, um, it’s not the kind of place you want to look if you want to live in a gated community, where everyone’s exactly the same. This wouldn’t be for you.

She continued,

I think it’s pretty friendly neighborhood and you know, if you want to get involved with a neighborhood association, it’s, like, very easy to do that and I think there’s a lot of civic-minded people here who get involved with social justice causes, too. Like, the same people you see at the neighborhood meetings are also the ones who are campaigning for Obama, including us, and, like, they’re always, you know, dealing with the, whatever issue is up, you know, environmental problems are up for debate in Durham. They’re always—the same crowd is at those meetings, too, and so it just seems like a pretty neat core of people that tend to have similar liberal-leaning values around here, you know.

Although Ann discussed the importance of difference, she also emphasized the importance of sameness in this space, particularly for White homeowners (Brower 1996; Butler 2008). Interpreting diversity in this neighborhood in similar ways indicated that you were a part of the same white habitus. As Ann specified, if you do not have the same mindset, Creekridge Park “wouldn’t be for you.”

Repeatedly using ‘diverse’ as a neighborhood descriptor was a distinguishing practice among White residents. Appreciation of diversity situated Creekridge Park’s

White homeowners, who have the broadest range of residential options and mobility, as distinct from other types of White homeowners who live in racially segregated, suburban, or newly developed housing (Hummon 1990; Johnson and Shapiro 2003).

White Creekridge Park residents, as a result of the neighborhood's diversity and their appreciation of it, interpreted each other as open-minded and sensitive to issues of inequality (ibid). Terry, who praised the Creekridge area for not emulating the set of *Weeds*, continued his comment by stating his preference for this kind of neighborhood:

Personally, we like the fact that we live in a diverse neighborhood where people are comfortable with that diversity. You know, that's, that's the positive thing about Durham in our opinion...as opposed to somewhere like Cary where everybody's, you know, wanting to be with, living next to people who are all like them.

In Creekridge Park, residents marked Cary, a nearby town included on national "Best Places to Live" and "Safest Places to Live" lists, as outside this particular white habitus (Cary). Residents read that particular residential space as closed-minded, conformist, or simply "blah" and "boring," as homeowner Judy described living in Raleigh. Drawing the line between Cary (or Raleigh) and Durham is part of the boundary construction of this white habitus' "authenticity" (Grazian 2003). Authenticity, however, is "never an objective quality inherent in things, but simply a shared set of beliefs about the nature of things we value in the world" (ibid., 12). In fact, White homeowners in Creekridge Park, were looking for people just like them: other White homeowners who also appreciated "difference" in the form of nonwhite residents and

unmanicured lawns. As we see in the household survey data, Whites generally list other Whites as their closest friends.

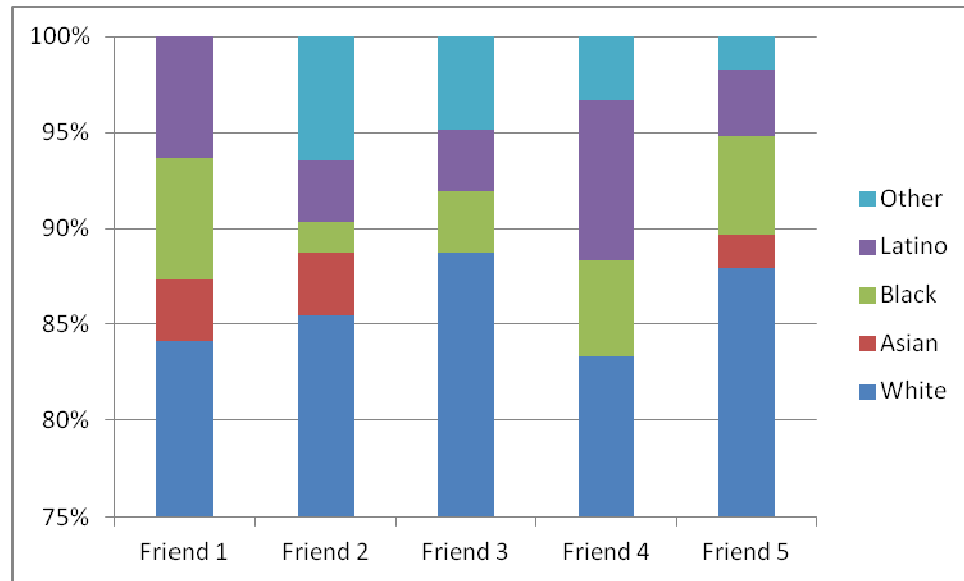


Figure 5: Five Closest Friends by Race (Whites Only)

These practices may seem contradictory when we juxtapose them with the neighborhood emphasis on and appreciation for diversity (Rose 2004). The crux, however, is what the diversity ideology demands: acceptance. The equitable incorporation of nonwhites into White networks is certainly a bonus, but not necessary as we see when residents discuss the predominantly White neighborhood association in Chapter 3.

As a result, residents marked those who do not share these same ideas of diversity and acceptance as outside the bounds of this white habitus. Residents that are a part of this white habitus then compare these transgressors to other undesirables, such as White homeowners who live in Cary. As Alan stated, “some people get upset about

lawns and all that and grass cut and I just, to me, that's why I don't live in Cary, you know. And so, I don't care what people do with their lawns." Daniel affirmed that he finds these kinds of suburban regulations downright cruel. Below he described his feelings towards homeowner association lawn regulations:

when I think about you know, the regulations they have in Cary and places like that or one of my co-workers is on the homeowner's association for her neighborhood, which is down by Southpoint [Mall] and it's a new neighborhood and you know, children's toys left in the front yard overnight is a violation and so, that seems so inhuman to me. Um, and it's, like, you know, you're so, you have so much extra time that in addition to keeping track of your own yard, you're keeping track of your neighbors yards, too.

Finally, Julie drew similar contrasts between Creekridge Park and newer developments:

we always joke that, like, someone who would choose to live in this neighborhood—like, we're not competing with Southpoint. Like, nobody would be like, 'Hm, like, a three bedroom track house in Southpoint or live in Creekridge. I wonder.'

In line with Bourdieu, these distinctions are central to any habitus and are 'common sense' for those embedded in its practices (Butler 2008).

Diversity as Status Quo

As Embrick discusses, "Diversity, like multiculturalism, has become an ideology that evokes the notion of equality and egalitarian practices, yet there is often no practice by corporations to match what they often preach." He continues, "The diversity ideology helps preserve and maintain a normative white male structure" (2006, 132).

Diversity, therefore, serves as another framework that maintains white racial privilege.

What does this mean for Creekridge Park residents? Since diversity does not focus on power, racial and ethnic issues boil down to culture or representation. Without any

emphasis on how race structures life chances or how equity⁴ should be guaranteed across groups, calls for diversity become a celebration of difference for the sake of difference. At the same time, acknowledgment of diversity and the importance of multicultural representation serve as markers of political progressiveness and membership in this particular white habitus. Since contemporary formulations of diversity do not connect to any real action, however, it is enough for residents in this white habitus to acknowledge the importance of diversity and its benefits (Berrey 2005).

Embrick presents a similar point in his work on corporate diversity policies:

by claiming that their work environments are not as diverse as they would like them to be, but that they are extremely interested in creating more diversity in their workplaces and are doing everything they can to make diversity a central issue for their business, a company can generate public sympathy. This tactic works well for any major institution in the US. It downplays or minimizes the inequalities that persist in institutions. In addition, it also helps to create a favorable public image for institutions, which are then seen as caring and concerned organizations (2006: 67).

The Creekridge Park Neighborhood Association (CPNA) is a particularly good example of residents who lauded the neighborhood's diversity, yet remained a white group, both demographically and politically. When I spoke with Beth, an active CPNA member, she explained why she thought Latino/a and Black residents were not actively involved in the neighborhood association or its board:

⁴ I use equity in line with Frazier, Margai, and Tettey-Fio's work. In their book, *Race and Place: Equity Issues in Urban America*, they define equity as "the fair distribution of risks, costs, services, and benefits across demographic groups, neighborhoods, counties, states, countries, and even generations" (2003: 16).

I mean to a certain extent it's, um, I mean, all of us got involved because we had a particular issue that the association helped us with. So maybe, to a certain extent, it's because, um, we haven't had folks, um, in the Latino community and Black community call on the association to help or that sort of thing. Um, but you know it's certainly is something that in—and associations can get kind of embroiled in zoning and police stuff and there might be. That's one of the reasons we liked the [community] garden [in Pine Grove Apartments]. We kind of envisioned the potential for the garden to be a place where we could diversify a little bit more. Um, but we haven't really figured out how to do that. Um, so it's something you know we gotta keep, and then the block parties and stuff like that are a way to kind of seeing if we can get neighbors who are kind of averse to not, too busy to join something can still be connected and know that they can call somebody and voice their opinions.

Beth highlighted the entry point for White association members and speculated why nonwhite members did not follow suit. She hypothesized that political issues are not of interest to nonwhites in the neighborhood, yet never wondered how CPNA's approach to issues such as zoning and crime impact nonwhites (Chalmers 1997). The question was not 'what is the association doing that marks this space as white or exclusive?' Rather, nonwhites are seen as the issue. White members do not mark the group itself as problematic and, in fact, fail to see the lacking presence of nonwhites as warranting any restructuring or outreach efforts. As Bonilla-Silva, Goar, and Embrick point out:

Because the white habitus creates a space in which whites' extreme isolation is normalized, whites do not experience troubling doubts or second thoughts as to their lack of interaction with blacks. This affords whites the luxury of non-reflexivity, enabling them to proudly espouse the virtues of color-blindness and unity. However, their responses to questions concerning their interracial lives (or lack thereof) betray them, suggesting that whiteness is accompanied by a particular lifestyle that allows individuals to simultaneously cling to a color-blind ideology while retaining a vigilant distance from black others (2006, 248-9).

Although Bonilla-Silva, Goar, and Embrick specifically focus on White racial segregation, their comments are pertinent to this multiethnic setting; the invisibility of these white spaces is still normative. Alan, a homeowner on Emerson Court illustrates

this point well. When I asked him to describe what kind of people live in the neighborhood he responded:

I mean, oh, it's such a, it's so diverse. I mean, there's so many different kinds of people and there's kind of, you know, middle-class people and there's, you know, some poor people and um, Black, White, and Hispanic. Um, so it's really hard to pin it down and even like within a block, um, I mean my particular block is actually all-White, except the one rental, is all-White. Um, but then you know, just around the corner in either direction it's, you know, just all sorts of folks.

His all-White block did not trigger Alan to question his diverse description. Alan's characterization reveals that some residents conceptualized diversity as the acceptance and acknowledgement of nonwhites as neighbors. There is no mandate for social relationships or interneighbor engagement. For more on the invisibility of whiteness, see Chapter 3.

Diversity as commodity

In my interviews I also found that residents referred to diversity as something to consume. In this white habitus, one of the normative responses to nonwhite bodies is a desire to devour their otherness. bell hooks' work on "Eating the Other" provides a helpful framework to understand these processes. She writes,

Cultural appropriation of the Other assuages feelings of deprivation and lack that assault the psyches of radical white youth who choose to be disloyal to western civilization. Concurrently, marginalized groups deemed Other, who have been ignored, rendered invisible, can be seduced by the emphasis on Otherness, by its commodification because it offers the promise of recognition and reconciliation (2000, 347).

The attractiveness of this consumption process is rooted in its safety. As Sullivan affirms,

Blackness is construed as something to dabble with to spice up an otherwise 'vanilla' existence, but it never truly threatens white people. If and when it does, then blackness loses its desirability and becomes something merely to avoid or, more sinisterly, eliminate (2006, 126).

One example of this desire to consume comes from Adrienne, a young homeowner on Emerson Court. When I asked Adrienne if she agreed with the neighborhood association's claim that Creekridge Park is a diverse neighborhood, she responded,

[It is] definitely diverse. And that was one thing that I loved about it when I came. I came from Blacksburg [Virginia], which is not diverse at all and I just, I really missed it [diversity]. Um, and I love the fact that there are two, two neighborhood Mexican restaurants and at least two Mexican stores or, I don't if I should say Mexican, Hispanic stores. Um, yeah, I really like the diversity.

For Adrienne, the availability of ethnic foods in Mexican restaurants and "tiendas" (stores) embodied diversity (Bell, Holloway, Jayne, and Valentine 2008).

Julie, another young female homeowner who lives on Cardinal Street, also mentioned the importance of diversity in her decision to move to Creekridge Park. We previously heard from her when she described her desire to live in a working class neighborhood. Here she continued her explanation of why she enjoys living in Creekridge Park:

So what I love about, like, the Creekridge Park, like, most of the people around here, um, and most the people I know, like, love the fact that we have such a huge Latino population. Like, they love the restaurants, they love that the Food Lion is stocked with, like, spices that you wouldn't normally get at a Kroger, and that—and that—that's like, a neat part about living here and not a drawback. And that most people in this neighborhood think that's fun.

The use of the word "fun" to describe the presence of the Latino/a community in Creekridge Park highlights the enjoyment Latino/as bring to White residents. By

impacting the products available at the neighborhood grocery store, their presence literally and figuratively provides spice to the neighborhood.

Whites use nonwhite bodies to mark neighborhood space and this white habitus as distinct from racially segregated suburbia. In a critique of another Durham neighborhood, Rhonda identified this type of demarcation:

Like this is what I really ran across, um, like, a lot of White families that wanted their neighborhood a certain way and they were definitely liberal, um, and, like, if, I just didn't like—they were all about diversity or, like, 'look what we're doing,' but almost in a 'I'm better than you because,' or not 'I'm better than you,' but, like, 'look how great I am because I'm this liberal.' Durham Elementary is changing, but when I was there or at least for the five years that I was there, like, it was 80% free and reduced lunch, so it was high poverty and so, like, the White families that would send their kids to Durham Elementary were like, 'oh, look at us, we're doing this great thing.' Like, I, just the sense of entitlement and privilege that sort of came with that neighborhood, I didn't really like. Where I don't feel like we have that as much in our neighborhood.

Although she says she does not find this kind of behavior in Creekridge Park, Rhonda did identify the privilege White residents wield in integrated environments and the social benefits they gain by living in traditionally undervalued locations. They not only dictate what they want their neighborhood to be, but they also distinguish themselves from other White residents by not participating in white flight (Woldoff 2011). As hooks pronounces, however, "Meaningless commodification can remove the "political integrity" of formerly meaningful signs of political/collective action" (2000, 354). While the incorporation of nonwhites into previously all-White neighborhoods would be the

result of specific political action in the 1960s, this behavior is now representative of a different set of meanings and effort.

As Rhonda's example showcases, Whites' choices to move into these spaces are the extent of their political action. Since the diversity ideology is one that highlights presence and not politics, living in a multiethnic neighborhood can still reinforce white supremacy (Mills 2004). In fact, because of the current political climate, being a White middle-class homeowner in a mixed race and income neighborhood is likely to be economically beneficial (Shapiro 2004; Zukin 1987). During his interview, one real estate agent stated that Creekridge Park was a good neighborhood for starter homes. Starter homes, of course, provide an avenue for first-time homebuyers to build equity. As households that do not need child-related amenities, young homeowners reap the benefits of this location and the affordability without paying the premiums for good schools generally found in suburban areas or more affluent and less integrated urban neighborhoods (Hallman 1984, 210). This is a trend that Black, Gates, Sanders, and Taylor (2002) also identify for gay couples, who "sort away" from suburban areas with high property taxes and property values that reflect high quality public schools. In fact, when we look at the numbers for the children who attend the one neighborhood elementary school, they are overwhelmingly Black and Latino/a.

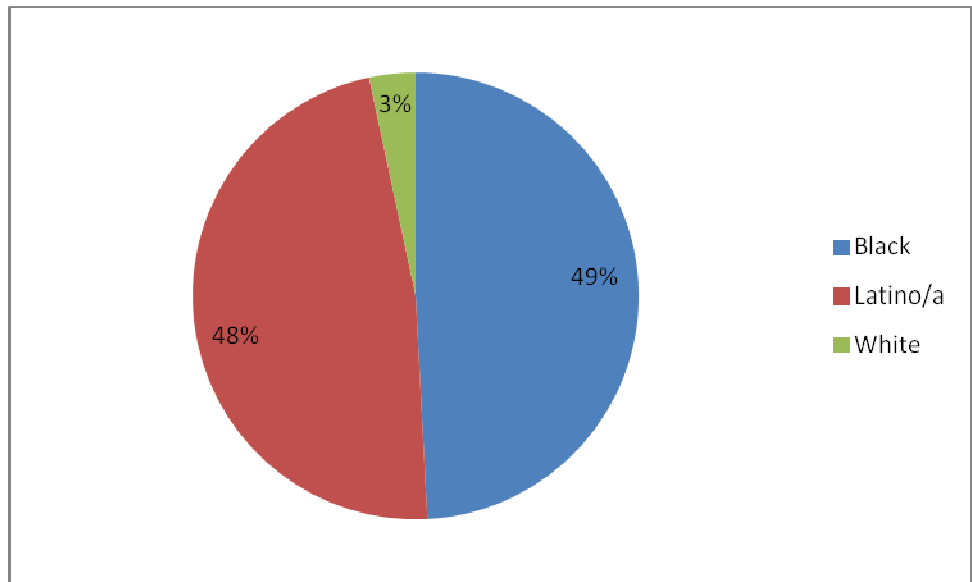


Figure 6: Race of Students at Creekridge Park Elementary

None of the children of the White families I interviewed attended Creekridge Park Elementary School, even if they attended a public elementary school (Butler 2008, 228; Johnson and Shapiro 2003). In Table 2 we see what type of schools the children of my White survey respondents attend.

Table 2: School Attended by Children of White Survey Respondents

Type of School	Total Children
Public	11
<i>Charter/Magnet</i>	3
Private	7

In Creekridge Park, very few White residents have relationships with their nonwhite neighbors. Whites do, however, regularly call on nonwhites during our interviews to signal neighborhood diversity and interracial interactions. For example, Ruth, who lives on Harris Street, listed several of her neighborhood friends by name

throughout our conversation. When I asked her about interracial interactions, she responded that they occur around the neighborhood. I followed-up by asking for specific examples of where she saw these interactions, and then she clarified,

Ruth: Well there's an interracial couple that lives right next door, so there's that. Um, I don't really see, no, I don't see it. I have to say I don't see it.

Interviewer: So you don't see it, okay.

Ruth: I mean, I think it's, um, yeah that's an interesting thing to me. That, that's always been interesting, that there isn't that much mixing really, I guess. Well, there is some, um, my friend, our friend, here's another friend up the street—of course I keep coming up with more. Jill Lewis, who is African American, she's a good friend and comes to the parties at Kathleen's and then with Deena and um, but, none of the other. There's Hispanic families, you know, there's interaction in that, you know, I talk to Mr. Cameron across the street and these guys over here, and Kathleen, but not—I wouldn't say so much socially, other than Jill.

After she tries to remember more examples of interracial interactions, she identified Jill Lewis as her friend. This is not a question of whether Jill is actually Ruth's friend or not, but an example of a larger pattern. Similarly, when I ask Beth if she ever sees interracial interactions in the neighborhood she replied, "Yes." When I ask where she sees them take place, she responds,

Well, Tyler is a very diverse street...and my street—well, it's at least integrated. (laughs) We have an Indian couple, an African American family, um, but, uh, mostly White folks, um, on my street. But, um, so I would say the larger African American population is in the um, Pine Grove [Apartments], but Tyler's...very diverse.

Beth does not have any specific examples that include her own interracial interactions, but she concludes that they must occur on Tyler Street, which houses the highest numbers of Latino/a and Black homeowners in the neighborhood, and Pine Grove Apartments, which is a majority nonwhite apartment complex.

Diversity as liability

The last form of diversity is used by White homeowners who interpret racial and economic diversity as a potential threat. Some residents see the downside to diversity as an inevitable partner to the positive contributions of racial and economic neighborhood diversity (Rose 2004). There are generally two responses to it: (1) accept it as part of the character of CreekrIDGE Park or (2) actively work to combat the negative byproducts of diversity.

Ann, who moved to CreekrIDGE Park with her husband from Boston, stated that she and her husband usually look for mixed neighborhoods. She described their housing pattern as follows:

we always have gravitated towards that kind of, you know, kind of funky, diverse, affordable, you know, which also sometimes means that there's a lot of economic diversity, too, which is good and bad because I guess you're dealing with, um, you know, some people who are in real dire poverty living next door to houses that are, you know, really well taken care of and so, you know, which isn't always a bad thing, but sometimes I think there's some cultural clashes on the street because of that sort of issue. Not so much about race, it's more about really loud music and people who, you know, mow their lawns, and people who don't and people, you know, it's just kind of cultural behaviors, I guess, that al-, aren't always, you know, tied to ethnic backgrounds. It's just, I think it's more of a, a socioeconomic difference, maybe and some of the houses that, um, there's, there's places that there's just a whole lot of people living in a very small area and, and that always kind of can be problematic, noise-wise and stuff like that, but luckily we haven't, it's not really been a big deal for us.

Here Ann points out that when you live in an off-beat, diverse neighborhood you have some predictable issues around cultural behaviors and class differences (Rose 2004, 300).

Jamie, a homeowner in an adjacent neighborhood shared similar thoughts:

one of the joys of living in the neighborhood is how diverse it is. It also means that it's one of the challenges of living in the neighborhood because not everybody has the same investment in how the neighborhood is.

Some residents, such as Ann, believed that cultural differences were a part of living in this kind of neighborhood. Brendan, a homeowner in an adjacent neighborhood, described his feelings on the different approaches to neighborhood issues:

I don't wanna live in a neighborhood of, you know, just, you know, manicured lawns and, like, well, nobody does in our neighborhood, you know. That's why we all live in the neighborhood, but, you know, we all want our neighborhood value to continue to rise as well. Deena, she's against gentrification in the neighborhood and there's a, big contingents of us that are for gentrification (laughs) in the neighborhood. You know, we don't want the neighborhood to, to go downhill and so, you know, there's a, there's a lot of us who, you know, there's some in the neighborhood, like Deena and others, who are constantly, you know, harping on any time anyone wants, you know, complains about another neighbor. And it's like, well, we have bad neighbors and, you know, we have trouble houses in the neighborhood and we, you know, you have to make those complaints for the neighborhood to get better and so she's always thinking that people are just targeting people and it's like, somebody's got a big-. I think she, her and others have a big chip on their shoulder for something. It's like, you know, but I didn't, you know, my wife and I and Seth and other people we want the neighborhood to continue to grow and improve and kind of be gentrified in a sense, you know. Um, cause we do have some ba-, you know, it's still a neighborhood that's you know, all on the rise, but it's not there yet. And so, but I think there's views on what the neighborhood should be and shouldn't be and as far as that, but, I mean everybody agrees that it's a unique neighborhood and we want to keep it that way. It's just, I think there's different, people have different views on (laughs)... I think everybody's kind of in consensus with that, you know, I mean, people are in, you know, um, in a mood to keep the neighborhood growing. I think Deena does too, I don't, you know, I don't think they want it to be a slum area, but, you know, I think she needs to realize that sometimes you do have to complain about your neighbors to get things, you know, to keep the lawns up and to, you know, keep things, you know, cause there's some houses that have been neglected and, you know, that need to be complained about.

Bell hooks' work on consumption speaks to this phenomena. She writes, "One desires contact with the Other even as one wishes boundaries to remain intact" (2000, 350). As such, Brendan was happy to be in this diverse neighborhood without the manicured lawns, but he wanted to make sure that he controlled its growth and future. He does so by calling city services to report transgressions by his neighbors. I include a more in-

depth discussion of these practices in Chapter 3.

Similarly, living in an older and/or diverse neighborhood does not interest all Creekridge Park residents. Keith, a homeowner on Peach Avenue, expressed his relationship to the neighborhood as follows:

Keith: I ended up in this neighborhood because I was in financial straits. Um, I got a house just about as cheaply as you possibly could and not be in a bad area. Uh, otherwise I would probably not pick a neighborhood like this, if I wou-, you know, I would, I like newer houses. Um, so the people that, that live in this neighborhood are the sort of people who would buy a house made in 1950 or older something like that.

Interviewer: Right, but that's not really, that wasn't really your initial interest.

Keith: No, it was more, uh, necessity.

Interviewer: Okay, do you see yourself potentially moving out of this neighborhood?

Keith: No, I'm gonna work 'til I'm 150 probably, because of the financial duress [of my divorce] (laughs). So, I'm gonna stay in a cheap house and there's no reason now that I'm by myself. It just makes more sense as long as, yeah.

Keith's experience in the area also revealed his discomfort with other neighborhood elements:

just out of convenience there's a gas station [on Cardinal Street], which I hate. Every time I go there I hate it, 'cause you, you can't get the guy's attention to turn the pump on and then there's a schizophrenic guy that hangs around. Just people that I don't feel safe around. So, I just kind of have and sometimes I feel, like, there's a racial thing. Like, I was driving through that area one time and there were these three girls walking out across the street and I'm slowed down and they were, like, cursing at me and everything because I, I don't know why, I mean they were walking across a busy street. So, I feel, like, the reason that I get bad treatment at the grocery store sometimes sort of a reverse discrimination kind of thing. Um, so, I'm just, I don't like that area over there, so I worry a little bit, you know, about the neighborhood maybe bordering on some not so good areas.

Keith is the only respondent who mentioned reverse discrimination specifically, although he is also one of the only White homeowners I spoke with who did not laud Creekridge Park as his ideal neighborhood (Andersen 2003; Shrestha and Smith 2002).

Although he does not specify which groups he encountered, the area he referred to in his quotation is predominantly Black and Latino/a. Keith's view of the surrounding area as hostile towards him resonates with a few ideas in the prejudice literature: (1) his sense of entitlement and fear, as Blumer's theory of race prejudice presents and (2) his individualistic thinking and lower income, as Bobo and Hutchings discuss (Blumer 1958; Bobo and Hutchings 1996). Towards the end of our interview, I ask Keith if he sees interracial interactions across the neighborhood. He responded:

Like I say, I um, it doesn't seem like there's many Black people [in the neighborhood]. I mean, I lived in a neighborhood before that's one of the things that I really liked about it, 'cause it was just, it was, like, the churches I've gone to that are just, like, they're like fif-practically 50-50. Um, I don't feel comfortable going to, like, a church that's all-White people. There's something wrong with that to me, um, but it does just seem that um, I'm trying to think, I don't know. It just doesn't seem like there's many Black people, but maybe it's just a little strip close to where I am.

Keith pointed out the complexity of racial ideologies by illustrating that individuals can use multiple interpretations of nonwhites and diversity at the same time. At the grocery store and at other area businesses, Keith felt like a target because he is a White male. This matches Blumer's theory of group position (1958). At the same time, he enjoyed living in a neighborhood with Black residents and saw interracial churches as normative. As I present in this chapter, however, an appreciation for the presence of nonwhites does not necessarily mean that one has reciprocal friendships with members of other racial groups or even that one interacts with them in shared spaces (DeYoung, Emerson, Yancey, and Kim 2003). In fact, Korie L. Edwards' work on interracial churches upholds that white normativity is likely to dictate practices in interracial

churches because these spaces must be comfortable for White congregants (2008). As a White male homeowner, Keith has race and class privilege in this integrated and mixed-income environment (Glenn 1999).

Conclusion

White homeowners in Creekridge Park largely chose to move to the neighborhood because of its location and affordability. Price is always an important factor when buying a home. When I ask Connie, an African American homeowner, what she was looking for in her home, she responded, “Just affordability—the only criteria. And nice.” Throughout the interviews, residents shared with me what the neighborhood was like. The elements they highlighted related to what they enjoyed (or did not) about the neighborhood. With these descriptions, I sketch a picture of the contemporary, urban, middle class, white habitus and it includes older housing stock, friendliness, and diversity (Tissot 2011).

Diversity meant multiple things for my White residents: diverse housing, lawns, and resident skin color. Shaw’s work in Australia finds similar patterns:

property developers promote diversity to enhance the appeal *of* developments rather than to appeal *to* a diverse market. Homogeneity is concealed within the appearance of diversity, as expressed through, for example, heritage architecture. ‘Diversity’, in this case, is simply another consumable attribute for affluent tastes (2005, 68-9).

Residents lauded these elements of diversity as positive features of their neighborhood, but sometimes saw them as unfortunate downsides of an affordable neighborhood (Rose 2004). The presence of nonwhites and other related elements marked this neighborhood

as a desirable space in line with the taste of a particular type of White homeowner. It simultaneously marked other spaces, whether new developments or racially segregated suburbs, as undesirable, conservative, and sterile.

The acceptance of nonwhite bodies in this neighborhood, however, does not signal a change in the racial structure. Echoing Ley's work on gentrification, residents of Creekridge Park used the "difference" found in cities and their choice to participate in it as a signal of status and taste (1996). They also gained wealth through the purchase of starter homes in this changing neighborhood. Ultimately, economic reasons are what motivate White residents to move into this neighborhood (Black, et al. 2002). As a mixed income neighborhood, however, living here does not signal wealth or high economic status. The diversity ideology redefines the presence of nonwhites and attributes desirable political and social standing to them (Chalmers 1997). By drawing upon contemporary cultural values, such as diversity and inclusivity, White homeowners are able to reap the social and cultural benefits of inhabiting this space, in addition to the economic benefits of buying property in this neighborhood. Although not a gentrified neighborhood in the traditional sense, White residents still use the language and behaviors researchers generally associate with those areas to mark this urban space as desirable (Zukin 1987). As Butler observes,

The deployment of social capital tended to rely on the possession of high amounts of cultural capital - that, in a sense, is what gentrification is about and it points out a very clearly delineated social boundary....This is what gentrification entails; it transforms an area, in which

the middle-class incomers are nearly always in a numerical minority, into the image of those who are able to define its 'shape and feel' (2008, 233).

Additionally, the diversity ideology does not dictate any political action or economic restructuring, so living in a multicultural environment is enough to act in accordance with the ideology. Since living in this neighborhood does enough to solidify one's commitment to inclusivity, having nonwhites in your social network is a superfluous practice (Chalmers 1997). Some residents do acknowledge that there could be more interracial interactions, but the buck stops there. Residents do not acknowledge their privilege as White homeowners in this multiracial neighborhood (Dalmage 2004). This lack of recognition, as bell hooks contends, produces a situation where truly equitable interracial interactions are impossible (2000). Although these White residents occasionally acknowledged their privilege as Whites in an abstract way, they did not see themselves as wielding advantages on a day to day basis. They, therefore, maintained their dominance within the neighborhood association and their power in this neighborhood. In this next chapter, I discuss how this ideology impacted neighborhood-based norms for White homeowners.

3. *White Codes and de facto Segregation*

I just think it's an interesting dynamic to have White, upwardly mobile professionals moving into a neighborhood and creating or having an expectation that the standards that get met are those that they set, when they new to the neighborhood. – Cheryl

The more time I spent in Creekridge Park, the more I noticed the assumptions residents used to designate appropriate neighborhood behavior, efforts, and relationships. In the epigraph, Cheryl, a Black female homeowner, highlighted an important aspect of life in Creekridge Park: White homeowners, many of whom were recent additions to the neighborhood, not only assumed they were entitled to set the norms of the neighborhood, but because of racial and class privilege, were able to do so.

In this chapter, I describe the different interracial and intraracial codes of conduct White individuals and groups enact in Creekridge Park. I call these white codes, a reference both to the Black Codes of the 1860s and to the group they benefit. Although the state does not legislate them, white codes mimic the control of nonwhite bodies and maintenance of the racial status quo achieved by Black Codes after the Civil War.¹ White codes, which in this context dictate appropriate neighborhood behavior between and among racial groups, produce mostly monoracial social networks and maintain social

¹ The Black Codes were enacted in the South after the Civil War and the implementation of the Thirteenth Amendment: “Several of the codes undertook to limit the areas in which blacks could purchase or rent property. Vagrancy laws imposed heavy penalties that were designed to force all blacks to work whether they wanted to or not. The control of blacks by white employers was about as great as the control that slaveholders had exercised” (Franklin and Moss 2000, 250; Zinn 2003, 199).

distance despite low spatial distance between White, Black, and Latino residents. I focus on these codes because they constitute the dominant mode of interaction as a result of the race and class privilege of Creekridge Park's White homeowners. I also focus on the behavior of White residents as the group with racial privilege in this integrated space.

In order to identify these codes, I triangulated five neighborhood elements. These elements include: (1) the types of neighbor-to-neighbor relationships residents engage in; (2) the factors that influence how residents approach and characterize their relationships with their neighbors; (3) the types of events that structure neighbor-to-neighbor relationships, including neighborhood parties and conflicts; (4) the types of social roles residents assume within the neighborhood; and (5) the racial attitudes of neighborhood residents. I also incorporate the experiences of some White residents who have more in-depth relationships with their nonwhite neighbors. Ultimately, however, they are still impacted by our stratifying social structure (Allan 1989; Rude 2009).

This chapter is not meant to include an exhaustive list of white codes. It is meant, rather, to serve as an example of three main processes that maintain social distance between racial groups: 1) seemingly nonracial practices produce racialized outcomes, 2) nonracial narratives are used to obscure racialized practices, 3) nonwhite racial-ethnic status acts in conjunction with other markers of status (e.g., real or assumed class) to maintain interracial social distance. These three processes and the codes of conduct they include help maintain social distance between Black, Latino, and White residents and

fail to provide the interracial interactions traditional segregation research promises (Charles 2003; Massey and Denton 1993).

Housing Tenure

White residents had a set of codes they used to explain their social relationships in the neighborhood. I found that although their claims captured important patterns of relationship-building, they also obscured the racialized processes that perpetuated monoracial social networks.

Many homeowners stated that they really only invested in neighbors they thought would be around for a while, specifically other homeowners (Blomley 2004). A few also mentioned that they really only invested in neighbors with whom they shared a common interest. Housing tenure (whether you own or rent your home) was one of the central ways that residents described each other and assessed class and value similarities and/or differences (Joseph and Chaskin 2010; Maly 2005). In 2000, about sixty three and a half percent of housing units in this neighborhood were renter-occupied, as seen in Chapter 1. Most nonwhites live in rental housing and less than twenty percent are homeowners. This housing pattern echoes Camille Zubrinsky Charles' findings on black homeownership and segregation. She concludes that Black homeowners in particular are more likely to live in neighborhoods that are "segregated and less affluent than their renting counterparts—they are the only group that is consistently penalized for owning a home" (2003, 179). In fact, one Black respondent who is a homeowner in CreekrIDGE

Park mentioned during her interview that these processes impacted her decision to actively seek out a racially mixed neighborhood:

[I moved to Creekridge Park] because of my concern for the value of my home being retained and increasing as opposed to what happens, because of an industry not because there's anything wrong with folks' houses, in single race, particularly African American, communities.

Social scientists refer to this structural devaluation as the "segregation tax" (Shapiro 2004, 121). One can argue, therefore, that the language homeowners use to describe renters and the assumptions they make about renters and their presence in Creekridge Park intimately tie into existing racial inequalities (Bullard 2006; Jackman and Jackman 1986).

When describing why their relationships with their neighbors were generally monoracial, White homeowners mentioned the transitional nature of renters. At the same time, there were some renters that homeowners included in their networks. I found, however, that White renters and nonwhite renters had distinct types of relationships with White homeowners. White homeowners tended to include White renters across social lines, such as inviting them over for dinner, while White homeowners tended to interact with nonwhite renters in paternalistic ways (Jackman 1994). First, these nonwhite renters tended to be elderly and female. Second, the relationships were based on White assistance to nonwhites. So, while Scott may have gone over to help Ms. Jackson with her lawn mower, he did not necessarily invite her over for dinner (Butler 2008, 225). As the ones who held race and class power in the

interaction, White homeowners were able to set the boundaries of appropriate behavior with their nonwhite neighbors. For example, Mary, a retired, Black, female, renter did not seem to directly ask her White neighbor, Luke, for help around her home, but waited for him to offer his assistance with specific items. White homeowners dictated the terms of their relationships with nonwhite renters and there was no reciprocity, a key element of egalitarian relations, friendships, and bridging social capital (Allan 1989; Rude and Herda 2010). This dynamic is important, of course, because bridging social capital is one of the positive outcomes social scientists attribute to integrated neighborhoods and policies, such as Hope VI and Moving to Opportunity programs (Blomley 2004; Putnam 2007).

Graduate students at one of the many nearby universities also comprised a subset of White homeowners in CreekrIDGE Park. These owners, by definition, only stayed in the area for three to six years, depending on their program of study. This was a short time in comparison to some renters who have lived in the neighborhood for ten, fifteen, or twenty years. These owners, however, were some of the best incorporated and well-known across the neighborhood. Many of them involved themselves in the neighborhood association and took positions as board members. Other residents even referred to graduate students' inevitable relocations as a "loss" for the neighborhood. Their short tenure, in turn, was clearly not an impediment for the establishment of relationships between them and other neighbors. I, therefore, argue that length of tenure

on its own is not a sufficient explanation for Whites' monoracial networks, but, when we consider it along with race, it helps unfold important relational dynamics.

Data from nonwhite residents indicate that residents constructed judgments about similarity, difference, and neighbor compatibility using dominant ideologies and contextually-specific data about race and class. For example, one Black female homeowner shared a story of how her neighbors did not greet her until her fifth or sixth year in the neighborhood when she started planting flowers in her front yard. Her work schedule kept her from doing so beforehand:

When I started doing stuff in my neighborhood, my neighbors knew me so little that they stopped to introduce themselves to me and welcome me to the neighborhood. Now what was interesting is that nobody did that when I moved here. But when I was—and now, a number of reasons that that could've been. Because these same folks, many of whom were here when I moved here, started welcoming me. And I'm talking about not just this street [Pine Avenue], but people down on Harris and, and on, Cardinal Street. [...] and so they saw me in, working in the yard and they'd stop and they commented about the yard and commented and introduced themselves and asked how long I had been here because they couldn't imagine that the person that had been here for five years and hadn't done anything was now doing something (laughs).

Cheryl's mostly White neighbors² did not greet her until she shared a safe and familiar practice: planting in the front yard. Gardening, however, is not a value-free practice. As the work of Blokland shows, gardening, and community gardens in particular, are commonly associated with contemporary urban neighborhoods, especially those with gentrifying elements (2008). It is part of the contemporary white urban middle class' habitus. Cheryl's neighbors filtered their interactions with Cheryl through cultural

² Cheryl states during her interview that her neighbors are predominantly White.

schemas of blackness as well as neighborhood-specific understandings of blackness. Dominant group members viewed Black residents as renters, lower income, and disinvested. By challenging her neighbor's assumptions about who she was by working in her garden, Cheryl became approachable and someone worth engaging with. Although this example indicates how an integrated neighborhood could potentially produce positive interracial interactions, it also shows how the basis of these interactions must be presumed similarity. In this case, home investment, gardening, and/or assumed class serve as the bridging element.

White is Universal

Creekridge Park Neighborhood Association (CPNA) served as a rich site of residential socialization. It taught residents how to interact with neighbors, city officials (e.g., city council members), and city services (e.g. Neighborhood Improvement Services). It also instructed members about the range of entitlements they shared. The neighborhood association and its members believed that CPNA was a universally beneficial organization that all residents should support (Chalmers 1997). Its history, all-White homeowner board membership, and predominantly White homeowner general membership, however, made it neither universal nor apolitical, but white. By white I am referring to a specific set of power relations that privilege Europeans and their descendants and disadvantage racial others (Fine 1995; Hartmann, Gerteis, and Croll 2009; Mills 1997).

One entitlement of CPNA membership is the ability to represent neighborhood interests. Below is a quotation from Beth, a CPNA board member, who responded as follows when I asked her if the board represented the association or the neighborhood:

We speak for the whole neighborhood....Because I know there's plenty of people who are paying attention who are not a part [of CPNA] or a member and that sort of thing and that's the way it's set up and the organizational structure in the city. Um, and so, you know, um, just because you don't write your Senator and your Congress about something doesn't mean that they're not representing you....It's how local stuff gets done.

Beth saw herself and the CPNA board as a continuation of local politics and the democratic process. Neighborhood association members elected the CPNA board every year, although most spots did not have more than one person vying for the position. In practice, outgoing board members first decided whether they wanted to run again and then the nominations committee, which was comprised of non-board and board members, identified Creekridge Park residents who may be positive additions and willing to participate. As described in Chapter 1, association members in attendance voted on the new board slate every fall at a neighborhood picnic; between thirty and forty neighbors came to the neighborhood picnic during my tenure. If we use households as the unit of analysis, forty only represented a six and a half percent voter turnout. Those that voted on the board were not demographically representative of the neighborhood: at the last neighborhood picnic, over ninety percent of the attendees were homeowners and over eighty five percent were White.

During our interview, Beth continued to discuss neighborhood representation:

Beth: If we have a diverse enough board and we have people who would do a good enough job, we're gonna have a good difference in opinion arise and arrive at a reasonable opinion. So, that's, I guess I trust the process of everybody kind of pitching in with their feelings and their thoughts and you work it out and you educate each other and you make a decision. And you make, you know, I think we've been careful that our board always has people from different parts of the neighborhood. Um,

Interviewer: like geographically you mean?

Beth: Geographically, yeah. And we don't have African American, we don't have Hispanic and that's something we're aware of that we need to be paying more attention to, and I don't think we necessarily represent those issues and needs.

This quotation indicated Beth's confidence in the organization and its ability to properly represent the neighborhood. She did acknowledge that the association did not represent Black and Latino residents, but she did not present this as a challenge to her previous statement (Sullivan 2006, 17). The lack of minority representation could have represented a threat to the legitimacy of the board, but ultimately, the *universality* and *neutrality* of the organization trumped any potential conflict (Saito 2009). Beth understood the association as a universal and race-neutral organization, not a white one (Hartmann, Gerteis, Croll 2009), however:

people working to enact and support race-neutral public policies may ignore the ways in which race is already present in the ideologies and practices of the larger society that shape the formation and implementation of policies. As a result, policies that appear race neutral may in fact be structured in ways that have racialized outcomes. This occurs because the policies do nothing to counter the ways in which race is already present, and thus the policies serve to reinforce racialized practices (Saito 2009, 4).

As our conversation continued, Beth pointed out that Black and Latino residents did not use the neighborhood association as a resource. The lack of minority involvement reflected the personal choice of nonwhite residents, rather than the political climate of the organization (Jackman 1994). Chalmers' work in a progressive school

finds similar racial dynamics (1997). When she held a potluck for the parents of nonwhite students who were underrepresented in the existing school organizations, many White parents were upset with Chalmers. She writes:

This parent [who complained], and others who agreed with her articulated concerns, misperceive that a harmonious community existed prior to the potluck, not reading the absences and silences of parents of color as a collective response to these very same meetings which were only functionally open to insiders (72).

Beth's explanation also echoed Wellman's description of racist thinking. For Wellman (1977), racist thinking is "an ideological stance that removes the white person as complicit in the problem and at the same time places the responsibility for alleviating oppression with the oppressed" (42). Beth did not see the racial make-up of CPNA as a problem it needed to solve. If residents of color wanted the association to represent them, they could have chosen to participate in the existing organization. Beth and others did not see a connection between the racial state of the neighborhood association and why nonwhites were less likely to participate. My interviews with nonwhite residents, however, indicated that being the only nonwhite person at a CPNA meeting impacted their decisions to not attend events. See Chapter 4 for more on this topic.

A corollary of the universality of whiteness is the normalization of whiteness and all-White spaces. These all-White spaces included neighborhood events, informal social gatherings, and neighborhood businesses. For example, the neighborhood association meetings I attended in Creekridge Park were consistently all-White meetings. The

invisibility of whiteness allowed Whites to mark these spaces as universal and generic. As Lewis (2004) argues, “even though doing race is inevitable, in white, racially segregated settings, race may remain almost entirely as subtext” (629). This subtext, however, is readable when nonwhites enter these spaces. Jerry, a Black homeowner, provided an example:

I notice that even when, a lot of times I go over there [to my White neighbor’s house], it’s only me, the only Black person there. You follow what I’m talking about? And so, I’m always like (taps), all–these–folks (laughs), you understand what I’m talking about? Supposed they just have a flashback, and I’d be hung from one of them trees back here? You follow where I’m coming from? So, I don’t know what’s on their mind. I know what’s on mine (laughs).

As Dalmage writes, “While people of color experience, to vary[ing] degrees, the terror of whiteness and Americanness, whites (also to varying degrees) experience privilege and view whiteness and Americanness as representative of goodness” (2004, 204). Jerry went on to describe his feeling at these all-White events as “apprehensive,” particularly because of the constant potential for microaggressions, including conversations with racial undertones about “them people” and “crack heads.” Jerry’s experience, which parallels other studies on minority experiences in predominantly white spaces and institutions, presents a challenge to the universality and inclusivity of these white gatherings (Hordge Freeman, Mayorga, & Bonilla-Silva 2011).

Homeowner Dominance

Scott is a homeowner and CPNA board member. After he mentioned that homeowners were more likely to invest in the neighborhood and neighborhood

association, I asked him if other people in the neighborhood felt the same way about renters. He responded:

I would guess, I would think that a lot of the people in the neighborhood are um, pragmatists, but they also, I mean, there's a lot of um, bigger sort of social understanding and a desire to kind of not live in a gated neighborhood. Um, so I think people recognize that that's a positive thing, but um, it's probably one reason also people are a little bit more politically involved and a little bit more involved in the neighborhood association because it's not the type of neighborhood where you just sit back...and let a set of rules sort of take care of everything. You have to kind of continuously be involved and be sure that um, with all that change going on that, that there's um, that you're watching out for the quality of life in the neighborhood. So it takes a little bit more effort maybe to live in the neighborhood like ours.

This quotation highlights the importance of relationality, a concept Evelyn Nakano Glenn uses in her integrative framework for race and gender analyses (2002). Glenn proclaims that generally "the dominant category is rendered 'normal' and therefore 'transparent' while the other is the variant and therefore 'problematic'" (2002, 13).

Therefore, "relationality helps point out the ways in which 'differences' among groups are systematically related," and problematizes the dominant categories (2002, 14).

Using relationality to understand the renter-homeowner relationship, we can question some of the taken-for-granted assumptions about renter engagement (Jackman 1994, 87). Rather than accept that renters are less likely to engage, we can interrogate why homeowners participate in these associations (Blomley 2004). For example, does 'pragmatism' in the form of neighborhood engagement serve specific race and class agendas? Scott's quotation indicated that involvement in CPNA is very closely tied to class and race-based goals: White homeowners in Creekr Ridge Park wanted to live in a neighborhood with mixed housing that was different than "cookie-cutter" or "gated"

suburbia (which made them different than other types of White homeowners), but that was still bounded by the particular values they dictated, and preserved their race and class privilege (Butler 2008). One way they are able to do so is by controlling the neighborhood association (Rabrenovic 1996). If CPNA, therefore, functions as an organization that maintains race and class privilege for White homeowners, it fundamentally excludes renters as an independent interest group. The association could incorporate individual renters if they reflect the appropriate race-class agenda, but not as people with opposing or independent needs. As Blomley writes about gentrifying neighborhoods: "Differences in tenurial status...are differences in power" (2004, 91).

Another way homeowners maintained control of the neighborhood association was through CPNA's advertising practices: (1) the online e-mail listserv and (2) the quarterly newsletter. There were limits to the reach of the online listserv. In addition to needing a computer to subscribe, many residents were not even aware it existed.³ The online listserv is currently comprised of over 250 members, although some of these are non-residents, including Durham officials, who update subscribers about city matters, and representatives from local universities, whose students reside in the neighborhood. About fifty percent of my survey respondents and fifty-five percent of my interview respondents subscribed to the listserv.

³ During our interview, Michelle, who owns a home on Central Street, stated that she did not know there was a listserv until I mentioned it. She had told her new tenants that there was no listserv when they asked.

CPNA also had a quarterly newsletter hand-delivered by volunteers to houses across the neighborhood. Both owners and renters occupied these houses. Inside the neighborhood, however, large apartment complexes, including Pine Grove Apartments, hold hundreds of apartments. Volunteers did not deliver the newsletter to each apartment; they placed it in common areas within the complexes. This meant residents had to notice it and stop to read it. Charles, a former CPNA board member, elaborated:

Charles: I mean, so, certainly, certainly there's kind of a communication gap with Pine Grove [Apartments], I mean, I think that certainly anybody who wanted to shell out a membership, \$5 for a membership would get a vote, even though there's a really, a huge concentration of people there, right, so, if everybody in Pine Grove voted and wanted to vote in representatives or board seats from Pine Grove, you know, it could really be the Pine Grove neighborhood association. Um, in practice that doesn't happen and it's, there may be a part of that that's about the incentive structure and you know, the fact that they're renting means that they're not as engaged. Um, that's your economist views of things. I think that's a little bit, rough, as an understanding of how this stuff works. I do think though that the people who are in the single-family duplexes or single-family houses or duplexes seem to be the ones who come regardless of whether they own or rent. Um, part of that, part of that is communication. Um, we have a, we distribute newsletters four times a year to the owner-occupied houses and we post them in Pine Grove, but we don't give every single person a copy, um, part of that's logistical, part of it's financial. You know, and I, you know, that, that probably is problematic. Um,

Interviewer: How so?

Charles: Well, it just in terms of you know, extending the franchise equally across, across the area that we cover, that we represent, that we claim, you know, if you come home at night and there's a newsletter hanging on your door you're probably going to read it. If you come home at night and there's no newsletter hanging on your door and you pass the manager's office and there's, there's a newsletter posted on the bulletin board, you might read it or you might just sort of go, oh, huh. And keep going and so, I guess there is, do newsletters facilitate engagement. I don't know.

Charles acknowledged how the advertising practices potentially disenfranchised the residents of Pine Grove Apartments. He then downplayed and questioned the importance of newsletters in eliciting participation, despite the fact that he recognized

the reason those living in single family homes and duplexes participated was because they received direct communications from the neighborhood association. His hesitation may have been because he realized the inequity of this action. Nonwhite residents were less likely to get the newsletter and were subsequently less likely to be aware of the association, neighborhood events, and, therefore, less likely to participate. Charles, reflecting national conversations on equity, seems to have concerns over the lack of equal opportunity in this case, not the unequal outcomes (Jackman 1994, 89). These advertising practices, however, were ultimately not a major concern for Charles or the neighborhood association, as they saw themselves and primarily functioned as a homeowner-based association.

Lastly, some homeowners also used their privilege to enact social control independently, as Luke described (Woldoff 2011). During his interview, he boasted about how he cleaned up the neighborhood and picked up trash whenever he saw it, including going on to neighbor's lawns: "I'll definitely infringe upon people's, maybe people's sense of uh, space, [...] a lot of the properties that I walk right on to and pick up trash they're all rentals, so I could care, you know. Cause it's my neighborhood...."

Luke's assertion of his right to pick-up trash paralleled other acts of dominance and control by homeowners in the neighborhood. I found this homeowner attitude toward renters in the survey data as well. Homeowners were much more likely to state that they would prefer the number of renters to decrease, as Figure 7 shows. I also found

in my interview data that renters tend to distinguish between good and bad neighbors rather than the renter-homeowner divide that some homeowners use (Woldoff 2011).

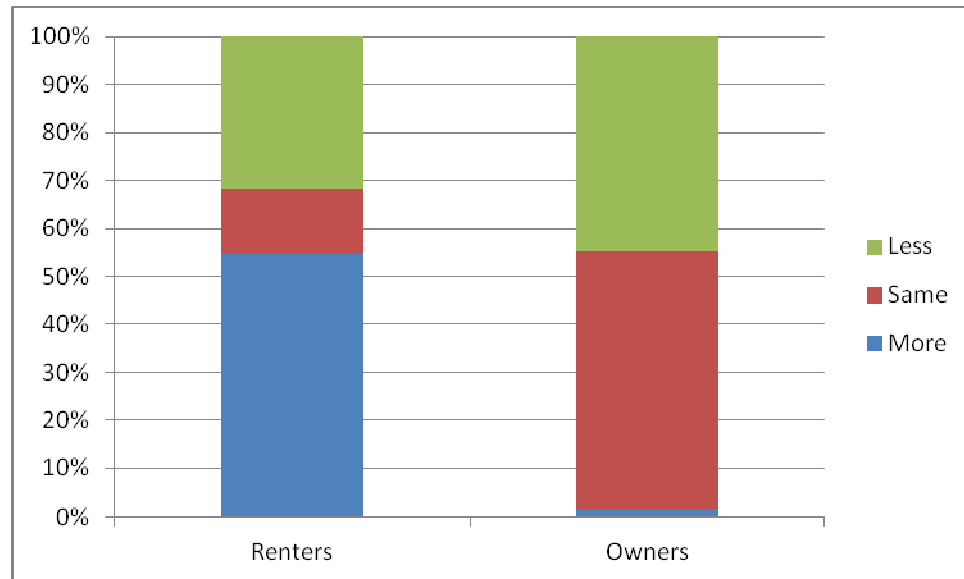


Figure 7: Do you think the percentage of renters should increase, stay the same, or decrease?

Latino/a Incorporation

During interviews or board meetings, CPNA board members often mentioned the need to involve the neighborhood's Latino/a communities. After a year of repeating the same goals, however, no translation for the newsletter existed and all board meetings and neighborhood events were held in English with no Spanish translation.⁴ One White homeowner, who was more active in the association a couple of years ago, stated that during his involvement with CPNA:

⁴ I mention these practices specifically because the board stated them as future goals and/or ways to increase Latino/a involvement.

there was a lot of you know, sort of appropriate interest expressed in having the association reflect the demographics of the neighborhood, so you know, I can't remember if it's like that, but talk about having the newsletter in Spanish and English, having some Spanish-speaking to invite people to come to events, that sort of thing. Um, nothing ever happened actually as a result, as far as I could tell.

This emphasis on the incorporation of the Latino/a community was part of a larger city-wide narrative of inclusion across neighborhoods, universities, and employers. For example, Duke University's Office of Durham and Regional Affairs had a program for Latino Community Outreach and Engagement (Latino Outreach).

Recently in CreekrIDGE Park, however, bilingual flyers for neighborhood events were a more common practice. One neighborhood block party even included representatives from a local Latino/a nonprofit. A folding table with information on drunk driving, a practice commonly attributed to Latino male drivers in Durham, and small plastic baggies marked its presence (McClain 2006). These baggies, in Figure 8 below, included a bilingual pamphlet on drunk driving laws, a Spanish pamphlet on alcoholism, a business card for an outreach coordinator at the nonprofit organization, and two condoms. Although this incorporation acknowledged the presence of the Latino/a community in CreekrIDGE Park, within this white space, it also marked Latinos with negative behaviors.

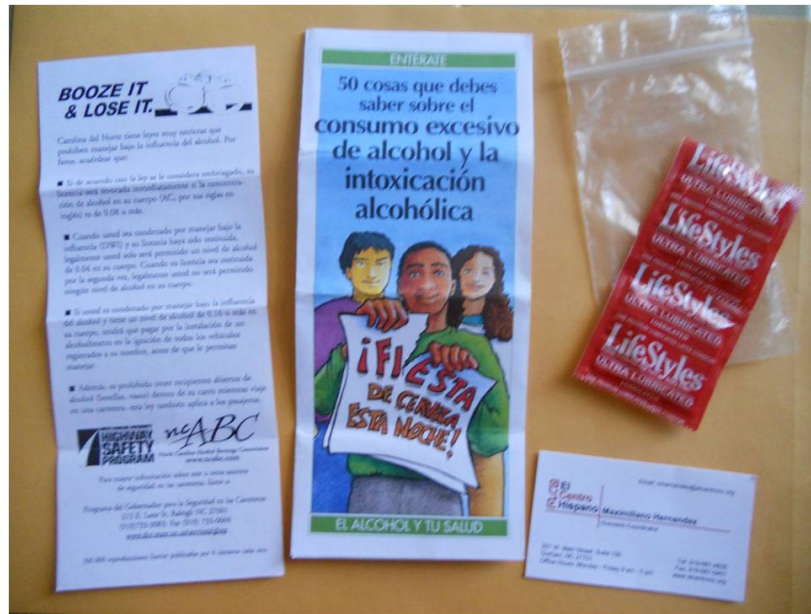


Figure 8: Contents of Baggie Distributed at Block Party by Latino Nonprofit

Only one Latino family was in attendance that day—they lived a few houses down from the party’s location. When I later interviewed Juliana, the female family member, she stated that she was unfamiliar with the neighborhood association; the reason she went to the block party was because the flier was in Spanish and it said they were invited. She also said the presence of the Latino/a non-profit impacted her and her husband’s decision to attend. At the event, Juliana and her husband stood by the nonprofit’s table while her son played relay games with other children. When I asked her later on if she would go again she said she did not know.

Good Intentions

In 2008, the CreekrIDGE Park Neighborhood Association applied for and received a grant to create a community garden in the middle of the neighborhood’s largest

apartment complex, Pine Grove Apartments. Two White women from the neighborhood association spearheaded the effort. After getting approval from the property manager, they advertised the plots, had a local nonprofit till the soil, and created plots for each participant. They saw this as an opportunity to connect with the mostly nonwhite apartment residents, potentially diversify their organization, and continue to stabilize what was once a “gang-ridden and drug-ridden” complex, according to one of the organizers. They ran into a few issues, however. Sharon, one of the current organizers, explained:

And we were trying to foster some leadership within the garden or the participants, trying to get them to take it over because there’s also this dynamic where it’s us versus them, like I’ve talked about our side and their side of the neighborhood. Like, there’s Pine Grove Apartments and there was, like, CPNA coming in, like, the homeowners coming in and telling the renters what to do and so it was the dynamic between the two groups. Um, and uh, so it’s, it’s really hard to keep it going....We haven’t been able to identify a true leader within the participants who wants to take it on, like they, it’s one of those things where they just want to show up and do it. They don’t wanna take it to that next step. Um, so and there were some other issues. This one lady, she turned out to be great, but whenever Ruth, [the other organizer] was getting it started it was that issue of, um, you White people are coming in and telling us what to do kind of dynamic and, um, I don’t know what happened but whenever I came in and started working with them she was very appreciative and it was like nothing, no bad ill will had even been there so there was that issue, too.

When I interviewed Ruth she elaborated on what happened:

[One apartment resident accused the organizers] of being racists because we, I mean she [Beatrice, the apartment resident,] came in without following protocol, you know we have contracts, you sign and you pay for your plot and its very minimal, but you pay for your plot and she just ignored all of that and came and showed up, with her tiller. So they called me, I couldn’t be there that evening and it was a pretty horrible conversation with her telling me it was none of my business that us White people should, you know, we, its none of our business.

After contacting a local nonprofit to plead her case, Beatrice was given a plot because she threatened legal action. She then gardened without any further issues, although

according to my respondents, some apartment residents refused to return to the garden while Beatrice was a participant.

I recount this event because it highlights how Ruth assumed good intentions were enough to avoid any inequitable outcomes; she was clearly upset by Beatrice's accusation of racism. Beatrice's reaction, however, highlights how planning the garden without input from Pine Grove residents exacerbated existing racial and class inequities, which privilege homeowners and White residents (Blomley 2004; Saito 2009). As Crenshaw writes, "Intersectional subordination need not be intentionally produced; in fact, it is frequently the consequence of the imposition of one burden interacting with preexisting vulnerabilities to create yet another dimension of disempowerment" (1995, 359). This may also explain why Sharon did not find residents to take on the organizational responsibilities. The project did not really belong to the residents of Pine Grove Apartments, but rather to the members of CPNA. It fulfilled their agenda of outreach and did not take into consideration the concerns or visions of Pine Grove residents (Jackman 1994). Additionally, Ruth clearly did not like that Beatrice brought up race at all. Sullivan's analysis on the Whites' commodification of nonwhites proves helpful:

White people's naive ignorance of race and racism has become the gift they offer non-white people in place of their recognition of non-white gifts the world. Its wistfulness is composed not only of the regretful apology that white people are (allegedly) unable to notice race, but also of a yearning desire that non-white people accept the gift and thereby absolve white people of any responsibility to learn and see race and racial injustice. This defense mechanism allows white people to think that non-white people can and will forget hundreds of years of

racial oppression and the ongoing effects of white domination because they themselves have easily managed to do so." (128)

In another instance, Tammy, a White female homeowner, began watching an unknown neighbor's backyard with binoculars to observe how the family treated their dog. Tammy reported that after watching the dog, she went over to the house of the Latino/a family in question, introduced herself to the male head of household, and offered to build her neighbor's a bigger dog house. Tammy described the situation as follows,

But that one [that dog], um, I just, I was going there, I went in the backyard with binoculars cause I, cause their, I couldn't see the dog from the street. I didn't even know they were tying her up and um, they had her in a box. Um, a wooden box they cut out a hole for, I guess when she was really little. But I mean, the box was as big as underneath this chair and she couldn't fit in it (starts crying). So, I was trying to see for myself what the deal was and so, there's a woods behind there, so I went there with binoculars and the dad came home just as I was looking (small laugh) and I was also trying to find another dog that was barking incessantly and I thought 'there's something wrong with this dog' and everybody was complaining about it, but nobody knew where the dog lived. And, and from here I couldn't tell where the barking was coming from and they also kept it kinda hidden, so I couldn't tell. So I was trying to see both dogs and the dad came home, so, I lied and I just said, you know, I'm just trying to look at the other dog to see what the deal is. And he spoke some English, but it's not like he could have a whole conversation with him. He understood some but not every word and the mother, sp-, understands only a little, tiny bit and um, so I asked him if he wanted a dog house and he said yes, so he came by and picked up the dog house and so that's the way I started with that. And then I, and then I said would you like me to take her for a walk. It seems like she's tied up all the time and he said that, that I could. And then, then when I'd come in the afternoons and they'd [the kids] come running up to me and they'd say, you're gonna take her for a walk? They loved her. They just didn't...know...what to do with her.

After Tammy took over dog walking duties and watched the dog while the kids were at school, the Latino/a family asked Tammy for help with placing the dog in another home. The dog is currently under Tammy's care while she tries to find a suitable home for it, which includes a fenced-in backyard, doggie door, another dog to play with, and young,

active owners. She said during her interview that there was an older, active couple who wanted to adopt the dog, but she did not allow it because they were too old.

In this context, Tammy, a White homeowner, was justified in judging her Latino/a neighbor's pet care as inferior. Her candidness in our interview about her initial dishonesty with the neighbor and her standards for dog care indicate that she expected me to understand and sympathize with her concern for the dog over her treatment of her Latino/a neighbors. Her interactions with this Latino/a family were also not an aberration, as she regularly intervened when she felt people mistreated their dogs around the neighborhood. She failed to see her views and expectations of dog care as culturally-specific, which produced racialized outcomes (Sullivan 2006). Although it is possible that Tammy may intervene when she sees White residents mistreating animals, the two examples she gave were of Latino/a families. This finding is in line with Elizabeth Terrien's work on dog ownership, which indicates that what dogs mean to families and the ways they believe they should treat dogs differ across race and class lines (Forthcoming). Using her race, class, and nativity privilege, Tammy attempted to shape her neighbors pet care behavior through constant interventions, which result in her neighbors offering the dog for her to place as she sees fit.

Greening Creekridge Park

The community garden, which I previously mentioned, is just one example of a larger commitment to 'greening' the neighborhood by the association and its members

(Butler 2003). Although a seemingly universal good, within this context the emphasis on green space and landscaping exacerbated other neighborhood issues, such as development and homeowner-renter relations (Maly 2005). As Cosgrove affirms:

[landscape] is an ideological concept...It represents a way in which certain classes of people have signified themselves and their world through their imagined relationship with nature, and through which they have underlined and communicated their own social role and that of others with respect to external nature 1998, 15).

Ideas about crime and traffic reduction informed some proactive ventures to create and protect green spaces across the neighborhood (Rosenbaum 1998). In line with Kuo and Sullivan (2001), some respondents pointed to landscaping as an important way to indicate that residents watched over and cared for the neighborhood. Residents also cited it as a speed reduction measure on busy roads. Beth mentioned the importance of planting trees to maintain the residential-commercial border after a planning development dispute with an adjacent business:

One of the things the neighborhood has done, the neighborhood association, we've gotten plants and um trees donated and we planted them kind of to celebrate winning here. We planted them all along here and along there, so there's daffodils blooming that are all from our yards and we, you know, share bulbs and we all got out and dug and we get out every year and mulch and weed it and stuff like that.

Additionally, in 2009 the neighborhood association applied for and received a Special Neighborhood Protection (SNP) from the city, which barred certain types of development and mandated the maintenance of green spaces and trees.⁵ The SNP

⁵ A group of neighborhood residents, mostly from the neighborhood association, worked for two years to receive the Special Neighborhood Protection.

resulted from the cutting down of several trees in a wooded area during the development of Tyler Street; it currently protects several undeveloped green areas in the neighborhood.

The neighborhood association's success in receiving the SNP can be read as the victorious articulation of their ideological stance: "Social and civic groups can express their power and ideologies as well, most commonly through influencing the use and occupation of urban space" (Kong 2008, 13). This stance negatively framed some of the more recent CreekrIDGE Park developments. For example, many neighborhood association members and White homeowners negatively viewed Tyler Street, which housed a large portion of the few nonwhite homeowners within the neighborhood (Shaw 2005). As one homeowner described:

it was awful because, because they raised everything. I mean, there's trees, some trees now, but it was just terrible. I mean, they just went in and cut everything down and um, but you know, it was a done deal before anything could be done about it.

Another CPNA member elaborated:

the city said, you know, we don't like the way you did this, but we're happy that you're putting in housing that's affordable. Um, almost everybody's had some sort of problems with their house due to sort of shoddy construction, but that, that, the loss of that, the sort of trauma of that street going in the way it went in, there's a lot of like, the impetus for the Special Neighborhood Protection.

The residents of Tyler Street, however, expressed satisfaction with their homes. In fact, after one of the board members off-handedly mentioned on the listserv that she did not want newer development that included "matchy homes" like those on Tyler

Street, one Tyler Street resident contacted her and informed her that she was very pleased and proud of her home.⁶

Besides poor development and ‘trauma,’ the only other characteristic White residents associated with Tyler Street was the presence of Black and Latino/a families and children. One respondent, Cheryl, raised important questions about the undertones of these concerns. While she affirmed that they may be legitimate and that builders should always consult with neighbors before construction, she declared:

I would question when people have concerns about trees versus housing for folks. What’s really at the root of people’s concerns, whether it really is about the loss of trees or whether it’s about who they think is gonna be moving into that housing?

Friends and Neighbors

During their interviews, many White Creekridge Park residents stated that they had friends that lived in the neighborhood.⁷ Some of these friends were people they met outside of Creekridge Park, but others were friends they made as a result of living in the neighborhood. The survey data also indicate that neighborhood friendships are common. When I asked residents who their five closest friends were, 15% responded

⁶ The board member mentioned this e-mail exchange at a CPNA meeting.

⁷ I use Allan’s (1989) definition of friendship, which highlights “the quality and character of the relationship involved” and the importance of equality in the relationship (16). Rude and Herda also highlight the importance of closeness and reciprocity in their definition (2010).

that one of their five closest friends also lived in Creekridge Park. 45% of survey respondents replied that they have at least one friend in the neighborhood.⁸

A few White residents indicated during our conversations that their involvement in the neighborhood association, which was both a politically and demographically white organization, facilitated their neighborhood friendships (Chalmers 1997). Ray lives on Union Street, which includes a mix of residents across race and housing tenure. He said that his friends tended to live on Central and Peach Streets, which are predominantly White streets:

You know, our friends don't live on our street, they live on Harris Street, they live on Central, and they live on Peach, and probably wouldn't have known those people without the neighborhood association. We don't run in the same circles outside of that. And um, you know, I see my neighbors, I'm friendly with my neighbors, I can negotiate with my neighbors, um, whether they're selling drugs or not. Uh, but those aren't my friends.

Bryan, who lives on Pine Avenue and said he had "lots of friends" in the neighborhood, indicated a few avenues through which he made neighborhood friends:

Well, one of the houses—actually somebody from work moved into a couple doors down. Um, and they lived there for a long time. They've since moved on, but, um, lots of folks we met through the neighborhood association or just, um, walking the dog and that sort of thing. Um, but a lot of contacts through the neighborhood association at this point. Um, my wife is a big um, gardener and so she's got gardener friends all around the neighborhood and that sort of thing.

⁸This number may be an underestimate. We know from the interview data that those residents who live on boundary streets, such as Cardinal Street and Harris Street, are likely to have friends on adjacent streets that are technically in other neighborhoods.

Other residents also mentioned gardening and dog walking as popular avenues for establishing neighborhood-based friendships (Robins, Sanders, Cahill 1991). When I asked Ruth how she became friends with Sharon and others she stated:

Hanging around, you know, walking dogs. That's a big—Laura and Ron we met them through, um, walking dogs and then Chris and Trish through them and then—yeah. I think a lot of it, excuse me, is probably through the dog, what we call the dog park down at Groveland Estates.

Russ also mentioned dogs as central to his neighborhood friendships (Tissot 2011). He explained that “none of my neighbors were my friends before they moved in, so they have all been neighbors who have become friends.” His friendships consisted of:

[We] talk politics, go to ball games occasionally, um, do dog stuff, walk dogs together, walk dogs together a lot. It's a big deal. The dogs, politics, go to ball games, um....we mostly just talk in the street. Stand on the street and talk, it's very, it's a Central Street thing to do.

Defining the parameters of what constitutes a friend is difficult because of its heterogeneity, as Rude (2009) points out in her work. The characteristics one resident uses to describe a friendship another resident would use to define a neighborhood (Allan 1989)⁹. One general theme, however, is that if someone had friends outside the neighborhood, they were more likely to differentiate between friends and neighbors. Those without strong friendship networks outside Creekrige Park were more likely to

⁹ Allan (1989) differentiates between friendship and mateship, emphasizing the importance of social context for mateship. He writes, “this form of social relationship allows those involved to have a greater control of the ‘content’ of their tie, as it is focused more explicitly on the setting in which they meet” (26). I argue that neighborhood, like Allan’s mateship, is constructed around and defined by the neighborhood environment. Once a resident moves out of Creekrige Park, his relationships and socializing with neighbors are likely to end, unless they are friends.

describe neighbors they interacted with as friends. Seth, for example, distinguished between neighborship and friendship:

What I've sort of learned over the years is that just because you're not, you know, close personal friends with your neighbors doesn't mean that you can't—I mean, to be a neighbor can be a distinct relationship from being a good personal friend. I mean, my next door neighbors here, we've had a key to their house for 12 years now. Um, I can go into their house any time I want to. They'll let me borrow anything I want to. Um, to interact with them socially outside of work, outside of anything that we might have going on here, I mean, we'll include them if there's a, you know, my, you know—I turned forty last year and I had a fortieth picnic and stuff and of course my neighbors were invited, but as far as eating together regularly and talking about non-neighborhood stuff, no.

In contrast, Robin provided a different understanding of neighbors and friends:

I would say my neighbor Tracy is a friend. Um, um, we don't—I guess it's sort of—um, but it's different I guess—the late in life friends are different than, um, when you're friends—when you make friends in your twenties or thirties. So, uh, in that—you know, you tend not necessarily—we've gone out to dinner together and stuff like that, but it's not, um, it's—it's—it's more a different type of friendship as I said than when you're in your twenties and thirties. And then, um, Tammy I would—I consider, um, with helping her walk her dogs and you know, someone I would ask if I felt that she could do the favor or that—you know, I would ask her to do it, yeah.

The features of neighborhood friendships also differed across individuals. Some people got together regularly for drinks, as Tina, Eric, Thomas, and Denise described. Some neighbors got together for vacations. For example, Tina and Eric indicated that they recently rented a lake house with one of their neighbors. Ruth also mentioned that she biennially joined her neighbor on vacation in New England. One major finding, also echoed in Butler's work on gentrifying London neighborhoods, was the importance of spending time together with friends at home. As Butler writes, "the home is a crucial element in middle class notions of friendship and asking people into it for dinner is

probably the best single indicator of 'becoming friends' which is also a crucial means of belonging in a middle-class community" (2008, 225).

Although concrete data on the race of these neighborhood-based friendships are not available, we can infer that they are same race friendships. When I asked White residents about interracial interactions in the neighborhood, they regularly stated the nonwhite neighbors they interacted with or knew, as I discussed in Chapter 2 (Bonilla-Silva 2009). We can, therefore, argue that because there was very little overlap between the individuals White residents mentioned during responses to the question on interracial interactions and the question on neighborhood friendships, very few of White residents' neighborhood friendships were across racial groups.

Becoming friends with one of your neighbors outside of CreekrIDGE Park was the most common form of neighborhood friendship. Robin, for example, stated that these types of friendships were normative:

Um, I know that with a lot of the young couples that have been, uh, it—it does tend to be the case where they've known them previously from a university connection or a work connection, and you know, a house has opened up, so someone moves in and they already know maybe two or three folks that live in the neighborhood.

Emma described her new neighbors as friends from her former apartment complex:

Aaron and Jane came over and of course we could basically vouch for the neighborhood, that like 'oh okay, you probably have some noise over here.' Then, in general, 'we've lived here we haven't had any trouble, it's a nice neighborhood.' So, um, we encouraged them to look at the house again and they really liked it once they looked at it.

A number of respondents said they found out about the neighborhood because friends sent them information about a particular house listing. One respondent,

Stephanie, indicated that she had several good friends in the neighborhood, most of whom were colleagues of her husband, John:

You know, we've whenever, um, the neighborhood has a strong listserv, so whenever people um, you know, put that their house is up for market we shoot it off to, you know, people at [a local university]. We wanted to make sure we have great folks that live around us, so it's been nice that way.

Other White neighbors lauded Stephanie and John's practice of "promoting" the neighborhood to their friends. For example, Tammy stated:

John has brought a lot of his friends to the neighborhood to live here. That's how many of the—many of the people who live on Central [Street] are there as a result of him telling them when the houses become available. He should be in real estate.

Michelle, who no longer lives in CreekrIDGE Park, explained that she believed her friend moved to the area because of her recommendation:

I think my friend who's living on Cardinal Street...I think actually moved from Chapel Hill to Durham into that area based on my recommendation, spending time at my house and getting a feel for the area.

Similarly, Rhonda shared during her interview that "our really good friend lives on Central [Street] and he's in a rental property, and he, I mean, he probably rented it because we live so close." Though potentially harmless, these behaviors replicate the racially homogeneous social networks of the owners in the neighborhood, which we know are mostly-White based on interview and survey data (See Figure 5; Allan 1989; McPherson, Smith-Lovin, and Cook 2001).

Observe and Report

There are multiple avenues through which the police and the neighborhood association encourage residents to observe and report undesirable or criminal behavior. Through the increase of “intentional surveillance,” residents are participating in “opportunity reduction” (Rosenbaum 1988, 328). I learned this, as residents do, through Creekridge Park Neighborhood Association meetings, neighborhood events, and reading the listserv. At a joint meeting between Creekridge Park residents and an adjacent neighborhood in regards to neighborhood crime and safety, the district police captain encouraged residents to take the risk and call 911 if they see anything out of the ordinary. He explained that he did not want residents to take the law into their own hands, but that they should be aware of what was going on around them.¹⁰ From his point of view, “neighbor means something;” you did not necessarily have to have cook outs with your neighbors, but you should be nosy (ibid.).

An important catalyst for phone calls to the police and other services were interneighbor conflicts. Many residents said they dealt with neighborhood conflict by speaking with the appropriate neighbor first. I found, however, that when White residents described specific conflicts and the conflicts were with nonwhite neighbors, White residents usually involved the police or other authority. This is partially because,

¹⁰“Collective anti-crime measures that emerge from the opportunity reduction approach often involve surveillance, crime reporting, and target-hardening activities designed to control or deter crime in specific settings. Neighborhood Watch is the prototype of this approach, and often serves as a vehicle for encouraging a range of opportunity-reduction behaviors” (Rosenbaum 1988, 348).

as we established, White residents are less likely to know their nonwhite neighbors. As one resident described,

I would say if they were people that we knew, could trust, and feel safe talking to, probably most people for one, would've already talked to them if there was gonna be an issue that would bring, potentially bringing up a problem. But then for people that I didn't know I'd probably just call the police (laughs).

Sometimes neighbors called the police to protect themselves from physical violence, in the case of a fight breaking out, for example. Sharon explained,

Actually I think I called the um, the nonemergency police number. It was um, there were a lot of people out, in the summer there's a lot of people that spend time out kind of in the parking area in front of the quadrplexes [rental properties] that are up there and this is right after probably the first summer we had moved in and maybe that first year after and um, there's just a lot of fights that would happen, it was just like people kind of congregating and then all of a sudden this woman started like body slamming this one girl, ran out of her house with a bat and I was like oh this is not good, so um I don't think I called 911. I might have called cause everyone by the time I realized what was going on it had dispersed so I just wanted, I called the nonemergency phone number. Um, and I've called it, I've had to call it a couple of times that summer just to like congregations kind of getting out of hand. Um, and to the point where something bad was happening.

In other cases, no threats of violence were imminent and interactions seemed to have racial undertones. One example comes from Mary, an African American retiree whose son littered a neighbor's yard a few years ago. Mary, a longtime renter in CreekrIDGE Park, described the incident as follows:

[My neighbor] went and called the guy [...] that owns the house in Mebane [a nearby city] and tried to get him to make us be moved. And I didn't like that because, what kind of neighbor is that? He could've come and talked to me and told me and I could've made my son stop doing that, you know, so, but I didn't like the fact that he went behind my back and he supposed to be a neighbor. And he's gonna go behind my back, and he called [the property manager]. [...] cause to me that, that to me was being mean and hateful. I mean, it was being very mean.

She said that she did not think this incident was racially motivated, but she went on to describe another incident where her neighbor, unlike other neighbors, never stopped to give her a ride when she walked home from the bus, regardless of how many packages she was carrying. He saw her and waved as he drove to his house, which was directly across the street from hers. Mary speculated that her neighbor's desire to not have Black people in his car likely fueled this interaction.

Many residents went to the CPNA listserv to announce a violation they observed (e.g. an abandoned car, trash in a front yard, loud music at night), ask questions about the proper avenue of reporting, and to get more information on the situation. Some respondents mentioned that they did not want to inundate the police with unnecessary calls. The sentiment the police shared during community meetings organized to encourage neighborhood vigilance and via the listserv was: call in anything that concerns you and the police will decide how to respond. For most of my White respondents, more police presence in the neighborhood was a good thing, especially since the police did not associate their bodies with criminality (Russell-Brown 2008; Weitzer 2000; Weitzer and Tuch 2005).

The negative associations of nonwhite bodies and the cultural deficiency White homeowners associated with renters created additional opportunities to observe and report nonwhites (Blomley 2004). Merry's work on urban danger argues:

crime serves as an idiom for expressing and legitimating the fear of the strange and the unknown. Such fears often focus on populations that are racially, culturally, and economically

distinct. Members of a dominant group may denounce a subordinate group for its criminality rather than denounce it for the real threat it poses to the perpetuation of the existing social order and continued elite dominance of that order. Concern about crime thus justifies and reinforces the hostility that stems from class conflict and racial and ethnic differences. Discussions of danger often focus on aspects of the dangerous group's social life that are perceived as bizarre and immoral (1981, 14-15).

In particular, White homeowners scrutinized nonwhite childrearing practices during interviews and neighborhood events. One resident described:

We do have another neighbor that we have called the police on and animal control multiple times because of noise problems and like letting their dog off lead and I got chased by their dog once and we saw them beat that dog with a belt one time, so we've called animal control on them before. But we don't know them. Frankly, I don't really wanna know them if you're the kind of person that you're gonna beat your dog and scream at your children at 11 o'clock at night. It's just, you know, um, [...] I walk my dogs regularly and frankly they yell so loudly that we can hear them most of the time.

Another resident, Terry, mentioned that "we have a lot of dysfunctional parenting and behavior in the parking lot of the apartments behind us, and there has been a lot of drug activity there and gang activity there." He indicated that he and his wife, through an adjacent neighborhood's association, were in contact with the property manager and that the manager was making efforts to "kick people out who are problems."

As a point of comparison, almost 90% of the survey respondents said they felt safe in CreekrIDGE Park. The majority of CreekrIDGE Park residents did not believe there was a crime problem in the neighborhood.

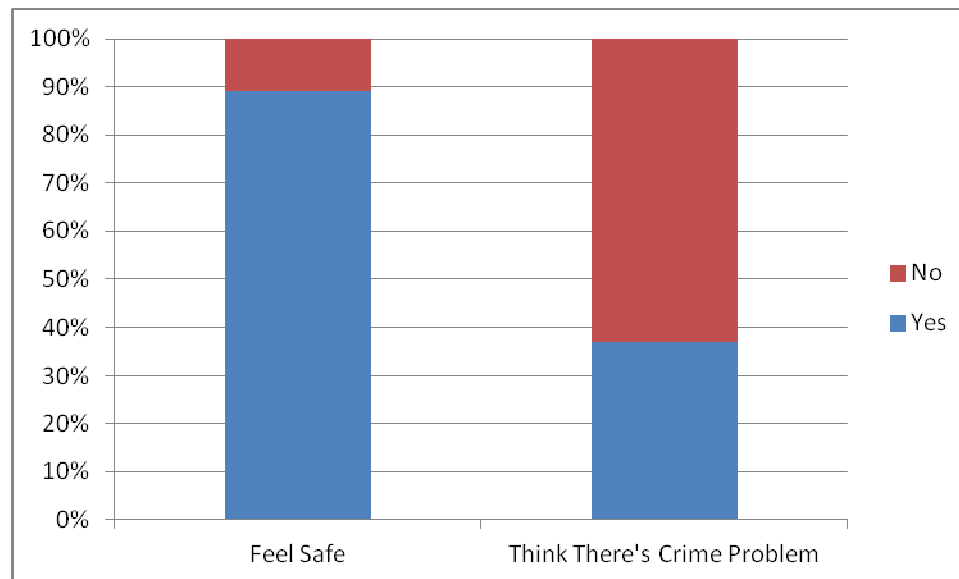


Figure 9: Perceptions of Neighborhood Safety

How do we make sense of these findings in light of the constant postings on the listserv of violations? By drawing a “distinction between the fear of victimization and concern about crime as a public issue” we can clarify:

The former described the level of fear for personal safety, the latter reflected political and social attitudes toward rapid social change, efforts to eliminate racial injustice, and social and political unrest. These political opinions seemed to bear little reaction to the personal fear of crime (Merry 1981, 10).

Arguably, the police presence in this neighborhood was about both safety and maintaining social control, in particular when referencing issues such as loud music. O’Connor’s (2010) work reflects this idea, theorizing community building with police as a way of extending society’s web of social control in addition to empowering citizens. We can expand this idea even further when we consider the role and presence of agencies, such as Neighborhood Improvement Services, in Creekridge Park, which

regulate things such as lawn care and lawn use. Rosenbaum cites that advocates of neighborhood watch programs also see them as more than just opportunity reduction:

By encouraging social interaction (beginning with local meetings), this strategy is considered to be one of the primary mechanisms available to community residents who are interested in restoring informal social control processes or creating a sense of "community" (348).

Lastly, some White residents saw themselves as helping nonwhites by calling the police and relevant city services. For example, Brendan, a new homeowner in the area, spoke about how recent phone calls to the police in regards to pit bulls and a gun fight at a Latino neighbor's house benefitted the children in that home. He cited their playtime activities, which included jumping out of a window and into a garbage can, as evidence that a change in the living situation was beneficial. Brendan shared this story after Emma, another young White homeowner, said calling the police helps everyone, but probably not the families in question.

Patronizing Practices

While interviewing Emma, a young, White first-time homeowner, I asked if she had contact information for Mr. Cameron, her elderly, African American neighbor who she referenced as someone she was in contact with relatively often. She proceeded to explain:

Yeah, I'll actually, let me ask Luke [Emma's roommate] about whether he thinks that, cause I think that, the thing is that I think Mr. Cameron would do it, it's that, maybe that sounds like really patronizing, but I'll just ask him to see what he thinks. He's got a lot going on with his wife being really sick and I think that he would probably do it, but *I'm just not sure it would be a good idea*. Um, simply because like if something happens to her while he wasn't there you might not be able to hear it or he might not be able to hear it, um, but anyway I'll ask Luke. It

might be fine, I just, I'll ask him what he thinks about that.

This response brought to mind Mary Jackman's work on paternalism. Jackman (1994)

advocates that:

Subordinates do not demand something unless they define it as a need. Dominant groups thus mimic the traditional father-child relationship by claiming superior moral competence and attempting to define the needs of subordinates. They can then provide—with pleasant sentimentality and with a satisfying *feeling* of benevolence—for the fulfillment of those needs (14).

This approach to interracial relations, which Emma herself identified as patronizing, was a common theme through the data. White residents acted as if they knew best for not only themselves, but everyone in the neighborhood—especially nonwhites. This practice, of course, varied in degree. For example, Emma above acknowledged the potentially problematic relationship with Mr. Cameron. Luke, on the other hand, saw his relationship as entirely positive and commented to me at a neighborhood event that he was happy to help Mr. Cameron and Mary, his two African American neighbors. The basis of his relationship with the Camerons and Mary was his assistance to them. When I interviewed Luke he described Mary's situation:

Frank Hill Realty, who also owns our poor neighbors Mary and Philip's house, which just looks like Boo Radley's shack [from *To Kill a Mockingbird*], it's just falling down on them. If you've been inside, if you get to go inside it's just as bad on the inside as it is on the outside. But they don't feel like they have the power to fight anybody. She's an elderly Black woman who's retired and sick. Her son is sick. They can't afford to fight anybody. They can't afford to push on anyone and you get that sense when you discuss it with them. You know, she really gets passion-, in passionate, you know, mode about talking about it when you talk to her, but she, but she kind of backs off if you say 'I'll help you, you know, I'll help you talk to them, I'll help you deal with the situation because it's unfair and there, there, you know, there's codes all over the house being broken,' but um, they kind of back off and I think that's part of the issue, too. I mean, we have, we definitely in this community people who don't feel empowered to you know, serve their own rights, really.

When I spoke with Mary she mentioned that her house definitely needed a coat of paint. She also, however, addressed the cost of asking Frank Hill Realty to take care of it. As a retiree, Mary lives on a fixed income and cannot afford to pay more in rent to cover the cost of her landlord painting her house. She can also not afford covering the cost of independently hiring someone to do the job for her. Rabrenovic's work in New York addresses similar tensions between homeowner ideas and renter realities:

The Concerned Citizens' campaign for gentrification has revealed a conflict in the Arbor Hill neighborhood, which still has predominantly low-income residents and needs more affordable housing. The association's emphasis on the residential quality of life (residential land use, services, and beautification) benefits home owners more than tenants. Indeed, the improvements in the neighborhood usually raise the price of housing and reduce the available affordable housing. Low-income residents, on the other hand, need affordable housing and have to wrestle with problems that are much harder to solve than beautification - persistent poverty, unemployment, and tenant-landowner disputes (1996, 108).

Mary is exercising her constrained agency by not asking her landlord to paint her apartment and refusing Luke's intervention offer (Giddens 1986). From our conversation it seems Mary is perfectly capable of advocating for herself; her issue boils down to economic resources and the rental housing system (Ryan 1971; Rabrenovic 1996).

During our conversation Luke also mentioned how he helped Mr. Cameron and his wife:

Um, and he [Mr. Cameron] can't really do anything, but when, when I can and I, and I get the chance, I help him clean up stuff out of his yard, people always pitch garbage out at the base of our hill, that's where people throw their garbage out before they go through the stop sign, so there's always trash in his yard. Um, so I pick up his trash, um, I help him with his wife a few times.

Luke described Mr. Cameron as incapable of doing anything, despite the fact that he provides full-time care for his ailing wife. The Camerons elderly age and Mrs. Cameron and Mary's chronic illnesses make them nonthreatening, and thus, more appealing to Luke (Jackman 1994). He takes a lot of pride and enjoyment from assisting them. This differs greatly from his interactions with another younger Black neighbor, who he stated did not want to be helped. His interactions with this house centered on complaints to the police, Neighborhood Improvement Services, and the neighborhood association listserv. His constant calls to Neighborhood Improvement Services also defined his interactions with his Latino/a neighbors, who were of working age.

Challenging Practices?

Although most White respondents had predominantly White networks, there were a few exceptions. Below I outline the normative practices of Esther and Lois, two older White female renters whose neighborhood networks included nonwhites.

Esther was an elderly White widow who lived in one of the large apartment complexes within CreekrIDGE Park. She had been renting an apartment in the complex for nineteen years at the time of our interview. As she described her social circle it became clear that she engaged with Pam, her Black female neighbor, and her two daughters fairly regularly. Esther stated, "my neighbor upstairs I just, I can't tell you how much I appreciate her;" "those are the sweetest girls you could ever meet. And I've adopted them as grandchildren." She explained how one of the girls had an autism

spectrum disorder (ASD) and that she read books on ASD so she could better understand it. Esther concluded, “they do family things with our family, too. You know, they’re part of our family.” When I asked her whom she spent the most time with in the neighborhood, Esther replied:

I do more with Pam and the girls. And then I’ve learned so much from them. Um, you know, think about getting along with no checking account, um, when I have extra money I take them out to dinner. They had never been to a Japanese restaurant, Chinese. These things that they had never experienced and I thought, these are things we did with my boys when they were small and they grew up with it and these, you know, have never had that so I’ve had a really good time exposing them to some of those things. And so, you know, I’m learning what it means to not have, to have to watch every single penny and that’s, I can’t imagine.

Her characterization of the relationship pointed to some economic inequity, but Esther’s interactions with Pam and her children were some of the most consistent interracial interactions that my respondents reported. Rude and Herda (2010) highlight the importance of friendship quality for interracial friendship analyses, which includes reciprocity and closeness. Although I was unable to interview Pam, she and her daughters also provided aid to Esther who used an oxygen machine and whose mobility was limited, indicating some semblance of reciprocity. As discussed earlier, most White residents said they had friends or acquaintances of other races when I specifically asked them about interracial interactions, but very few originally named nonwhites among their list of friends, a pattern in line with contemporary interracial friendship research (T. Smith 2002). From her description, Esther maintained a more regular and intimate interaction, beyond the typical ‘hi’ and ‘hello,’ indicating higher friendship closeness (Rude and Herda 2010, 593).

Lois lives in one of the large apartment complexes with her adult son and husband. Also an older White female, Lois seemed to have more interactions with her neighbors of color than her homeowner counterparts, despite saying she would not call any of them friends. For example, when I asked Lois to tell me about her neighbors she mentioned each of her neighbors of color by name and followed with an anecdote about each one. White homeowners rarely knew the names of their nonwhite neighbors, let alone had regular enough interactions with them to share any personal details. Lois described how nice her Sudanese neighbors were and how she shared produce from the community garden with them. She also recounted a story of how the wife came over one day asking for “grandma,” which is what she called Lois:

She gave me, um, about four bags of goat. You have to be nice about it, you know, and uh, or maybe it was lamb, I don’t know. Goat, lamb, what’s the difference, I don’t want any of it. (laughs) It was lamb because my husband and Simon love it because, in fact, they like goat meat because they eat at the Indian restaurant so much and, they, not me. Uh, but I cooked it for them cause I knew she would ask me, you know, how it was, yeah.

Lois also provided childcare for a biracial child named Lizzy. She shared that over the past two years she had grown very close to Lizzy and described Lizzy’s White mother as her best friend in town. Lois recounted that Lizzy one day said to her “Grammie, I’m brown,” and Lois replied “you sure are, but you’re a beautiful brown.” Arguably Lois would not score as well on racial attitudes surveys as her young, White, upwardly mobile neighbors (e.g., she used the term ‘colored’ rather than ‘Black’ or ‘African American’), but her life was much more embedded with her neighbors of color than the White homeowners who praised the diversity of the neighborhood (Rose 2004).

Her hesitance to call any of them friends, however, may be due to her situation in North Carolina. Originally from Arizona, she planned to return home when she could. The reason she moved to Durham was to be close to her granddaughter, whose father was completing graduate work in town. She said all of her close friends were back home and she did not want to make new ones. Her resistance to make new friends locally, however, may also be because she was situated in a predominantly nonwhite area. The presence of nonwhites may have served as a reminder of her current status (she shared that money did not go as far in Durham as in her hometown) and her inability to change it any time soon.

One can argue that Lois and Esther's incorporation into nonwhite networks was a result of multiple processes: (1) unlike the rest of the neighborhood, which is majority White, they lived in apartment complexes that were predominantly nonwhite; (2) Lois and Esther were elderly, relatively immobile, and female, all statuses that limit their power; (3) because of their immobility, their networks are somewhat limited to those in their immediate proximity; (4) their interactions with nonwhites were still restricted by the parameters of the larger social structural system, which normalized white paternalism and social distance.

Conclusion

In this chapter I presented several Whites Codes that residents described and enacted in CreekrIDGE Park. These codes of interracial conduct, which dictate

appropriate neighborhood behavior, help explain why White residents had mostly monoracial social networks despite living in a multiethnic, statistically integrated neighborhood. In this white habitus, white rule was normal and legitimate (Chalmers 1997; Dalmage 2004; Mills 1997). As a group with class and race privilege, White homeowners were able to control the neighborhood association and the resources it entailed, including legitimacy as an organization and attention at the city-level (Kong 2008). They also excluded nonwhites and renters as claims makers and justified the lack of minority participation as individual choice and disinterest (Fine 1997; Jackman 1994). White residents gave several explanations for their social networks, but these explanations failed to include the important racial dynamics that produced predominantly White friendships. White codes maintain white values and privilege, regardless of the intentions of White residents. These explanations attempted to obscure the cultural superiority White residents felt by calling upon dominant ideological schemas that supported the view of race and class subordinates as culturally inferior (Fine 1997; Johnson 1943). They highlighted parenting styles, neighborhood investment, and other behaviors to solidify white rule in this neighborhood. In order to challenge these 'common sense' notions, we must include concepts such as relationality to present a more accurate, nuanced, and complete vision of life in CreekrIDGE Park and other integrated spaces (Glenn 2002). In the next chapter, I include the voices of nonwhite residents to provide a more complete picture of this multiethnic space.

4. *Creekridge Park in Black and Brown*

What do diverse mean?—Mary, Creekridge Park resident

Mary's quotation introduces us to a central concern of this chapter. Mary, a Black, female, renter, was responding to one of my standard interview questions: *The neighborhood association claims that the neighborhood is mixed income and diverse, do you think that is true?* Mixed income and diverse, phrases individuals commonly use in the sociological literature, newspaper articles on urban development, and by White residents in Creekridge Park, were unfamiliar to Mary.

Although the primary focus of this project is the ideological and behavioral aspects of whiteness in Creekridge Park, this chapter aims to explore the role of diversity and integration in the lives of its Black and Latino/a residents. Based on interviews with thirteen residents and twenty one survey responses, this chapter highlights the particular experiences of Blacks and Latino/as in Creekridge Park and the meanings they attached to living in an integrated neighborhood. Overall, material gains and social costs marked the experiences of nonwhites in Creekridge Park (Bullard 2007).

Why Here?

I started all of my interviews the same way, asking residents why they chose to live in Creekridge Park and how they found the house or apartment in which they currently resided. Unsurprisingly and in line with White residential responses,

affordability was important to nonwhite residents. Jerry, a retired Black homeowner who has lived in Creekridge Park for over ten years, described why he chose to live on Tyler Avenue:

Well, actually, I would have preferred to be, like, out where there's not too many houses, that type of situation. But since we moved here and, um, our daughter live here, I don't—I only have one first cousin live here, and she's a professor at [a nearby university]. And so well, we decided that—well, we needed to look at more homes because I was more interested in, like, a ranch or something, like, a brick house or something like that. But this is the type that they was building at the time, and—and the amount that we were willing to pay at that particular time, it was either too much or it was—it was too little or too much. So I did decide that we always wanted, like, a two story or something like that. And so we looked at a few houses, and then I'm just an impatient person. So we saw this one. Being since it was just the last one, and there wasn't anybody on the other side, we decided on this one. And so—so it's all right.

Angela, a Black homeowner in her late 40s, who lives on Creekridge Road, mentioned the appeal of living close to downtown:

I wanted to live close to downtown because we're from Philadelphia. I don't want to be way out in some subdivision somewhere where you can't get to anything. And then my husband works at [a nearby university], so we wanted to be close enough to work and to have my daughter in a neighborhood that was, uh, uh, diverse enough so that she can have experience with multiple issues that she should be familiar with. Uh, so it was just—it was just right for us let's put it that way.

It is unclear what Angela meant by diversity. During our interview, she seemed to equate diversity with sexual orientation. In fact, when I specifically asked her about interracial interactions in the neighborhood, she said they were very common. She then proceeded to discuss the presence of lesbian and gay couples in the neighborhood.

A few other Black, female, homeowners also mentioned diversity as a positive neighborhood trait. Their use of it, however, differed from White respondents. For example, Cheryl, who we hear from in Chapter 3, stated that she wanted a mixed race

neighborhood because homes are assigned higher values than in predominantly Black neighborhoods (Bullard 2007; Jackman and Jackman 1986). Connie, a Black female homeowner in her late fifties, also mentioned the diversity of Durham at-large as a plus, although she moved into CreekrIDGE Park when it was a predominantly White neighborhood. Connie mentioned that CreekrIDGE Park was now “just a mixed bag,” but she initially wanted to stay in the predominantly Black area where she first lived. She ended up moving to CP because it was more affordable:

That is what I liked when I moved from Chapel Hill because I had gone to school there then worked there for three years. Everything is just so homogenized, when I just moved to Durham I was like ‘this feels so good,’ because I was over by [North Carolina] Central [University]. I want to say the first week that I moved in Maya Angelou was speaking by Central. It was like the Harlem Renaissance. It felt nice being near this historically Black college and working in the park. Because that’s where I worked when I first moved to Durham. I just had a mixture of everything.

Moving into a predominantly White neighborhood, however, did not bother her since she was used to these kinds of environments (Thompson 2000).

Diversity also mattered to Lawrence and George, a North Carolina native couple who rent in the CreekrIDGE Park area. In their early thirties and late twenties, I asked them if a diverse neighborhood was something they specifically sought out. George responded:

Yeah, I mean—I’m the kind of person, I don’t like to live in any neighborhood that is any too much of one something. It’s not, like, I want to live in an all-Black neighborhood or an all-White neighborhood or anything, I like the diversity of this sort of—it feels, like, it puts everybody on better footing because I grew up in a mixed neighborhood sort of, like, from age 0 to 9, 0 to 10, sort of more similar to a neighborhood like this. And then later when I was about 9 we moved to sort of an upper middle class, all-White neighborhood and it was fine for me but I’d rather not repeat that experience in my adult life. I think, I mean, that was fine for me

growing up because—well, I didn't have a choice. But I prefer places that are mixed. Because (inaudible) mixed neighborhoods of racially mixed, (inaudible) you start getting other sorts of alternative ways of thinking so. So, even to this day it is still odder to see mixed neighborhoods than it is to see segregated neighborhoods. It's actually an interesting thing—people living, based on racial statistics living where, in what parts of the city, so they did like San Francisco, Los Angeles, New York, blah, blah, and they did it by color, and it was insane, it was just insane, everything was so racialized, so segregated. So I actually think it's still the, honestly, it's still the exception to be in a mixed neighborhood as opposed to—and as opposed to not being.

I followed up George's explanation by asking him if he thought mixed neighborhoods were the exception or the rule in Durham. He said that it was much harder to find all-White spaces in Durham. Lawrence added, "I think it's a product of Durham's past."

George concluded,

So I mean that's part of the reason why I like Durham because I can name every other city just about in North Carolina and I can point out to you the Black and White parts of town, or the Hispanic parts of town or whatever. But you'd have a much harder time doing that in Durham.

Drawing the parallel between Durham and the Creekridge Park area was also something White residents did. Lawrence and George, however, framed their fondness for Durham a bit differently than we see in Chapter 2:

George: Durham's a great place, mix of, like, sort of conservatism and liberalism, I mean it's definitely slanted more toward the liberal side but there are folks—it's not, like, is this enclave where, like, you're not going to hear any opinion that is different from yours, and I like that. I mean I may not agree with it but that voice needs to be there and it needs to—we need to continue to challenge each other, like, on all sort of levels, social and political and, you know, economic. It's also what I like about Durham is that it's sort of—there are very few neighborhoods in the city anyway that are sort of, like, these gated communities. Like most communities, even in, like, Groveland Estates, the houses are enormous and they are worth who, God knows how much money, but they back up right to our neighborhood. And everybody is just sort of okay with that, and I like that—those kind of—they call it mixed income, well it's not exactly that but it's pretty close.

Lawrence: Well I mean in the sense that you—that neither one of those groups of residents can ignore the existence of the other. Like you're always aware, you know, of either disparity but also of variety, that you are not the sole makeup of this place.

George: Yeah, you are not the only thing that defines this because other places like Raleigh you can drive around all day and not see anything that sort of challenges—like this is how

everything is, on sort of either side whether you're sort of the lower middle or upper, like you're always sort of seeing some (inaudible) it looks like this now but that doesn't mean that it's always going to look like this (inaudible) that it will always look like this for you or whatever. So I really like that, it just seems like a place that is a very—it's a mix of old stuff and a lot of brand new stuff. Durham feels less like the old South than some of the other cities in the south that I have been in that consider themselves to be south. Like Raleigh for instance, Raleigh just feels—and places like Atlanta, just really taut themselves like being really progressive and really doing new are just stuck in these really old, really entrenched sort of this is the way that things have been done kind of thing and those people are still in power, where I feel in Durham that there is—some of that mentality is certainly still there but there are enough other voices and other sort of forces working that is like wow, yeah, that is a way to do it but why don't we try it this way.

As part of Durham's queer community, Lawrence and George actively sought out "alternate...social structures" and saw Durham as a great location where "a lot of social activism" took place. Like some White residents shared as well, Durham's current state provided residents an opportunity to impart their influence. George explained:

It feels like a city that is in some sort of transition which I really like because if you're here during that transition you can shape what it will look like. Because, you know, other cities are more established or other forces are sort of controlling how they grow.

And although it was not perfect, in their eyes Durham was "pretty damn close."

Lawrence and George were the only nonwhite residents I spoke to who used aesthetic features, such as lawn care, to extrapolate residential political attitudes:

George: and so we went there [to their neighbor's party] and we was like, 'wow, we live in a gayborhood.'

Lawrence: Yeah, because, like, I knew—like, we had a hint of it because knowing that we were getting Bea's house and knowing that, like, her daughter and her daughter's partner live nearby, we're, like, 'oh okay, we will be near, you know, queer people.' But we got here and we're, like, 'oh, wow.'

Interviewer: You weren't expecting.

George: (inaudible) I mean we weren't surprised but we certainly weren't expecting.

Interviewer: Right. So it wasn't necessarily something that you were seeking out or was Betty's daughter a slight comforting?

George: Their presence was comforting.

Lawrence: Yeah, you know, I guess I don't think that we were, like, explicitly seeking that out, like, in the sense that we were looking for a neighborhood with that makeup, but I think on some level.

George: And you sort of have an idea just by looking at the houses, like, which types of neighborhoods are going to be a little bit more flexible, a little bit more quote/unquote alternative just by how the people keep up their yards. I mean you see a house with a really crazy yard that is clearly maintained somehow but not in, like, a conventional sort of (inaudible).

Lawrence: You can tell where people are less conservative.

George: Yeah, and people who basically are less concerned with conforming to what your mainstream suburban house should look like. Like, painting it purple, for instance.

Most nonwhite residents, however, did not frame their choice to live in Creekridge Park or the surrounding areas as a reflection of their politics. During our interview, I asked longtime homeowner Connie why she chose to live in Creekridge Park. Rather than list all the reasons she loved her house, the neighborhood, or Durham, she responded candidly, "I've got to live somewhere and here it is. I've got it. It's mine."

The experience of Latino/a renters in the area varied slightly from that of homeowners and other renters. Many of them explained that they chose Creekridge Park because they had to leave their previous inadequate housing. Three Latino/a respondents described cockroach infestations in their former dwellings. Martin, a painter in his early forties from Mexico, stated that he had lived in terrible situations before moving into a house on Orchid Place:

Y te digo que he vivido con varia gente, pero ha sido lo mismo; siempre, siempre lo mismo. O sea, realmente aquí el hispano, el hispano vive muy mal fíjate, Sarah. No sé por qué.

(And I'm telling you that I have lived with different people, but everything's been the same; always, always the same. In reality, the Hispanic here, the Hispanic lives very poorly. I'm not sure why.)

Similarly, Marta, a Mexican migrant in her late twenties, explained that she had to leave her house in CreekrIDGE Park because it was in terrible shape:¹

la razón de mudarnos porque no iban a pasar inspección y habían muchas cucarachas. Nosotros echábamos líquido, y vamos a decir allá, porque a mi niño, el más grande, se le metió una en su oído. Y yo iba allá que vinieran a, pero nunca vinieron. Entonces por eso nos mudamos.

(Our reason for moving was because they weren't going to pass inspection and there were a lot of cockroaches. We would put liquid [pesticide], and tell [the property manager], because my son, the older one, a cockroach crawled into his ear. And I went to them to tell them to come, but they never came. So that's why we moved.)

Latino/a residents also mentioned that they chose apartments in CreekrIDGE Park over other neighborhoods because of neighborhood-specific factors, such as noise and delinquency, in predominantly Latino/a and Black apartment complexes. Martin, who previously mentioned that Latinos in Durham do not live well, described in more detail how CreekrIDGE Park was in better shape than his previous neighborhoods:

Martin: Sí, ya como uno quiera vivir. Ajá, pero como soy pintor Sarah, pues yo agarré y la pinté bien, la arreglé, arreglé la cocina, pinté los gabinetes, los cambios—o sea lo dejé accesible, o sea bien bonito lo dejé, para vivir un poco decente.

Interviewer: Okay. ¿Y está feliz con el...?

Martin: ¡Oh sí! Una zona muy tranquila, porque mira, en las zonas donde yo he vivido son zonas que se llega viernes, sábado y domingo, y es un desastre; ruido, carros pasan—arrancones, gente tomando, más que nada hispanos es lo que vive ahí. Entonces es imposible vivir. Y dentro del lugar donde vivimos es lo mismo, o sea hay gente que vive con uno, y es gente que toma, que le gusta el escándalo, cosas así; entonces no puedes vivir tranquilo, tienes que buscarle otro lugar si quieres vivir bien.

(*Martin:* Yes, however one wants to live. Yes, but since I'm a painter, Sarah, well, I grabbed and I painted well. I fixed up, I fixed up the kitchen, painted the drawers, the—so, I left it --. I left it very nice, to live a bit decently.

¹ Marta and Diana no longer lived in CreekrIDGE Park at the time of our interview, but in an adjacent area.

Interviewer: Okay, and are you happy with it?

Martin: Oh, yes! A very tranquil area, because look, in the areas where I have lived, they are areas that when Friday, Saturday, and Sunday arrive, it's a disaster. Noise, cars passing, engines revving, people drinking, more than anything it's Hispanics that live there. Therefore, it's impossible to live. And inside the place where we live it's the same, rather the people that live with you are people that drink, that like to be scandalous, things like that. Therefore, you cannot live tranquilly. You have to look for another place if you want to live well.)

Juliana, who is Mexican and whose husband is Salvadoran, moved to CreekrIDGE Park from Virginia and relied on her sister's help to find housing in Durham. She explained that there were certain areas in Durham her sister warned her against. When I asked what specifically was the issue with these other areas she said:

Era porque nos dice que es muy mal, mal, mal lugar porque hay mucho—Ahí hay gente que—pues para pasar esa calle no sé en qué. Que a veces la gente—hay mucho moreno, que vive mucho moreno y que es malo; bueno, será verdad, ¿no? Como no conocemos, apenas venimos llegando aquí, pues nomás le dicen a uno eso. Pero este—pero ahorita ya que vivimos aquí pues ya conocemos mucho, ya conocemos muchas áreas y todo eso; pero nos gusta vivir aquí.

(It was because they told us that it is a very, very, very bad place because there are a lot of—There are people that—well to pass that street I don't know in what. Sometimes the people—there are a lot of Black people, that a lot of Black people live there and that it's bad. Well, could it be true, no? Since we weren't familiar, we had just moved here, so they just tell one that. But this—right now, now that we live here and we are familiar with many things, we know a lot of areas and all that; but we like living here.)

Juliana's stop and start quotation indicates her hesitance to share the housing advice her sister gave her, perhaps because of its basis in anti-Black prejudice. As we see later on, however, even though some Latino/as share negative views of African-Americans in Durham, their social isolation and resource and power limitations inhibit their ability to restrict or impact the life chances of African-Americans (Parrado and Flippen 2005; Portes and Rumbaut 2006).

Like Juliana, Marta and Diana found their house in Creekridge Park via a family member. Marta told me that she discovered her former apartment: “Por una prima vivía ahí, ella nos dejó el apartamento.” (Because a cousin lived there, she left us the apartment.) Hector, a fifty-year old migrant from Honduras who moved to Creekridge Park several years ago, explained how he has lived in multiple Creekridge Park apartments:

Sí, mire, nosotros –Yo–tengo los amigos con los que yo vivo ahí, ellos tenían ya el apartamento, sí, o sea que yo vivía en frente, en el otro apartamento de enfrente, todavía nos mudamos con otras personas que son de mi lugar en Honduras y entonces de ahí pero después ellos optaron por irse para el otro lado, pero yo no quise irme. Entonces me fui a vivir donde los del frente, ahí vivimos entonces ahora.

(Yes, listen, we–I–have some friends with whom I live here now, they already had the apartment, yes. Well, I lived in front, in the other apartment in front. We had moved with other people that are from my area in Honduras and then they decided to move to another area [in Durham], but I didn’t want to go. So I went to live with those from across the street, that’s where we live now.)

Overall, nonwhite residents described Creekridge Park as quiet or “tranquilo” (tranquil). Martin, a migrant from Mexico renting on Orchid Place, stated that he really enjoyed living in this neighborhood. He described it as follows:

Este barrio es muy tranquilo, demasiado tranquilo....Te digo que ni sale la gente en este barrio. Tú pasas por ahí a las 8:00 de la noche, cada quién en sus casas, no se escucha ruido.

(This neighborhood is very tranquil, extremely tranquil....I’m telling you, that the people don’t even go out in this neighborhood. You pass by at 8 o’clock at night, everyone is in their house, you don’t hear a sound.)

Cheryl, a homeowner on Pine Avenue, stated that Creekridge Park’s quiet nature is her favorite part of living there:

I like my neighborhood. I really do. I tell you the thing that I find most appealing about my neighborhood is how quiet it is. It is one of the quietest neighborhoods. It's a tranquil place. People come to my neighborhood to visit me and they are like, 'Where did this place come from? I am so surprised that-.' Like they had no reason to come through this neighborhood so they don't know about it and they are always struck by how quiet it is, which I love.

When I spoke with Mary, a longtime renter in CreekrIDGE Park, she explained that she was not familiar with the neighborhood before she moved to CP nineteen years ago, despite frequenting the area:

I didn't even know (laughs) this was, this was, this street was Colony. I didn't even know if this house was on Colony, cause when I used to walk up, down Harris Street going to the movies, I didn't pay no attention. You know, but this is a nice, quiet neighborhood. It's quiet, some people stick to their own business around here.

Connie also described CreekrIDGE Park as quiet:

Generally it's quiet. Which I like. The older I get the more, you know. I'm thinking even if you're young you don't want to hear that. Sometimes I come home from a music event, having listened to something. You know you come home and it's one o'clock. It can be disconcerting to see a bunch of cars out or whatever. People loitering or lingering. But I don't see stuff like that much.

The emphasis on CreekrIDGE Park's quiet nature was also a finding in my interviews with White residents and the survey responses, as I discussed in Chapter 2.

Neighbors, Friends, and Others

The relationships nonwhite residents had with other CreekrIDGE Park residents ranged in closeness, reciprocity, and warmth. The three main types of relationships were neighborship, friendship, and ambivalent/antagonistic relations. Neighborship encompasses relationships where neighbors greeted each other, but did not spend time together (Allan 1989). Friendship includes residents who spent intentional social time

with each other (Rude 2009). Ambivalent relationships included neighbors who did not greet each other or neighbors who had negative encounters with their neighbors in the past, but whose relationships were no longer antagonistic. Antagonistic relationships were those residents characterized with interneighbor conflicts and other negative issues. Since ambivalent relationships were formerly antagonistic, I analyzed both categories together. Why some relationships were friendly and others were antagonistic is outside the scope of this project, although my sample indicates that antagonistic relationships among nonwhites included issues of power and exploitation involving non-Latino men and Latino/as.

Neighborhood

Most residents seemed to have neighborly relations with their neighbors. Across all racial groups, most people I interviewed said they at least greeted their neighbors when they saw each other (Horton 1995, 46). Figures 10 and 11 illustrate this trend. Most survey respondents indicated the statements that best described their relationships with their neighbors were “We say hello when we see each other” or “We have conversations outside our homes when we see each other.” Since these characterizations are based on the neighborhood context, I describe them as neighborhood, rather than friendship (see Chapter 3 for my discussion of friendship and neighborhood).

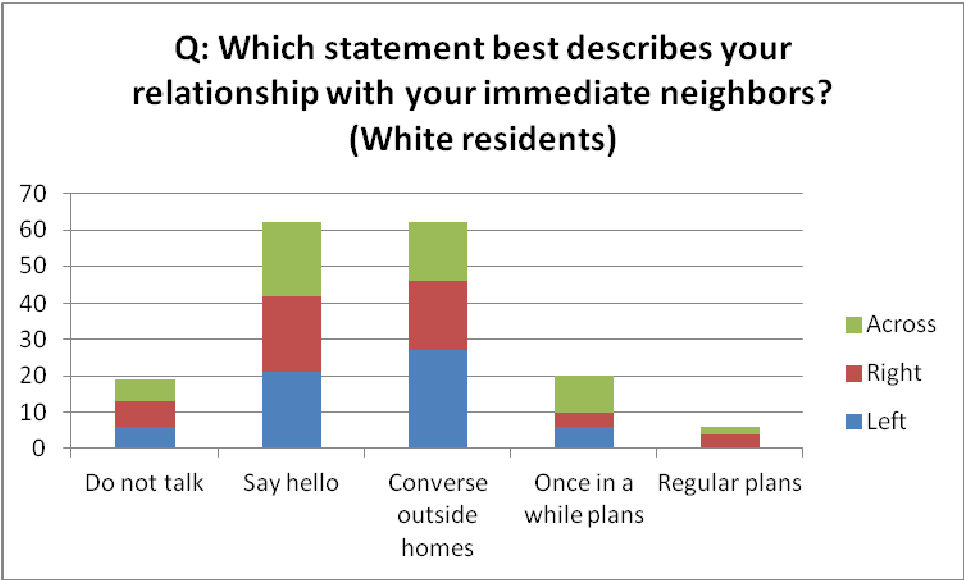


Figure 10: Neighbor-to-neighbor relationships for White residents

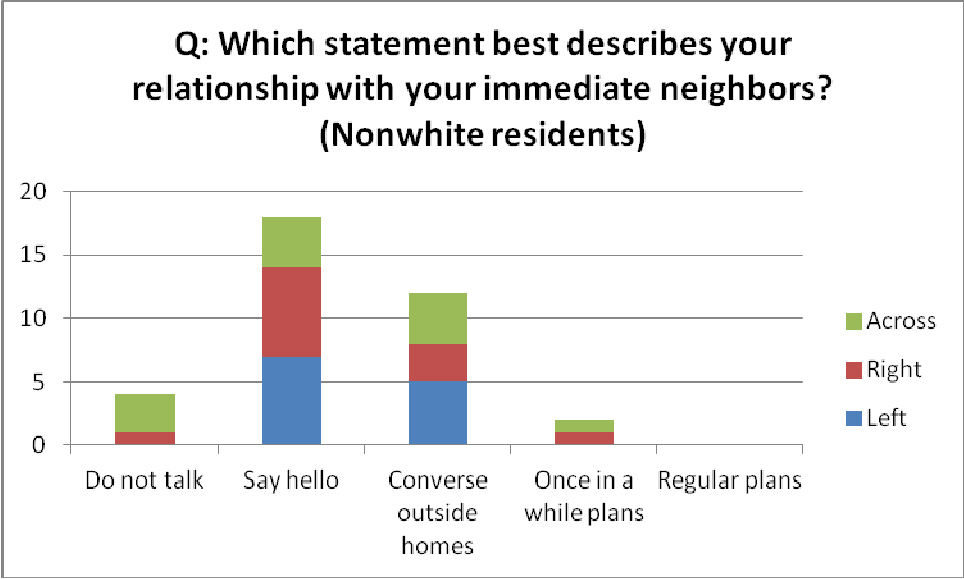


Figure 11: Neighbor-to-neighbor relationships for nonwhite residents

Most Latino/a respondents indicated that they thought Creekridge Park was a very friendly place. They based their characterization of friendliness on greetings, as very few Latino/a residents engaged in full conversations with neighbors. For example,

when I asked Juliana, who rented on Pine Avenue, if she spent time with any neighbors, she responded:

Pues no, solo con la tía la que vive allí en frente, y a la par vive también un tío mío. Solo con ellos platico y todo, solo ellos.

(Well no, only with the aunt, the one that lives here in front and an uncle of mine lives next door. I only chat with them, only them.)

She also revealed that the basis of her interactions with other neighbors were “saludos” (greetings). I asked her if there were neighbors who spoke Spanish and she explained that her neighbors’ Spanish was limited to “Hola” (Hello) and “¿Cómo estás?” (How are you) and, therefore, so were their conversations (Maly 2005). Hector’s experience echoes Juliana’s; as a renter in CreekrIDGE Park, he stated that his neighbors were generally friendly, but there were limits to their interactions:

Hector: Por ejemplo, las señoras que viven a la par ahí, -‘Hey...[Inentendible]’-. Y yo digo: - ‘Bueno,’ medio nos saludamos. Ella tiene unos perros y muchas veces me cuenta las historias de los perros y así ¿verdad? Pero, no es así pues, nos saludamos ¿verdad? Y con los otros de allá lo mismo, bueno es la gente muy amable, bueno, para otra gente que no habla ellos, ah. Y los del frente pues también, así están.

Interviewer: Okay, se saludan pero no hablan mucho.

Hector: Pero no, no.

Interviewer: ¿Y te hablan en inglés o en español?

Hector: En inglés, ellos son americanos.

(*Hector:* For example, the ladies that live next door there, -‘Hey...(inaudible)’-. And I say, ‘good,’ we halfway greet each other, she has dogs and a lot of the time she tells me stories about her dogs, and like that, right? Well, it’s not that way, but we greet each other, right? And with the others from over there the same, the people are very friendly, and there are others who don’t speak. And those directly across, those also are like that.

Interviewer: Okay, you greet each other, but you don’t say much.

Hector: Well, no, no.

Interviewer: And they speak to you in English or Spanish?

Hector: In English, they’re American.)

Martin, who lives on Orchid Place also identified similar practices, which provided some evidence that this mode of interaction between Latino/as and nonLatino/as is normative in CP (Maly 2005). The way his White neighbors interacted with Martin pleased him very much, particularly since he saw these short interactions as a reflection of CreekrIDGE Park's tranquil nature:

Martin: Aquí en mi vecindario toda la gente nos saludan.

Interviewer: ¿Sí?

Martin: De verdad. Todos, mis vecinos—Como ven que somos muy tranquilos también nosotros, no hacemos ruido—Nosotros nos hicimos a la forma de ellos, ¿me entiendes? Aquí en este vecindario no hay escándalo, no hay carros con volumen—el estéreo a todo volumen, no hay borrachos afuera de las, de las yarditas; y nosotros nos hicimos igual. Como somos nada más nosotros, bien tranquilos; nos tomamos unas cervezas tranquilos, hasta ahí; y nosotros nos hicimos como ellos. Entonces por eso ahí todo mundo nos ve: “Hola, hola, hola”. Hasta ahí. Sí, cómo ves.

Interviewer: Okay. ¿Y eso ha sido desde el principio que todo el mundo lo saluda y los trata bien?

Martin: Desde que llegué ha sido así digo, no cambia.

Interviewer: ¿Y ustedes tienen conversaciones? ¿Usted habla inglés?

Martin: Hablo muy poco, muy poco. Pero en este vecindario casi no hay mucha conversación, todos en su casa. O sea, llegan, te ve: “Hola, hola”, y a su casa.

Interviewer: Y se meten a la casa.

Martin: No hay nada que conversemos, no. No, nada de eso.

Interviewer: ¿Y cómo le parece eso?

Martin: No, perfecto.

Interviewer: ¿Perfecto?

Martin: Sí—Sí, sí, para mí está genial. Imagínate, para qué quiero vivir en un lugar donde no pueda dormir, donde te vas a dormir y ya está el escándalo, que el vecino está haciendo escándalo; mejor así, está perfecto.

(Martin: Here in my neighborhood, everyone says hello to me.

Interviewer: Yeah?

Martin: For real. Everyone, my neighbors—Since they see that we are also tranquil, we don't make noise—we conformed to their way of acting, you understand? Here in this neighborhood nothing scandalous happens, there aren't loud cars—the stereo at full volume, there aren't drunks outside in the, in the yards; and we conformed. Since it's only us, we're tranquil; we drink some beers tranquilly, that's it; and we made ourselves like them. Therefore, everyone sees us and says “Hello, hello, hello.” That's it.

Interviewer: Okay, and have people been greeting you and treating you well since the beginning?

Martin: Since we arrived it's been that way, no changes.

Interviewer: And do you guys have conversations? Do you speak English?

Martin: I speak very little, very little. But in this neighborhood there's hardly any conversation, everyone's in their house. So they come home, they see you, they say "Hello, hello," and to their house.

Interviewer: And they go inside their house.

Martin: There is nothing we talk about, no. No, none of that.

Interviewer: And what do you think about that?

Martin: No, it's perfect.

Interviewer: Perfect?

Martin: Yes, yes, yes, for me it's genius. Imagine, why would I want to live in a place where I can't sleep, where you're going to sleep and there's scandalous behavior, your neighbor is acting scandalously. Better this way, it's perfect.)

Martin's assessment of Creekridge Park is directly related to his previous housing experience. He appreciated these limited interactions because they took place in a quieter environment, free from drunkenness and loud cars.

Cheryl, a Black female homeowner on Pine Avenue, indicated that she had hopes that more substantial neighborhood interactions would be a part of her life in Creekridge Park:

Cheryl: People were not as friendly as I had hoped and thought that they would be or at least, this image I had in my head of what friendly would be like...Despite the fact that I didn't have a lot of relationship with these folks, if they saw somebody walking around your neighborhood—like, I might have gotten somebody to come and do something at my house, but I wasn't here, they would come over and ask them questions or they would call the police. And so there was a way that, even though we weren't chummy, we weren't talking to each other—and some of them I had met—they in fact did look out for neighbors if there was folks looking around your house and you weren't here.

Interviewer: Right. Okay. Okay. So it's still—you still sort of had some relationships even though it wasn't exactly what you expected.

Cheryl: I had people who looked out for my house. I didn't have any relationships in this neighborhood for the most part.

Cheryl mentioned that she and some of her elderly neighbors had positive relationships. As she puts it, however, these relationships were “purely based on support and intervention in crisis.” Cheryl checked on her elderly neighbors when there was a storm or some other severe weather:

They would speak, you know, if they happened to be outside, but they were very rarely outside. And so that, at least, was some semblance of what I was looking for, but it wasn't even like they were in a position to reciprocate. It just was a obligation that I felt as a neighbor to them.

Cheryl felt an obligation to them as a neighbor and because of their age (Woldoff 2011, 99). Although she acknowledged the neighbor role has obligations, she also saw a clear distinction between friendship and neighborship. When I asked Cheryl if she had any friends in the neighborhood she responded:

Absolutely not. Absolutely not. I think, I think too much of the term friend to, to, to use it lightly. So I absolutely would not say that I have any friends in this neighborhood, absolutely not.

Lawrence, a renter on Colony Street, also believed there was a difference in friendship and neighborship:

It's not really a priority to me [to be friends with my neighbors]. I tend to structure my life socially in ways that are deliberate. Deliberate in some ways and then I actively resist other sorts of things....Yeah. Like I-I guess I have, like, two sort of, like, places where I sort of resist the inclination to, like, automatically make friends, and one of those-like, we have, like, you know, like, met and become familiar and have become, like, friendly to people, like, in the neighborhood, it has never for me been, like, a rule that, like, well you live these near all of these people so you have to become friends with them. So I'm also that way sort of, like, in the workplace, like, it's the fact that we, like, see each other for, like, 40 hours a week does not mean that we are friends, you know, like, friends are people I spend my free time with. So yeah for me it hasn't been a priority, but also I don't know just because, like, there's-because we have other social artistic recreational stuff going on, but it's just sometimes kind of hard to try (inaudible) to have time for all of that.

During our interview, Mary, a renter on Colony Street, described the different types of relationships she had with her next door neighbors:

Like I say, I, Luke he talk anytime I talk. Yesterday I was talking to his wife cause she out there, she and her dogs out there, you know, getting enough exercise, you know, their yard's fenced in, you know, so they all stay in the yard and I was up there getting stuff um, cleaning up my yard, you know, getting sticks, you know, when the storm come up they be blowing you know, cause my brother say when he cut the grass, he thought that his mower, he don't want to, you know, mess his mower up, so I was up there doing that yesterday and I was talking to her a while. I was out there and stuff, you know, so, you know, we have a pretty good, you know, I mean they are pretty good neighbors. You know, cause my neighbor that lived there before them, he was a lawyer, he was all right, too, cause he stopped one day and gave me a ride up the street when I walked, but he didn't do too much talking like they did. He wasn't, he wasn't as friendly, although he still, he was nice enough to stop and give me a ride, but he still wasn't as friendly as they were, you know, he wasn't as friendly. But, you know, I mean he like was a doctor, he stayed home, he wasn't home that much to be friend- (coughs), cause I mean, he was on the go all the time. But he was friendly, his kid was friendly. His son, you know, he would come and visit, whoever would come to visit, they would speak, you know, they had good manners, you know, but he just wasn't home that much.

Friendship

Many White homeowners spoke with me about the friends they had in their neighborhood, more so than their nonwhite counterparts. Some White residents, such as Seth, did perceive a difference between friendship and neighborship, as I indicated in Chapter 3.

Some nonwhite residents did indicate that they were friends with their neighbors. Only twenty five percent of the nonwhite survey respondents (N=4) indicated that they had a close friend who lived in Creekridge Park. Over fifty percent of the White survey respondents (N=33) stated that they had a close friend who lived in the neighborhood. Interestingly, of residents who claimed that they had close friends, a

larger percentage of nonwhite residents than White residents indicated that their close friends lived in their neighborhood, as shown in Figure 12.

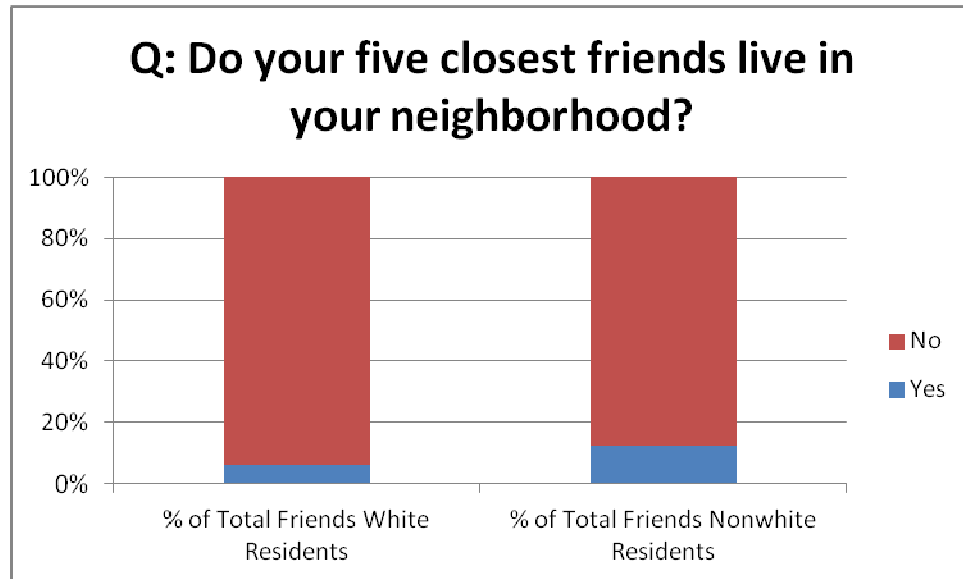


Figure 12: Neighborhood Friendship Data (Survey)

My interview data included a few accounts of nonwhite residents with neighborhood-based friendships. Connie, for example, lives on Pine Avenue and got together with her nextdoor neighbors, Lilith and Frank:

Like I said my friends Trent, (inaudible), Frank and Lilith—on a semi-regular basis we’ll, most of the time I’ll email them something and give them a heads up, ‘I’m thinking about doing this, are you interested?’ There have been times where I might be sitting out and they might say ‘oh were fixing to, —’ they’re heading some place and, if I feel like it, I’ll go with them. We’ve done that a few times. So that kind of interaction has happened. Mainly just with them. So I don’t know what other people on the street do.

She even described one scenario in which she stayed at their house for a week when her own house lost power after a storm. During our interview, Connie described how she

befriended Lilith and Frank. It seems Connie shared a connection with Lilith and Frank before they even moved next door:

Yeah, well, Frank and Lilith are people that have been there the least time that live right below me (inaudible). When they first moved in, I used to see her but I didn't see her face, I only saw her back. She didn't seem to want to be seen so I didn't, I'm not that outgoing so I wasn't one to go knocking on the door and say hi. She looked like she wanted to be in her world and that's fine because I like to be in my world. So you know I didn't say anything but one of my musician friends said that his girlfriend's cousin had moved in the neighborhood and was probably close to where I lived. But he didn't know where they lived. Anyway it turned out I knew Lilith because I used to be in a hiking club, or whatever you want to call it that every Saturday we would meet somewhere and hike. A lot of times we would come here for lunch or we would go somewhere after the walk. So I had met her but then I hadn't been in that walking group for a couple of years and so I never saw her anymore. But then when she moved in I didn't know that was her. So, because she didn't really ever look, because we didn't look at each other. So then she got a piece of mail one day and she goes I know that name. So that's when she and her husband came over and it turns out he was the cousin of the musician and I thought you got to be kidding. So we just started doing things. They were coming out to some of the music things that the musician friend of mine who is a sax player. So they came to some of the things I was doing, you know, different things. Sometimes we'll play Scrabble. We haven't done that in a while, but we would do that when I was down at their house. They would play Scrabble by candle light or something because the power was out. Then they would come over and play on my porch, we just haven't had a chance to do that. Not too long ago we did go to (inaudible) for dinner because a musician I know is performing there. We had a nice dinner there. You know we'd get our little outings here and there but I don't like to try to suggest 'let's do this or that' because you know they have things that they do separately and together.

With this explanation, we see that Lilith and Connie were friends because of their previous, non-neighborhood connections. Their proximity to each other provided support for their friendship, but the catalyst was their hiking club association. The impact of Connie's connection to Frank's family was also important to consider (Adams and Allan 1998). This type of neighborhood relationship was also common among White homeowners. In Chapter 3, I discussed the impact of sharing neighborhood house listings with one's social networks to increase the presence of like-minded people in the

neighborhood. The new additions that current residents already knew were likely to become neighborhood-based friends. Again, the proximity may have helped to strengthen the relationship, but some pre-existing connection assured their compatibility. These type of pre-CP connections may help explain why almost half of the survey respondents said they had a close friend in the neighborhood.

Ambivalent and Antagonistic Relations

As I mentioned at the beginning of the chapter, ambivalent relationships were those where no greetings took place between neighbors or where formerly antagonistic relationships shifted to neutral territory. Mary, who had positive relationships with a few of her neighbors, described her displeasure with her new neighbors on Colony Street. She stated a couple of times during the interview that this new couple was not as friendly as Luke and Emma, her other neighbors, because they did not say hello or speak to her when she and they were outside at the same time. She was clearly unhappy about it, although she did remark towards the end of the interview that they were not doing anything harmful:

All my other neighbors are all right, 'cause one thing about those [new] people, they might not associate with nobody, but they don't do har-, mean and hateful things to me, I mean, to nobody. 'Cause they tend to their business and some people like that, they's like being to theyself, you know, like I say, Luke and them about their age. All of them probably the same age range, so mean that's what they associate theyself with, you know, that's why I, they, be friends cause they probably have a lot more in common than they have with the rest of us. So that I can understand, too, and they don't too much in common with the Camerons, 'cause they're pretty old and they probably don't have nothing in common with me, cause I'm not, you know, not they age. But see Luke and Emma, they probably have a lot in common with them, so that's what they, they associate with them. You know, get along good with them

cause you know, cause they probably about the same age and they have a lot of, they probably think like on the same level about things, you know, so I can, I can understand that, you know.

In this explanation, Mary pointed to age differences to rationalize why her new neighbors did not speak to her, but did socialize with Emma and Luke. The survey and interview data indicate, however, that very few of my respondents did not speak to their neighbors. Mary's reaction to their behavior, therefore, was a clear indicator that this interaction was not desirable for Mary and potentially non-normative.

I did encounter one instance of a formerly negative relationship becoming more neutral between Lawrence and George and their Latino/a neighbors:

Lawrence: Next door are the (inaudible), Rodrigo and Juana, and he works in construction and she's an advocate for the Latino community. So we had a rocky start with them and you're not into them much.

Interviewer: May I ask why? You don't have to answer.

Lawrence: Well that's why we no longer have a cat. One of their dogs got and killed the cat.

Interviewer: Oh wow, okay.

George: They're not the most responsible pet owners, let's say that. Other than that they can be halfway okay sometimes. Individually I think they're fine, but there seems to be other people so they have at least two children, two school-age children living there, but there are often other people there, too, and I don't know if they live there or if they work there or what, and they have also other adult children as well. I don't know if they live there, work there, or renting rooms in there or what, so there's—and I don't really to get into it, I don't care to really know what exactly is happening over there. But there's a variety of people who spend considerable amount of time there. So that's them.

George's comments about the actual event were minimal and most of his response was about how many people lived next door. The number of Latino/a residents living in particular homes was a trope a few non-Latino/as called upon during their interviews. Although it may be true that several people lived next door and he was not sure who lived there, the connection George drew between the number of residents and their roles

as pet owners was unclear. This trope seemed to be a way to discredit or negatively judge the Latino/a household in question.

Over the course of our conversation, Jerry, a homeowner on Tyler Avenue, discussed his run-ins with the residents of a rental property behind his home. His interactions with his neighbors culminated in him firing his gun in the direction of the rental property:

Well, actually—actually, I stopped going to the NFS [Neighbors For Safety] meeting when they—when—when I fired my weapon in the city. That’s what I did because that’s when it were real bad. And I was getting a lot of threats. And the only thing I was doing, I wasn’t doing it—the good people can hear what I did, but I did it for a message to the fools that was threatening me saying they was going to kill me. And they’re going to shoot me, and they’re going to do all this. I just let them know you got the wrong one because I’m not going to be a sitting little duck here. But that’s when I got in trouble when the policemen came. They came, I didn’t run and hide. I was sitting out on my—my car when they came in. He asked me whether I did it. I said yeah. And I said you know why I did it? Because every time the bad guys do it or whatever, you don’t do nothing. I’ve been telling you all for the last—what, for the longest, you never arrested anybody. But look who you arresting now. You arresting me. I said you got that right. They sure did. They—they arrested me. Let me see, they didn’t—they didn’t arrest me. They took my weapons. But I had to go to answer the charges—I got, um, letters from the neighbors and, you know, I got letters from like four—four of my neighbors, and they explained look, the only thing the man do is how to keep the neighborhood safe. It’s unfortunate that he went about it the way he did, but sometimes, things happen. But I did it on purpose to actually to prove a point to bring light on what’s going on because look what you—you know, you—you—you straight to my house, which then you’re supposed to be. But you supposed to be straight and get the real bad guy. The one that’s out there wreaking havoc. So I made that statement so—I didn’t make that statement again because it cost me like I think it was maybe about \$500, \$600, \$700, you know, plus, um, they gave me a no bail because I have no—a no bail has been—been—been—when you have no record, and you’ve never done anything. You know, no felonies or anything like—still do that again. You know, I said I just won’t do that again, and I haven’t done it again.

Jerry explained that things in the neighborhood were currently quieter and the residents who caused trouble before no longer lived there. This was the only example of a truly antagonistic altercation involving any of the nonwhite respondents and the only

interaction with a respondent that included gunfire. Multiple times throughout his interview, Jerry made the statement “I’m a man” or a variation thereof (e.g., “I’m a grown man;” “I’m a Black man”) to explain his behavior. His interactions with his neighbors can be read as masculine performances, or as Schrock and Schwalbe argue, manhood acts (2009). They explain that “Manhood acts are...strategically adapted to the realities of resource availability, individual skill, local culture, and audience expectations” (284). Taking this information, we can begin to unpack Jerry’s behavior and his explanation that shooting the apartment complex was the only way to get his neighbors and the police’s attention. Frustrated by the lack of response from the police and his neighbors, shooting his gun was a strategy Jerry adapted from the resources available to him (Woldoff 2011).

Lastly, although they said they never had any specific conflicts with their non-Latino/a neighbors, some Latino/a residents described the general political environment in regards to immigration and Latino/a migrants in the US as antagonistic. For example, Diana and Marta framed the presence of Latino/as in the US as fundamentally hostile:

Diana: Pues nunca van a aceptar los hispanos aquí (risas).

Marta: Aquí estamos a la fuerza.

Diana: De aquí lo quieren sacar a uno como sea.

(*Diana:* Well, they’re never going to accept Hispanics here (laughs).

Marta: We’re here by force.

Diana: They want to remove you from here however they can.)

Martin also explained that being undocumented complicated neighbor-to-neighbor issues. Although he stated that he would call the police if he ever had an issue

with a neighbor, it was clear that he saw this as the proper behavior for American neighborhoods. Framing it as the correct way to act as a CreekrIDGE Park resident, I got the impression Martin wanted to be perceived as different from the majority of Latinos in Durham because he knew how to act appropriately in the US context. He did, however, indicate his concern that calling the police puts undocumented migrants in a particularly vulnerable situation:

En México tenemos la costumbre de arreglar nosotros mismos nuestros problemas, y hay mucho pleito por eso. Y haz de cuenta que tú empiezas el pleito, y termina tu hermana, termina tu mamá, termina—luego ya terminan los hombres, y son golpes. Y aquí como es otra educación, yo he visto que aquí para todo llaman a la policía. No sé si yo tengo—un error, pero yo siempre veo que si hay un problema llaman luego, luego al policía, el policía arregla, ve que cosa, y lo arregla—Porque imagínate, imagínate si yo me pongo a discutir ahorita con—por ejemplo con un mollo de—perdón, con un moreno; ni yo le voy a entender, ni él me va a entender, y puede ser que se enoje él o me enoje yo. Entonces el que la lleva de perder a veces somos nosotros por ser ilegales, porque hoy a como están las cosas mejor así. Pero yo pienso que si tuviéramos un problema, pues yo pienso que con el policía; pues ya el policía verá.

(In Mexico we have the custom of fixing our own problems and there are a lot of fights because of this. So you start the fight and your sister finishes it, your mom finishes it, afterwards the men finish and there's punches thrown. And here it's a different education and I have seen that here they call the police for everything. I don't know if I have [made]—an error, but I also see that if you have a problem they call, the police, the police fixes, they see what happened and they fix it. Because imagine, imagine if I go ahead and start arguing with—for example, a *mollo* of—excuse me, a Black person. I'm not going to understand him and he's not going to understand me and it could be that I annoy him or he annoys me. And so we [undocumented Latino/as] are the ones who have something to lose sometimes because we're illegal, and so because of the way things are today better this way. But I think that if I had a problem, well I think that with a policeman, well the police would take care of it.)

Although Martin acknowledged the involvement of the police as potentially jeopardizing for him and other undocumented Latino/as, he still insisted that he would call the police if he had a problem. Based on our interview, I am left wondering if he would actually call the police if he had an issue or if he was merely saying so because he

believed it was the appropriate way to act in this predominantly White, *tranquilo* neighborhood. Hector echoed Martin concerns about escalating things with the police, but, unlike Martin, Hector concluded that he would never call the police as a result:

Si yo le llamo la policía a las señoras, ¿qué cree usted que puede pasar?...Cuando yo cometo un error por mínimo que sea, ella me va a llamar la policía y a mí no me va a gustar, entonces yo no le hago algo que no quiero que me hagan a mí. Eso está muy bien así, sí.

(If I call the police on those ladies [whose dogs bark loudly], what do you think will happen? When I do something wrong, however small, she will call the police and I won't like that, so I don't do anything that I don't want them to do to me. That is very good how it is, yeah.)

Hector's sentiment acknowledged the power differential between native Whites and immigrant Latino/as and the unintended harm that these conflicts can cause Latino/as (Fennelly 2008).

Diversity, Integration, and Racism

The meanings of residential integration and neighborhood diversity are central to this project. A person's racial-ethnic standpoint structures how she interprets the world, so it is not surprising that there were differences in how White and nonwhite residents experienced Creekridge Park (Andersen 2003; Mills 1997). As I discussed in Chapter 2, White residents may have acknowledged inequality in an abstract manner, but they rarely saw themselves as actors with racial privilege or power. Class factors mitigated their racial privilege; even though they were homeowners, Creekridge Park was not Groveland Estates. There were other White homeowners better off than them. In addition, they saw their decision to live in Creekridge Park as solidification of their

progressive politics, barring them from engaging in any inequitable actions (Chalmers 1997).

In contrast, many of the nonwhite residents I spoke with mentioned a negative event or situation in their neighborhood life that they viewed as a result of their marginal racial-ethnic status. In this section, I present the experiences of nonwhite Creekridge Park residents in regards to race and racism. Since nonwhite residents did not interpret the integrated spaces of Creekridge Park in the same ways, I present the stories of Black and Latino/a residents separately to facilitate the analysis in this section

Black Residential Experiences

Cheryl, a Black homeowner who has lived in the area for several years, stated that she specifically sought out a racially mixed neighborhood when she purchased her home. Her reasons, however, were not the same as those White residents gave:

Cheryl: I was very clear that I wanted a racially mixed neighborhood. But the reason I wanted a racially mixed neighborhood was because of what I understood about the depressed values of homes in all Black neighborhoods. But it was very important that I not be in a all White neighborhood because—and one of the reasons I'm interested in your topic is because when I purchased my home, I specifically was interested—this was an unarticulated interest—I was specifically interested in recapturing the kind of neighborhood that I had when I grew up, a neighborhood where there were close relationships, where everybody knew each other, where people spoke to each other when they were in their yard, where people took care and looked out for each other, looked out for each other's children, 'cause that's what I grew up with. And I had been living, up until I bought this house, in apartment communities. It was closer to that in my last apartment before I moved here because they were duplexes, as opposed to those multi-family dwellings that I had been accustomed to. So what I said to him was it was important to me for it to be racially mixed. And I kept saying to him, "Are you sure this is racially mixed?" Because all of my immediate neighbors were White. But it wasn't until later that I discovered that the people of color that he was referring to were at either end of the street. Most of my immediate neighbors were White, but this was constituted as a racially mixed neighborhood because of the people in racial, different racial and ethnic groups in Harris Street and at the top of Pine Avenue going into Cardinal Street. I

think that's basically what I was looking for. I mean, I had some characteristics specific to the house that I was looking for, but in terms of racial makeup, that was kind of a prerequisite for me.

Interviewer: Okay. So he sort of couched it as racially mixed. Is that—would you have used that term then?

Cheryl: I said I wanted racially mixed, even though since then I am politically conscious of the fact that race is a myth, it's a political construct. I mean, I'm real clear about that. But I'm saying whether you call it race or ethnic mix, I specifically said that to him because of my concern about the value of my home being retained and increasing, as opposed to what happens, because of an industry, not because there's anything wrong with folks' houses, in single race, particularly African-American communities. Even I understood politically that even residents of all African-American neighborhoods pay higher insurance costs and so because I had that understanding, it was important to me making my first big, you know, and one of probably my largest kind of investment, that I make a choice that meant that I could try to mitigate those circumstances.

Interviewer: Right, right, okay. So do you think this neighborhood is racially mixed? Does that fit the bill for what you wanted?

Cheryl: This is absolutely a racially and ethnically mixed neighborhood and it is more so now than it was then.

In our conversation, Cheryl revealed the economic interests that underlain her decision to look for a racially mixed neighborhood. Because of her position as a Black woman in our racialized system, Cheryl had a different set of concerns than her White counterparts (Bonilla-Silva 2009; Mills 1997). Although economic concerns fueled her decision and the decisions of her White neighbors, she weighed her choice to move into CreekrIDGE Park against social costs (Bullard 2007). Unlike her White neighbors who, as I discussed in Chapter 2, had a lot to gain socially in this particular white habitus, the lack of social cohesion in CreekrIDGE Park disappointed Cheryl. She wanted to replicate the neighborhood-based social relationships she had when she was growing up in all-Black neighborhoods, but CreekrIDGE Park had not met her expectations:

I thought that I was unique. I thought that the effort to recapture my childhood neighborhood was a sole quest of mine. I have talked to tons of people now who feel the same way. And we

have concluded that there are a lot of reasons that neighborhoods are not like that. And there are tons of social things that have happened in our society that have contributed to it, everything from the racial mixing of our neighborhoods—I mean, those were solely African-American communities we lived in and they were relationships that people had inherited usually because your grandparents had been friends with people in the neighborhood, your parents were friends with people in the neighborhood. You ultimately were going to be friends with people and look out for people and have certain kinds of relationships because of the history of relationship. We don't have that in neighborhoods where we find ourselves locating at this point and because we don't have the level of segregation in all areas of the city. There are areas that are still racially segregated, but even those are not really the same. I don't remember, frankly, when I grew up having multi-family dwellings in my neighborhood. You have transient neighbors when you have apartment complexes in your community. And so by nature of that being transitory folks that are coming and going, you don't have the opportunity to build the kind of relationships. We live in a university town. Some of our folks that are neighbors in our communities are students. By their very nature, unless they just happened to be real friendly 'cause they come from friendly neighborhoods, they tend—actually, I shouldn't say that. I mean, I don't want to generalize 'cause God knows some of the nicest people I've met are students, you know, but I'm still saying the transient nature of students means you don't get the long term relationship with the folks who are in your neighborhood. So, I mean, there are a number of reasons that I think contribute to that. The fact that people are working so much. I mean, when I think about how much I travel and how much I work, that's part of the reason I don't have time to build relationships with folks in my neighborhood, even though that's something I desire. I speak to folks when I pass by, but really spending time getting to know people—the fact that I walk now, there are times when I have had an opportunity to meet people that I otherwise would not have, who are really nice, but, you know, we meet each other, we talk at that point and then we might not talk again for who knows how long. And they are very nice people.

Cheryl speculated that part of the issue with a lack of social relationships related to increasing neighborhood diversity, echoing Robert Putnam's recent work (2007). Unlike Putnam, however, Cheryl viewed race relations within the context of power and privilege:

I think all of us, by virtue of living in a racist, classist culture, that means that people of color have less privilege and less access to power than Whites do in this culture, that there are all kinds of reasons why we all are prejudice. But Whites have, by virtue of being in economic, political and social power, having positions of social and political power, by virtue of the fact that they control all of the institutions in our culture, even when you are working class or poor Whites, because Whites control the system, you cash in on that privilege and you have power, whether or not you recognize it, whether or not you use it, you have power. And so it is your

prejudice and your power that enables you to then marginalize and deprive people of color of privilege and opportunities and power that they ought to equally have access to. But because of your power and privilege, you get to control. And I'm saying that based on the fact that all of our institutions are primarily controlled by White men, but Whites have that power. But even when you look at the highest office in the country, the presidency, the President is a Black man. He don't have the power to do nothing outside of a corporate, economic, capitalist structure that is not allowed by the folks who actually have the power. And so I don't think about the fact that somebody has a position that is supposed to be associated with power with real power. I'm talking about people who have real power or who get the benefit of that real power and who is in control of that power. So power plus prejudice equals racism to me. And there are a number of other -ism's 'cause I think the same way about class and all those other -ism's.

Cheryl identified the importance of power and privilege in structuring one's life chances as well as the limited social interactions in her neighborhood. As a result, because of this racist and classist society, Cheryl, unlike her White counterparts, had to choose between the kind of neighborhood social life she wanted and retaining her home value (Bullard 2007).

Cheryl is not the only resident of color who shared her views on racial inequality with me. Jerry, who we heard from earlier, lamented the current state of racial affairs both broadly and locally. Days before our interview in his home, the workers of Stella's Café, a neighborhood gourmet café, accused Jerry of panhandling. I held several interviews with White residents at Stella's. It is a white neighborhood space White residents frequently cite as a favorite neighborhood spot. Their prices also served to attract the middle-class clientele they desired.² Jerry recounted his experience:

² For example, when I set-up an interview with a White resident who I did not know lived on a fixed income, I suggested we meet at Stella's since it was relatively close to his home. He responded that he could not afford to meet there for lunch. After I told him "lunch is on me," he

So that's why I just sit here and take it easy and—and that's—that's the way I manage. But it—it's—it's just terrible. It's terrible. I'm—I'm 60-years-old, and I—I'm visited with the same crap that I went through all my life, and it hurts. It really hurts, and there ain't nothing I can do about it because even in the—in—in my neighborhood, take Stella's [Café], for instance, up here. To me, I think they're prejudiced toward Black people. I see Black people there. But if you don't fit in that whatever they call a good Black person, then you got a problem because actually, one day last week in particular, I was walking by with a lot of people. And, um, I spotted some people talking. They had dogs, then, I owned some dogs like that at one particular time. And I was just speaking to them. All of a sudden, I'm a panhandler. Do you understand what I'm saying? You're a panhandler, and people tell him no, he—he didn't ask for money or anything. But all of a sudden, I'm a panhandler...I'm not a panhandler, that's just what they thought. They came out of accusing me of asking people for money. Maybe because of something—a lot of times, like, I'm a disabled vet. A lot of times, I wear my old uniform. That's me. Do you understand what I'm saying? But panhandling? No. You're wrong. I even went by the next day, and I said I have to speak to, you know, a manager because I think it's wrong to just—just categorize a person and—and call them different things and in front of a lot of people. I'm a human being. I pay taxes. I own my own home. I'm buying my own home. I don't have any record. But when you come—come to me like that, I was raised in the '50s. And it come back. And that's what it was. Because actually, the next day, when I'm trying to mediate and—and—just give me an apology. Police told me they don't have to give you an apology. As a matter of fact, if they don't want you on their property, then you got no business on the property. I was going well, what happened to, like, as long as you not breaking the law, and you want to be served, and a person look at you and say well, I don't want to serve you, and I don't have to serve you then something is wrong with that. And that's the truth.

Jerry continued:

Jerry: But I've been here 10 years, like I said. And I notice. No Black people. And that tells me either Black people don't like the food, or they make Black people uncomfortable. Actually, when I asked to speak to the manager the other day, they sent me to a Black guy. I don't even think he was the manager.

Interviewer: How did that go?

Jerry: You Black, you go to—I went. I said I'd like to speak to the manager or somebody in charge. They direct me to a Black guy. The only Black guy that was in there.

Interviewer: Um-hum. Um-hum. How did—how was that—how was that response? What did he say? Was he helpful?

Jerry: Oh, he—he said well, I will speak to them. She's not in today. But I said look, all I want is an apology or something because—because something wrong about this. There's something

was happy to meet there. For more on how I negotiated race, class, and gender in my interview locations, please see Chapter 1.

just definitely wrong about this. What did I do? I'm still waiting to see what I did. I spoke to the—to the owner, the manager, the owner. He came over that day. He didn't know who I was. But when I went there, and I was talking to the Black guy, he said you were here yesterday? And I said yes. I was the person that was here yesterday, and I'm just trying to figure out what's going on. He said you have to leave the place. You got to leave the premises.

Later on in the interview, Jerry explained his frustration with the contemporary way people discuss race in America:

well, it's like this. We're like—blacks might say things to each other, which that's normal. You understand what I'm talking about? We all the same. You understand? I'm just that type of person that I would tell you something that I would say to your face that I would say behind your back. I'm not that person to be like 'oh, kumbaya, I love everybody.' I don't. I do not like everybody. I do not like a lot of Black people. I'm a human being. And that's what's going on in the world today. Everybody want everybody to love each other. It ain't going to happen. It's not going to happen... This [Elizabeth] Hasselback woman on [ABC's morning talk show] *The View*, I need to call them one day and say look, stop playing around. The woman—if you go for—you can tell a person by what they stand for. If, what she stand for to me, 'well, you know, we got slaves, but you know, they happy. They just love being on this plantation,' that type of situation. You understand what I'm talking about? Now, see, that's the kind of fight that I—that I would jump right in. You understand what I'm talking about? Because if you don't understand something, you fall for everything. The N word. Well, you called me the N word. Are you saying I'm nice? That's what they telling me. Well, I'm nice? Well, go ahead and call me what I am—not what I am. Call me what you been calling me. Everybody walks—oh, the N word, the N word. Well, there's no such thing. There's no N word in the dictionary. It's N-I-G-G-A, nigga. Used to be nigger. You follow me? Tell me the truth. I mean, you know, as long as people put it out there, I know where I stand. I don't know where I stand when you're putting on errs for me. You know what I'm talking about? Come on in. You know where I'm coming from? Come on now.

Jerry spoke with candor, especially about contemporary racial issues. What he characterized as the “kumbaya, I love everybody” approach parallels common definitions of diversity, including those I discussed in Chapter 2. Diversity is contemporarily an issue of acceptance and everybody getting along (Berrey 2005). From Jerry's point of view, this is an absurd premise (e.g., “I do not like everybody...I'm a human being”). This emphasis on acceptance legitimates more conservative, racist

points of view as long as they veil themselves in egalitarian terms (Winant 1997). It also flies in the face of Jerry's experience at Stella's Café, where we saw the salience of race in both his initial encounter and who workers directed him to speak to upon his return.

When I specifically asked Jerry about diversity in Creekridge Park, he said that there was diversity in the neighborhood and that he had no problem interacting with his neighbors of different racial-ethnic backgrounds. He did, however, indicate that there was not a lot of sustained interracial interaction:

Well, as far as diversity, we have (inaudible). Hispanic, Black, Caucasian, uh, people coming from the Caribbean. It's—it's like that. But most times, well, Hispanic, I speak to them. Sometimes, we have a—a barbeque or something like that. But we have different cultures. And most of the times, people stay and do what they do together. But we speak to each other. We civil. My neighbor right next door, he's Caucasian. I've seen his kids grow up. I buy Girl Scout cookies and stuff from his—from his daughter. They know me. Visit? No. But yeah, he's been here. If I would ask him to come over and speak and—and talk and—and it's all right. It's all right. But it's just that maybe I'm just different because maybe I was in the military, and I've been around a different—and experienced a lot. And—and maybe I think different as to, you know, I know what I want in life. I'm not—I'm not angry at anybody.

If you recall from Chapter 3, Jerry also described his feelings of apprehension at the all-White events he attended at his neighbor's house, which provided more insight into the experience of nonwhites in Creekridge Park.

Mistreatment by White male neighbors is something two Black female residents described during their interviews. First, Mary, a longtime renter, cited an example of what she could only describe as racism by her former neighbor. As I mentioned in Chapter 3, Mary's former neighbor attempted to evict her and her son and he never offered her rides in his car when she was walking home from the bus:

I try to be friendly, but deep down, I don't even know if he like Black peoples. Now, he was friendly. He probably been friendly with them [Mary's next door neighbors], too, but yeah. But I, you know. I really didn't care because I was able to walk [from the bus], you know, so it didn't bother me and I was getting me exercise, so hey, the only person he was hurting is hisself acting like that. Cause like when he called those people [the property owner], you know. So that's the only one I've ever had trouble with.

Mary presented an interesting juxtaposition saying that her neighbor may have been racist, but he was also very friendly. This argument, that racism is “beyond good and evil” is in line with Bonilla-Silva's work on contemporary racial matters (2009). Connie, a homeowner, also had a similar experience, when a conflict with a neighbor “escalated” because of racial tensions:

Connie: I guess I've gotten a reputation for not wanting people to park in front of my house just because part of is just because when I first moved there, there was this house, I mean there was this car that was parked there right in front of my house and I didn't know whose car it was. When I was first looking at the house I guess I didn't pay any attention because I thought it was just, you know, going to move. It was chronically parked there and I thought that it belonged to this guy that lived directly across from me. Who, he had a car that was parked in front of his place, and this one never moved. So finally I addressed him about it and he was a youngish White guy who I got some very negative feelings from, like he had some racial bias. Cause you ask nicely but then it escalates. Finally it did go but I know I was in the house over a month before the thing left. So I got very sensitive to that space [...] So that's why my neighbors, some new people moved in recently. They said to me, I was outside in the yard, we just introduced ourselves and they said 'well we know that you don't like when people park in front.' I said 'well I didn't advertise it but, you know even though I don't have a lot of company I do have company sometimes, where am I going to put them?'

Interviewer: Right, right. So they already knew, who told? Who told them that? Was it the old tenants do you think?

Connie: I don't know, I didn't even ask. I was just surprised that they said it. I just said 'yeah great, fine.'

Connie's situation provides us with an example of how a seemingly innocuous issue, such as where a neighbor parks his car, can turn much more serious when particular racial dynamics are in play (Horton 1995, 47). Connie's past experience with her White

neighbor also impacted her future relationships with her neighbors, as she was now more acutely aware of who parked in front of her home. This corresponds with work on racial microaggressions and the experiences of nonwhites in predominantly White institutions (Hordge-Freeman, Mayorga, and Bonilla-Silva 2011). As Feagin, Vera, and Imani argue, past experiences guide the responses of people of color in these spaces, not “shoot-from-the-hip paranoia” as some Whites assume (1996, 65). Similarly, Connie based her response to her neighbors on her past experience, which racial undertones in a predominantly White space exacerbate.³

Latino Residential Experiences

When I asked Latino/a residents about their experiences with other racial-ethnic groups, they generally stated vague, but positive statements about Black and White residents. Generally, my respondents were more likely to speak candidly about other Latino/as. There were, however, instances that respondents shared of non-Latino/as treating them poorly. For example, Diana and Marta relayed stories of their mistreatment at the hands of both individuals from Latin America and the United States:

Diana: Pues son amigables los morenos.

Marta: O sea a veces—Hay de todo, porque hay veces que usted se encuentra—Porque yo una vez me fui a la—andaba cambiando un WIC, y me encontré una americana ahí y me dijo muchas cosas—pero yo andaba con el vecino, él me llevó, el que le digo yo, él habla mucho inglés, y dijo que nosotros veníamos a quitarle su comida a ellos, que no sé qué, me dijo muchas cosas. Y me he visto otros americanos como muy buenos. Sí. Y hay hispanos

³ Connie said her encounter with her neighbor happened when she first moved in and CreekrIDGE Park was a predominantly White neighborhood.

también que son muy racistas, malos, también como que no fueran de nuestro país también. Es que hay de todo.

Interviewer: Okay. ¿Y eso lo encontraron también en Honduras o creen que eso es diferente aquí en los Estados Unidos?

Diana: No, en Honduras no es así.

Marta: No, en Honduras no.

Interviewer: ¿No es así? Okay. So, aquí hay más como divisiones.

Diana: Eso.

Interviewer: Okay. ¿Y eso le sorprendió de otra gente latina que también no se dan—que son racistas?

Diana: Sí, el racismo.

Interviewer: ¿Sí? ¿Me pueden decir un poco más sobre eso?

Diana: Mire, supongo yo que esa gente así es racista con las mismas personas de su lugar, porque hay gente latina que también lo trata mal en las tiendas, o le dicen—porque uno no habla inglés y le dicen que ellos solo hablan inglés, que no hablan español, y tal vez el latino del mismo lugar de uno. Entonces para mí que eso es racismo.

Marta: Mira, va pasando una calle usted, hay veces que van unos americanos que se paran para que pase usted y lo saludan y todo; hay veces que va un latino de esos—de uno mismo, y lo está—casi le andan echando el carro encima y están pite y pite, está feo eso.

(Diana: Well, blacks are friendly.

Marta: Rather, sometimes—there's all types, because there are times when you find—Because one time I went to, I was cashing in a WIC and I encountered an American woman there and she told me many things. But I was with a neighbor, he took me, he, how do I say this, he spoke a lot of English, and she said that we came here to take food from them, that I don't know what, she told me a lot of things. And I have met other Americans that are very nice. Yeah. And there are some Hispanics also that are very racists, bad, also like they didn't come from our same country. There's all types.

Interviewer: Okay. And did you also find that in Honduras or do you think that it's different in the United States?

Diana: No, it isn't like that in Honduras.

Marta: No, in Honduras no.

Interviewer: It's not like that? Okay. So, here there are more, like, divisions.

Diana: Yes.

Interviewer: Okay. And so did it surprise you that other Latinos did not give you—were also racists?

Diana: Yes, racism.

Interviewer: Yeah? Can you tell me a little bit more about that.

Diana: Look, I suppose that these people are racists with the same people from their country because there are Latinos that also treat you poorly in the stores, or they say to you—because you don't speak English and they tell you that they only speak English, that they don't speak Spanish, and maybe that Latino is from the same place as you. So, for me, that is racism.

Marta: Look, you're passing by on the street and there are times when some Americans will stop for you so you can pass and they will say hello and everything. There are times when a Latino, one of your own, and he's—he's almost putting the car on top of you and they're beeping and beeping. That's ugly.)

Diana and Marta used the word racism to characterize any mistreatment they connected to their Latina identities. Like Diana and Marta, Martin also saw other Latino/as as racist. He described the mistreatment he experienced at the hands of other Mexicans because he is from Mexico City:

Martin: Bueno, hay mucha gente que dice que [los Americanos] son racistas; le digo, pero si no le pones buena cara, ¿cómo te van a saludar? Si tú tampoco saludas, pues no te van a saludar. Para mí Sarah, ustedes los americanos, bueno la gente americana son una gente muy amable, muy amable; los que son un poco más así, son los morenos. Son como que—como que a uno lo ven mal, ¿me entiendes? Pero en realidad no, no siento que haya mucha discriminación. Y a veces: —'No, es que no me dieron trabajo'—, le digo: —'Pero cómo te van a dar trabajo si no tienes papeles, no hablas inglés, ¿cómo te van a dar trabajo?'—, ¿me entiendes? Pero no, yo siento que no Sarah, no hay tanto. Con nosotros mismos hay racismo.

Interviewer: ¿Me puede decir un poco sobre eso?

Martin: ¡Claro! Por ejemplo, tú estás trabajando en un lugar, estás—hay digamos puro mexicano, y entra un salvadoreño: —'Ay, mira, ya entró ese salvadoreño menso'—, —'No que los hondureños no le echan ganas, que los hondureños no son como los mexicanos'—. Aquí el—Mira Sarah, te voy a decir algo: La mayor parte... la gente más, más huevona son los hondureños, no sé por qué; y casi nadie los quiere, entre nosotros ¿eh? Entre los latinos. Dime si no es discriminación eso. Entonces te digo que entre nosotros mismos hay eso también, por nuestras razas. Y no de—hablemos eso también de México, a nosotros no nos quieren Sarah, a nosotros nos llaman 'chilangos,' a los de la Ciudad de México. Nos dicen 'chilangos.' Fíjate que a nosotros no nos quieren. Nosotros es que, mira, nosotros tenemos otro nivel de vida, venimos de una ciudad, ¿me entiendes? No venimos de un pueblo. Y lamentablemente en un pueblo son cosas muy diferentes a una ciudad; entonces piensan que nosotros somos 'payasos,' yo no sé cómo se habla en inglés, que somos creídos, ¿me entiendes? Pero no es así, es por el modo de vida que llevamos; y en una ciudad tú tienes que aprender a vivir, sino la ciudad te come, ¿me entiendes? Entonces a nosotros mismos no nos quieren, imagínate, dime si no también hay racismo ahí. Hay un dicho que dicen de Guadalajara, dice: 'Mata un chilango y harás patria,' (risas) imagínate, mata a un chilango—O sea que te digo también.

Interviewer: ¿Y ha visto eso aquí también? Que la gente trata así.

Martin: ¡Oh sí! También. —'Ah no, mira, ahí viene un chilango'—, o sea que entre nosotros mismos también es lo mismo. Pero yo pienso que hay que llevar las cosas así bien, ni creerte tanto de esos dichos, hablarle a la gente; aquí en mi vecindario toda la gente nos saludan.

(*Martin*: Well, there are a lot of people who say that they [Americans] are racists. But I tell them, well if you don't present yourself well, how are they going to greet you? If you don't also greet them, then they won't greet you. For me Sarah, you Americans, well the American people are very friendly people, very friendly. The ones who are little more like that are blacks. They're like, like they look at a person badly, you understand me? But in reality no, I don't think there is a lot of discrimination. And sometimes, 'no, but they didn't give me a job'—I say, 'but how are they going to give you a job if you don't have papers, if you don't speak English, how are they going to give you a job?' You understand me? But no, I don't feel, Sarah, there isn't a lot. Between ourselves we have racism.

Interviewer: Can you tell me a little bit more about that?

Martin: Of course! For example, you're working in a place and you're —let's say it's all Mexican workers and in walks a Salvadoran. 'Ugh, look, no a Salvadoran—is here.' 'No, Hondurans don't work hard enough, Hondurans aren't like Mexicans.' Here the, look Sarah, I'm gonna tell you something: the biggest part—The most lazy people are Hondurans, I don't know why. And almost nobody likes them amongst us, amongst Latinos. Tell me that that isn't discrimination. And so I'm telling you amongst us there's also that, because of our races. And not from—let's also talk about Mexico. They don't like us, Sarah, they call us *chilangos*, those of us from Mexico City. They call us *chilangos*. Realize that they do not like us. It's that, look, we have another level of living, we come from a city. You understand me? We didn't come from a town. And unfortunately things are very different in a town than in a city. And so they think that we're 'clowns,' and I don't know how you say it in English, that we're arrogant, you understand? But it's not like that, it's because of the way of life we have. And in a city you have to learn how to live, if not the city will devour you, you understand me? And so they don't like us, imagine that, tell me that there also isn't racism there. There's a saying in Guadalajara, it says: 'Kill a *chilango* and be patriotic.' (laughs) Imagine that, kill a *chilango*. What else can I say.

Interviewer: And have you seen that here? That people treat you that way?

Martin: Oh, yes! Also—'Oh no, look, there comes a *chilango*.' Between us it's the same. But I think you need to take those types of things well, not believe in these kinds of things, talk to people; here in my neighborhood everybody greets us.)

The experience of my respondents with other Latino/as was particularly relevant when we take into account the social network data of Latino/as. All of my Latino/a respondents indicated that they spent the most time with other Latino/as, generally other compatriots and family members (Parrado and Flippen 2005). The importance and strength of ethnic community networks, especially for first generation immigrants, is a well-established finding in the literature As Portes and Rumbaut argue, "access to

community networks [provide]...both moral and economic support" (2006, 64). The behaviors of immigrants, however, do not take place in a vacuum. Language is certainly part of this pattern and documentation issues are also relevant for Durham's Latino/a population (Parrado, McQuiston, and Flippen 2005). As I discussed earlier, concerns over neighbor reactions kept Latino/as from complaining about neighborhood issues. According to the interview data, moving to CreekrIDGE Park was generally a positive move for my respondents, as the neighborhood environment was more "tranquilo." Some respondents also saw their position as Latino/as as an impediment to incorporation.

Latino/a residents did not speak about diversity or ever use it as a descriptor in the way White residents did. In fact, Latino/a residents did not frame CreekrIDGE Park as a neighborhood per se, but rather shared what they enjoyed about their particular home or the surrounding area. As mentioned in the previous sections, most Latino/a residents moved to their current home to escape former subpar housing. They also did not see it as a Latino/a neighborhood. For example, Juliana describes the neighborhood as a good place:

Yo describiría que es buen lugar, un buen lugar. De hispanos no hay muchos, solo nosotros, los que viven aquí, allá en frente, solo mi tía y mi tío, y-ah, sí, ya me acordé, que apenas ahorita cuando termine acaba de llegar una familia que es un salvadoreño con una cubana que viven también a la par de esta casa que sigue, a la otra casa, a la par viven ellos; apenas acaban de venirse a vivir ahí....Y ellos también nos preguntan que cómo es aquí la calle, pues nosotros le decimos que es buena-un buen lugar, estamos en buen lugar.

(I would describe it as a nice place, a nice place. There a not a lot of Hispanics, only us, the ones that live here, in front, only my aunt and uncle and-oh yeah, I just remembered that very

recently a family that is made up of a Salvadoran man with a Cuban woman also live next door to that house over there. They just recently came to live here...And they also asked us what this street is like, and we told them it was nice, a nice place, we're in a nice place.)

Martin describes it as a predominantly White neighborhood:

Aquí lo que más viven son americanos, o sea gente blanca. Hay como unas 4 familias me imagino, más o menos, no sé, de afroamericanos, pero son gente que también son muy tranquilas, o sea no son escandalosos. Yo he tomado el bus Sara, a veces, el bus; mi esposa diario lo toma para su trabajo; y en el bus sube y ellos son bien escandalosos, hablan mucho, como que gritan al hablar, o sea no tienen una voz educada. Y aquí no, la gente que vive aquí es gente muy educada, muy, sí, muy educada, no hace ruido ni nada, pero es muy buena gente; no molestan, ni tampoco nosotros los molestamos.

(Mostly Americans live here, or rather White people. I imagine that there are like four families, give or take, I don't know, of African-Americans, but they are also people that are very tranquil, they aren't scandalous. I have taken the bus, Sarah, and sometimes the bus, my wife takes it every day because of her job and in the bus they get on and off and they are very scandalous, they talk too much, as if they yell to speak, they don't have a polite voice. And here, the people that live here are very polite [educated] people, very, yes, very polite. They don't make noise or anything, but they are good people. They don't bother and we don't bother them either.)

Hector, who has lived in CreekrIDGE Park for many years, spoke about the difference across time. He said that when he first moved in the rent was very cheap and it was mostly Americans, both Black and White. He concluded that now all the surrounding duplexes housed mostly Latino/as.

Interracial Interactions

Interracial neighbor to neighbor interactions were an important window into the life of nonwhite residents in CreekrIDGE Park. Let us first start with Cheryl. Earlier in this chapter we heard about Cheryl's desire for in-depth and extensive neighborhood interactions. She described herself as nostalgic for the types of relationships she had

while growing up in predominantly Black neighborhoods. When she moved to Creekridge Park, she attempted to reach out to an elderly White neighbor and the woman ignored her. She assumed that there was some type of racial animus, but eventually concluded that it was actually a hearing problem:

First of all, I was so excited, remember, to move into a neighborhood so I could recapture something from my childhood. So when I was sitting out on the porch, I was babysitting somebody's child, and I saw my neighbor across the street, who was a white-haired, older woman, and I spoke to her and she literally ignored me. She, I assumed, heard me, turned her back and went back in her house. Now, what I did not discover until probably years later, maybe—well, you know what, it wasn't even years later, it may have been a couple of months. That woman's address is 1550 Colony Street. My address is 1550 Pine Avenue. So she would get my mail and I would get her mail. And so we were thrust into each other's lives, taking each other mail. I didn't know until I took her her mail the first time it came here that she doesn't hear well. So the reason she didn't speak had nothing to do with my race or my newness to the neighborhood, but had everything to do with the fact that she was 80 some years old and she didn't hear me, which blew me away because I really thought that she was resentful of the fact that somebody Black had bought her friend's house. And it had nothing to do with that.

Cheryl's encounter with her elderly White neighbor revealed that residents did not move into their neighborhoods as blank slates. Their previous experiences impact how they approach and interpret future interactions. As such, Cheryl, a North Carolina native, had a particular schema in which she interpreted the lack of engagement from her elderly White neighbor (Johnson 1943). At the same time, because of their particular circumstances, Cheryl and her neighbor interacted and things turned out much more positively. Cheryl even shared that when her elderly neighbor passed away, her children came and thanked Cheryl for her care of their mother. They said her mother was very fond of her and that they appreciated Cheryl checking on her after severe

weather. This is an example of how intentional acts to get to know neighbors can produce positive neighbor relations.

Cheryl also shared a story about her interactions with her Latino neighbor, Oscar. She recounted that their rapport was initially positive; when he and his family moved in, they invited Cheryl to their son's birthday party. She then recapped how their relationship shifted when another neighbor reported Oscar to Neighborhood

Improvement Services:

And I thought we were going to have a great relationship. And actually, we always spoke. Something happened and I speculated about what in the world could have happened that all of a sudden the mother is still speaking but the husband don't speak, even when I speak and it's apparent I've spoken. And one of the things that happened was they used to keep a lot of junk in the front yard and at some point I saw a city truck over there and shortly thereafter that junk was gone. I suspected somebody complained and I wondered if he assumed I was the one who complained. And one day, our neighbor down the street, a White guy, happened to be going by, complementing me about some of the stuff I was doing in my yard and somehow or another, he ends up saying to me he was the person who complained and had that stuff cleaned up 'cause he said something like, 'You know, it's wonderful that you are doing these things to your yard. It looks great.' And he said, 'And of course, the house across the street doesn't look that great, but at least it looks better.' And I said, 'Yeah, I know that they moved a lot of that stuff.' He said, 'Actually, I was the person who complained they got it done.' So I had been trying to get up the courage to ask my neighbor had I done something to be offensive or disrespectful 'cause I wanted to apologize 'cause I didn't know why he had stopped speaking. So after he had said that to me, the next day I approached my neighbor and I asked him and he said, 'Oh, no, no, no.' He said, 'Nothing.' And I said, 'Well, I just wanted you to know that I won't share who did it, but I know that somebody talked about the things you had in your front yard and they complained to the city and that's why it's gone.' I said, 'The reason I'm telling you is not 'cause I want you to confront that person, which is why I won't tell you who it is.' I said, 'The reason I'm telling you is I need you to know that if I had a problem with something in your yard,' I said, 'first of all, I respect the fact that this is your yard. You can keep in it whatever you want.' I said, 'But the other issue is, I want you to know that if I had a issue with something in your yard, I would talk to you before I would call the city.' He seemed to be fine with that. He still doesn't speak. I can't do anything about that. So I feel bad about it. But—and I especially feel about it because I'm sure that they don't get that I'm one of the strongest advocates around immigrant rights in this community, much less in this neighborhood. And that if ever they were in crisis, if they wanted to go somewhere, this would be the place to go. And so I feel terrible about that, especially because not only would this be a

place his family could go, anybody that they know could come here. And I would work with the network of allies that I have in the Latino and African-American community to get whatever support they needed. So, you know, I can't do nothing about that, but it's unfortunate because there's also a language barrier. He speaks better English than his wife does, but it is one of those things that's going to mitigate against relationship building with neighbors.

Later on in the interview when I specifically asked her about interracial interactions in the neighborhood, Cheryl stated that she did not see them often (Horton 1995). She continued, saying that when they did happen, these interactions generally resulted from "efforts that people intentionally make." She then recognized:

I think the exchange with my next door neighbor and the impact of this White guy—you know, I guess that's one of the things I want to speak to is just the value differences. There are, I mean, it's a value difference to expect that your yard looks a certain way. And you're placing value on somebody having the right to store their work property on their, where they live. And so the idea that part of what's going to happen in this neighborhood is going to be impacted by young, White, upwardly mobile residents who come into this neighborhood and want to impose on whoever is here their standard of what's right about living in this neighborhood. And I think that what will mitigate that, their approach to neighborhood living, would be having closer relationships and understanding why people have different views about how they keep their property or how they use their property. 'Cause see, for me, it's a utilitarian issue of this man placing the stuff from his work on this lot. Now, the interesting thing is this guy did at least acknowledge that there's tons of space behind the house where he could have put this stuff and it didn't have to be out front. But again, he didn't have the relationship, he didn't have a conversation, he just called the authorities and said there are laws that stop this, get this man to clean his property up. And so, I just think it's a interesting dynamic to have White, upwardly mobile professionals moving in to a neighborhood and creating or having an expectation that the standards that get met are those that they set when they new to the neighborhood, you know. And so I think it's a basis for potential conflict down the road.

Cheryl's argument presented a clear critique of the patrolling and patronizing practices I discussed in Chapter 3. She also argued that more intimate relationships between neighbors, particularly whites and nonwhites, would help curtail some of these white norms. Research on friendship, however, indicates that these microinteractions are

limited in their ability to challenge structural inequality (Adams and Allan 1998). As

Rude declares,

Interracial friendships are not a panacea for race relations because their direct impact on the structural inequalities associated with race may be negligible. However, insofar as they provide a space for problematizing racial concepts such as whiteness and blackness, interracial friendships may serve to bring the realities of racial inequality and privilege into the light of consciousness where they can be addressed (2009, 4).

Cristina, a Latina renter who lives in the Pine Grove Apartments, shared her interpretation of the normative behaviors in her apartment complex. Living in an area that is predominantly Black and Latino/a, she noticed that Black renters were much more social and friendly than Latino/a renters. She suspected that although both groups relied heavily on social exchange in their communities, immigration fears pushed Latino/as to be more reclusive. As she put it, Blacks lived in their comfort zones in the United States, while many Latino/as worried about being undocumented or driving without a license. She drew on her experience as a social worker and as the wife of an African American civil servant to create what she called her “teoría muy, muy, muy humilde” (very, very, very humble theory). Cristina’s comments about the social isolation of Latino/a migrants in Durham echo the experiences of Martin and others (Parrado and Flippen 2005; Portes and Rumbaut 2006).

When I first spoke with Hector, a mechanic in his early fifties, he suggested we meet at one of the neighborhood’s new Mexican restaurants. During our interview it became clear that he spent a lot of time in this space. He even had a special arrangement

with the owners: they provided him multiple meals a week for a weekly payment they negotiated. I asked him what kind of customers came to this restaurant and he said:

viene de todo. Aquí vienen, bueno, unos señores de la cruz roja que vienen aquí, una señoras americanas blancas, unos morenos que son bien alegres, bien amigos, y ve los bomberos, los bomberos hay—ya le digo cuatro—cinco morenos y hay como seis blancos, las señoras, unas señoras que vienen ahí, unas gorditas les digo yo que se pongan a dieta. No, vienen a comer aquí, bien viera que bien. Sí, aquí a las 12:00 es que hay comida, vienen alegres. Sí es bien, es bien la gente es bien tranquila aquí.

(All types come. Here come, well, some men from the Red Cross that come here, some White American ladies, some blacks who are very happy, good friends, and see, the firemen, the firemen are, I'll tell you right now four—five blacks and there are like six whites, the ladies, some ladies that come here, some chubby women whom I tell they need to go on a diet. No, they come to eat here, nice, you should see how nice. Yes, here at 12:00 is when there's food, they come happy. Yes, it's nice, the people are nice and very tranquil here.)

Hector saw the restaurant as an integrated space, although when we met on a weekday, we were the only customers in the restaurant. A television in the back of the restaurant was playing Spanish-language programming at a high volume and it did not seem like it would get very much movement that night.

Neighborhood Association

The Creekridge Park Neighborhood Association (CPNA) and smaller, independent, block-level neighborhood watch efforts served as organizational elements in CP. None of the nonwhite residents I interviewed currently participated in the neighborhood association. Although some of them had attended neighborhood events in the past (for example, I met Connie and Juliana at two distinct neighborhood events), they did not participate in the neighborhood association as general or board members.

Some of them had no interest in it, such as Mary. When I asked her about the neighborhood association she responded:

Mary: No, I haven't joined yet. I haven't even been to one of their meetings. They invited me to a couple of them. I know I ain't gone to none now 'cause I'm having to deal with this fatigue.

Interviewer: Right, okay, so you've never been to any of their events?

Mary: No.

Interviewer: So you're just—not really an interest?

Mary: (laughs) You're right, not really, you know. I know they nice and friendly...if I've being honest, you know.

Mary laughed, admitting that although she knew the folks of the neighborhood association were “nice and friendly,” she did not have an interest in joining or attending their events. Cheryl, who involved herself more actively in city-wide political matters, said that she did not want to join because it was too much like work to try and recruit nonwhite participants:

I know that we have a active neighborhood association and I've always paid my dues. And I've been to a few meetings early on, but there are a number of reasons from the fact that I travel a lot and I think, you know, there's a whole lot about what happens at neighborhood association meetings that I can get from the newsletter and, you know, just traveling a lot, being busy and not feeling necessarily motivated to be at those meetings, except when we have a crisis and they need support, extra money, signing on to things, that kind of thing. So I've not been very active in it, but I always pay my dues. And like I said, I don't know, I mean, I don't remember now, you know, why I didn't go, but I know I like to keep abreast of what's going on. And unfortunately, I haven't even been able to go to the cookouts that they have...But I must say that my experience early on, I don't know what it's like now, was that it was mostly just whites and I might be the only Black, which I'm sure contributed in part to my not wanting to go on a regular basis. But I often remember thinking that I was going to start knocking doors to other African-Americans to encourage their participation, but because that's the nature of what I do anyway, it just was like another job in my off time and so I was like 'nah.'

Connie, who I met at a neighborhood association event, indicated that she appreciated the quarterly newsletter, but steered clear of the listserv:

I'm not even on that list but I just get tired of emails. I like the little newsletter that comes out because that's very informative and that's gotten me out to do things and that enough for me. I like having that piece of paper that I can lay back and read.

As I discussed in Chapter 3, the newsletter was written exclusively in English. Most Latino/a residents were either not familiar with the newsletter or did not read it. For example, Martin explained that since it came entirely in English and it did not matter to him and his wife, he threw it out.

A couple of blocks in the Creekridge Park area also had active neighborhood watches (Rosenbaum 1988). Neighborhood watches cover a much smaller neighborhood section than most neighborhood associations. One of the goals is to have the contact information for every member of the watch, so the ideal coverage area is a block or two. Jerry decided to head up his block association when he started to have issues with his neighbors behind him:

Well, when we first moved here, it was real quiet, real nice. Then it was a period about maybe two or three years ago, these apartment buildings in the back, it was a big change in who they were letting move back there. And then that's when a lot of problems started. And then I even decided to head the, um, block association for my block because I just can't—I can't stand what was going on, and I'm not the type of person to just sit around.

He concluded by saying that he thought his fellow block association participants saw him as an "angry man." When I asked him if they really did, he clarified:

Well, you know, like—yeah, in a way. Because you know, there's a lot of people sit and they want to talk about tree planting and—and you know, things that to me, good idea, but I'm worried about bullets. You follow where I'm coming from? That's some real stuff there, you know. But I got to listen to other people, too, but I got—what's important? You know, we plant trees around here. They—I think the city do was in partnership that we do, um, the trees. We got together and planted trees and stuff. At each house and everything. I forget the other guy's name. He even give me a pecan tree, one of the—I got his name because I got a list. I went and got everybody's phone number in the block and everything. And everybody got a sheet.

Angela, who lives in an adjacent neighborhood, participated in her neighborhood watch, but also believed it had some shortcomings when it came to renter incorporation:

Angela: So I think trying to befriend people who might just be passing through may cause them to stay longer. You know, you have, um—and I think for instance they will do their, um, their neighborhood meetings and what have you, but they won't invite—for instance they've never extended an invite I think to the Acostas, the family from Honduras right, right next door. Now they own their little house and they're—they're—they're nice people and, you know, their daughter and my daughter, they play and they go, you know, different, you know, activities or what have you, but they won't do that. Or even, um, I've never seen to me, okay Mr. Hunt's not somebody who's on the computer, per se. But Mr. Hunt lives in this gray house over here has been in this neighborhood for over 30 years. [...] And if they were to do that, um, I think they would be, um, it would be better. In my opinion. Um, but—

Interviewer: And why do you—why do you think that is, that they haven't extended those invitations?

Angela: I think because they're renting. I really do, I think because they feel they don't own their homes, you don't, you know, we don't need to consider them. That's my honest opinion there. Because to me you'd be surprised—I mean somebody like Mr. Hunt, his daughters who are in and out there with him, or the people who rent in this, um, the brick house. There's one very stable family who's been there for—I don't know—God only knows how many years—I came and met them here. And they're still here, so, uh,—but you know people—people like that, you'd be surprised how anybody can come to your rescue if they know you, if they feel a connection to you, so, you know, as you pass although they may say oh, the people in the brick house cause trouble, I've never seen any trouble that they've caused, you know what I'm saying? So, and—but again if you're walking down the street and somebody is trying to bother you, I can assure you Ray's on the corner, you know sitting on his porch—he's not going to allow that to happen, because he knows me. You know, he knows my daughter, he knows my bad dog, you know. [Laughter] You know what I'm saying? So he'll come out because he knows—he knows us, or the guy across the street. So you've kind of extended that hand of friendship. Look, we're here, you're part of this neighborhood also. And I think if they did a little bit more of that, it would be beneficial to everybody concerned.

As Angela pointed out, some Black residents were aware of and participated in larger neighborhood events, but they were generally homeowners (Blomley 2004). Most Black and Latino/a residents, however, were renters and the least incorporated in these

associations (Jackman and Jackman 1986). These associations conducted business in English only, further excluding more recent Latino/a migrants. As one of the spaces through which White homeowners and some renters socialized and built friendships, the neighborhood association's current practices also exacerbated the social isolation of Black and Latino/a CreekrIDGE Park residents (Chalmers 1997).

In terms of political participation, nonwhites did engage outside of the neighborhood. As Cheryl mentioned, she participated in local government both as an elected official and also as a nonprofit employee. She also called herself "one of the strongest advocates around immigrant rights in this community." Hector, who hails from Honduras, also mentioned attending a meeting at a Latino/a nonprofit in support of using Mexico's Matricula Consular (consular documents) as valid ID.⁴ Lastly, Cristina works at a Latino/a nonprofit in Durham, advocating and working with Durham's immigrant population. She also expressed a sensitivity to the issue of Black-Latino/a relations, which she deals with as a social worker. Ultimately, although political participation may not necessarily take place within the neighborhood association, Black and Latino/a residents did take part in efforts to improve the standing of their respective communities and their relationships to each other (DeSena 1999).

Conclusion

⁴ North Carolina's House Bill 33, which passed in March of 2011, proposes that the state not accept consular documents as a valid form of identification. HB33 has been under review by the Senate Committee on Rules and Operations since April of 2011 (NC General Assembly).

The experiences of nonwhite residents shared some similarities to those of White residents. For example, some nonwhites appreciated the proximity of their homes to downtown, the integrated nature of the neighborhood, and the quiet/*tranquilo* aspects of life in CP. At the same time, there were some marked differences. Many nonwhite residents described the social costs they associated with their moves to CreekrIDGE Park (Bullard 2007). In order to maintain their homes values or live in a less “escandaloso” (scandalous) neighborhood, they moved into an area where they experienced more social isolation (Charles 2003). Residents of color also described instances where other residents in CreekrIDGE Park mistreated them because of their racial and ethnic status. The two-pronged experience of nonwhites in this neighborhood differed from that of White residents, which was generally one of both material and social gains.

The experiences of nonwhites provide more evidence for the ideological whiteness of this space, where White residents are able to dictate the norms and values of the neighborhood (Butler 2008). A connection to CreekrIDGE Park, its past, and its current residents was not as prevalent for nonwhites as it was for White homeowners (Brown-Saracino 2010; Shaw 2005).⁵ Latino/a renters in particular did not see their home as part of a definitive neighborhood, but a general area. Their connection and description of life was house-centric and/or about Durham as a whole. Latino/a

⁵ Much like in gentrifying neighborhoods, White homeowners in CP are interested in the historic preservation and architectural integrity of older houses from the 1930s to the 1950s. Unlike traditionally gentrified neighborhoods, CreekrIDGE Park is a historically White neighborhood.

respondents framed their lives in Creekrige Park in comparison to their previous Durham dwellings and their countries of origin. Similarly, Black residents spoke about the general area and their experiences within their particular block of CP. As a result, their social networks did not extend to multiple streets across Creekrige Park, as the networks of several White homeowners did. Contrary to sociological theory, nonwhites did not experience the benefits of bridging social capital because they did not have reciprocal and close relationships with their White neighbors (Blokland 2008; Blomley 2004; Putnam 2007; Rude and Herda 2010). In the conclusion, I discuss the implications of these findings for future research.

5. Solving the Wrong Problem

Encourage and accept diversity in your neighborhood and community. It will promote a greater sense of engagement, better prepare your children for the global community they will inhabit...give us all a richer life. – A Richer Life campaign

The quotation above comes from the website for *A Richer Life*, a “public awareness campaign developed by the National Fair Housing Alliance, dedicated to the creation and sustenance of diverse communities throughout the nation” (“A Richer Life”). This awareness campaign was established in June 2008 and released in three cities: Atlanta, Chicago, and Washington, DC (Smith and Cloud 2010, 19). As Smith and Cloud describe it, “The initial goal of this media campaign is to encourage Whites to think about what they are missing by living in their segregated neighborhoods” (ibid.). I highlight A Richer Life because it exemplifies the contemporary discussion on integration: integration is no longer a radical or political act that challenges the status quo, but is accommodationist in that it reinforces and reproduces whiteness and racial stratification. Dalmage’s work on multiculturalism speaks to the importance of racial comfort to whiteness:

Whiteness as an institutionalized norm leads many whites to feel entitled to being safe and comfortable racially in the world. U.S. institutions intersect to ensure that racial ideology reproduces a context in which whites can continue to command and demand control of the racial spaces they occupy (2004, 204).

The campaign is strategically framed around making life better for White residents and having them “accept” diversity into their neighborhoods. Dalmage’s analysis proves useful once more:

Contact that does occur between whites and people of color often takes place in arenas that are white controlled. The institutionally backed power that whites are able to exercise provides whites with a sense of safety and comfort. When social interaction occurs blacks are expected to make it palatable and comfortable for whites (ibid., 205).

As I discuss in Chapter 2, the contemporary conversations around diversity and integration are no longer connected to political acts. As Embrick finds in his work, diversity was “co-opted” by corporations to maintain racial and gender inequality in the post-Civil Rights era (2006, 33; 2008, 26). Diversity in neighborhoods is now a rallying cry for middle-class, upwardly mobile, urban Whites. As my data indicate, socio-economic (and I argue, racial) diversity “is a luxury granted to those who can choose to experience it as part of their personal trajectory of upward social mobility” (Rose 2004, 293).

A great example of this critique comes from NBC’s *The Office*. In Season Six, Dwight Schrute, a White salesman, is trying to convince his Black colleague, Stanley Hudson, to apply to their company’s diversity program. In the episode, Dwight tries to mold one of the other workers of color, Kelly Kapoor, to be his corporate puppet. She, unfortunately for Dwight, has an independent agenda. Dwight then tries to convince another underrepresented colleague to challenge Kelly and apply for the position so he might still wield control. He offers both Stanley and Oscar Martinez, a Latino

accountant, a “fast track to an executive position at this company.”¹ Dwight’s exchange with Stanley goes as follows:

Dwight: What I'm offering is a ticket on a bullet train straight to middle management.

Stanley: Dwight, I know these programs: "Every color is important because together we make a rainbow."

Dwight: Yes.

Stanley: I'll slap you in the face with a rainbow.

As Stanley puts it, these diversity initiatives (and, I argue, all contemporary diversity aims) are toothless (Berrey 2005). Even Dwight’s pitch (“bullet train straight to middle management”) highlights the limits of these programs in promoting minority workers and restructuring current power relations (Cose 1994; Embrick 2008; Pierce 2003). They do very little to change the status quo or challenge those in power, who on *The Office* are all White.

The Office and my project are both artifacts of this post-Civil Rights, colorblind racial environment (Bonilla-Silva 2009; Embrick 2008). This environment, particularly for highly educated, upwardly mobile, urban Whites, accepts diversity as a positive and desirable goal (Brower 1996; Pierce 2003). The question is not whether Whites want to live with Blacks and Latino/as, but how they interact with nonwhites in integrated spaces. In CreekrIDGE Park we see the result of campaigns such as A Richer Life: White residents, especially homeowners, speak openly about the desire to live in an integrated

¹ This episode also does a great job of illustrating how these programs pit people of color against each other to vie for the one spot available for a minority executive.

neighborhood. This project is really an attempt to unpack that desire and its ideological source, the normative behavior associated with it, and the experience of nonwhites in these same spaces.

What I find is that diversity in its current form is focused around acceptance of difference, a reinforcement of the racial status quo, the consumption of nonwhites, and acknowledgement of the liabilities associated with nonwhites. White residents of Creekridge Park, much like gentrifiers in previous studies on urban change, emphasize the positive aspects of integration. They highlight their desire to live near people who are different than them, yet their social networks tend to be homophilous (Rose 2004). Why does this happen? First, desire and good intentions are not enough to challenge structural inequality (Bonilla-Silva 2009). We need action. That is one of the elements lacking from the diversity ideology. Echoing decades of social science research on prejudice, the diversity ideology focuses on attitudes rather than behavior. For example, A Richer Life's call to "take action" is expressing support for diverse communities. They present an e-mail template that individuals can send to their friends and family:

I want a richer life.

I want to live in a neighborhood that reflects the realities of our society as a whole – a society that is becoming far more varied and diverse. I want the benefits that living in integrated communities brings. I want neighbors from different ethnic backgrounds who can help me appreciate the beauty of diversity and better prepare my children for a future in which they will be part of a truly multicultural world.

I embrace the goal of this richer life for myself and my family and support the work of the National Fair Housing Alliance to promote neighborhood diversity in America.

The email above does not discuss inequality, segregation, or power. Diversity is presented as the end-all and most White residents of Creekridge Park see it that way. Rather than approach diversity as an avenue to challenge racial stratification or whiteness, the presence of nonwhite others becomes the final goal. The problem with the contemporary diversity ideology, however, and one of the central findings of this project is that cohabitation is *not* enough. The proximity of nonwhites to Whites has never been a challenge to white supremacy,² as we learned from studies of the Jim Crow South (Johnson 1943; Park 1924). If proximity was enough, we would not see the differences between Black and White homeownership, wealth, and income across the nation and in Creekridge Park (Shapiro 2004; Oliver and Shapiro 1995); White friendships with nonwhites would be characterized by reciprocity rather than paternalism and social distance (Rude and Herda 2010); the Creekridge Park Neighborhood Association would include members and leaders from across housing tenure and racial lines. Unlike Glaeser and Vigdor who declared “The End of the Segregated Century” in a recent report for the Manhattan Institute for Policy Research, I do not believe segregation is a phenomenon of the past (2012). I do believe that because of immigration and neighborhood change (sometimes in the form of gentrification), integration is much

² I use the term “white supremacy,” as suggested by Mills: “The idea of white supremacy is intended, in part, to capture the crucial reality that the *normal* workings of the social system continue to disadvantage blacks in large measure *independently* of racist feeling” (2004, 241).

more common than it used to be. Such is the story of Creekridge Park. But that story is much more complex than we originally thought. So where do we go from here?

I do not view the story of Creekridge Park as a pessimistic one. I know some readers will feel my narrative is far too critical and that I should cut residents of Creekridge Park some slack because of how far we have come since the 1960s. As Bonilla-Silva argues, however: “Although the 'new racism' seems to be racism lite, it is as effective as slavery and Jim Crow in maintaining the racial status quo” (2003, 272). Ultimately my concern is with the structural and ideological elements of Creekridge Park. Studying whiteness is only partially about White individuals; it is more centrally about power, structure, and ideology and how those work together to privilege individuals with white skin and marginalize people of color (Andersen 2003; Mills 2004; Pierce 2003; Sullivan 2006). My approach for this project has been to fully understand the dynamics of race and class power of this neighborhood (Shaw 2007). By unpacking the ways that residents understand themselves and their neighbors, and how residents interact across and within racial groups, we are better equipped to challenge dominant narratives of racial matters. While I agree that certain explicitly racist or discriminatory practices are no longer allowed by law and societal norms, there are still contemporary forms of stratification in place that impact how resources and power are allocated.

Diversity has become a powerful ideology that resonates with our shared ideals of equality and fairness, but fails to go beyond issues of cohabitation. For example,

White residents of Creekridge Park were able to discuss how much they appreciate the diversity CP encompassed and how they actively chose this integrated setting. Although this was only part of the picture, as economic considerations greatly impacted their decision-making process, it does explain to a certain extent why they chose to live in Creekridge Park. When it came to incorporating nonwhites in CPNA, however, White residents completely changed their approach (Tissot 2011). They stopped seeing themselves as active agents in the creation of white spaces, emphasizing individual choice and a laissez faire attitude. As Jackman writes: “The problem is that when the members of one group operate from a disadvantaged position, the principle of individualism does little to promote their advancement and it often stands as an obstacle” (1994, 88). I argue that in order to challenge the stagnant nature of the diversity ideology and move beyond the focus on cohabitation, we need to construct counter narratives that show proximity is not enough. That is the central goal of this project: refocusing the conversation and providing a more nuanced narrative of how power, racial inequality, and integration work together.

After speaking with nonwhite residents it also became clear that that the onus of integrating neighborhoods should not be on people of color (Jackman 1994; Wellman 1977). Despite being seen as the ones who will most benefit from cohabitation (Wilson 2009), nonwhites are sometimes the losers in these equations. As I detailed in Chapter 4, living in an integrated neighborhood for the Black and Latino/a residents I interviewed

was a decision marked by material benefits and social costs (Bullard 2007). Nonwhite residents deal with a variety of scenarios Whites rarely encounter: if they try to join a neighborhood-wide effort, they are commonly the only person of color in a room; they are labeled as disinvested and/or ignored by their neighbors because of their skin color and (presumed) housing tenure; they are seen as 'other' and are commodified in this multiethnic space. The bottom line is that Black and Latino/a residents do not experience integrated spaces in the same way as Whites. As other studies on mixed-income developments have found, in particular the Moving to Opportunity program and HOPE VI, current conceptualizations of integration have not produced the panacea social scientists hoped for (Joseph 2011; Joseph and Chaskin 2010; Smith 2010; Steinberg 2010)

Ultimately, I, like Janet L. Smith (2010, 230), ask "Are we trying to solve the wrong problem?" Is the proximity of Whites to communities of color really the crux of racial inequality? I argue and my data indicate 'no.' By focusing on issues of cohabitation or diversity as acceptance rather than engagement and equity, we limit the conversation and our actions. We frame a structural issue impacting people of color and renters as an individual decision and experience (Jackman 1994; Pierce 2003). Andersen writes:

The idea that whites just individually give up their whiteness seems ludicrous if one understands that racial identity is not just an individualized process but involves the formation of social groups organized around material interests with their roots in social structure, not just individual consciousness (2003, 29-30).

If we use the concept of integration to guide our research, we need to redefine it to mean more than proximity or proportionality. It needs to include measures of power and distribution of resources; representation as an issue of quality, not just quantity (Giddens 1984). Social interactions also need to be central to this reconceptualization of integration and include measures of reciprocity and closeness (Rude and Herda 2010). As Maly contends, “Racial diversity is not integration if you never talk to your neighbors. Thus, the test of stable integration is not in the percentages of groups, but in the community’s process to join different groups in such a way that there is respect and a sharing of power” (2005, 232). Lastly, we need to challenge the ideological assumptions of our current research to make sure we are asking the right questions (Mills 2004). More studies that look at neighbor-to-neighbor interactions need to be conducted to complement Census data on neighborhoods.

Since this study only focuses on Creekridge Park, I intend to conduct comparison studies in other cities. My next project, in Cincinnati, Ohio, will analyze similar issues in statistically integrated neighborhoods. As a historically Black and White city with recent Latino/a immigration, Cincinnati is a logical next location of analysis. The Cincinnati Association has even focused its efforts on studying the success of stable, integrated communities in the area (Casey-Leininger and Green 2007). Collecting new data in a distinct region of the country will allow me to compare neighborhood norms and identify common practices of social control and social distance in these types of

neighborhoods. I also hope, with more data points, to present alternative narratives to the dominant understandings of diversity, integration, and racial inequality.

Appendix A: Guide for In-depth Interviews

- How long have you lived in the neighborhood? Have you lived in other neighborhoods/areas in Durham before? Were there other areas you were looking at closely when you chose to live in Creekridge Park?
- Do you know anything about the history of this neighborhood?
- Why did you move here? What were you looking for in terms of house/apartment complex/neighborhood?
- Do you rent or own? If own, how long have you owned your home? If rent, who is your landlord? Do you know if they own other property across the neighborhood?
- What do you know about landlords in this neighborhood? Do you have any kind of relationship with them?
- Do you live with anyone? (If children, probe about age and schooling.)
- Who are your neighbors? Are they renters or owners?
- Do you have any friends that live in the neighborhood? Where do they live? How did you meet them? What kinds of things do you do together?
- If they don't have friends in the neighborhood: Who do you spend the most time with that lives in the neighborhood? How did you meet them? What kind of things do you do together?
- What kind of people would you say live in the neighborhood? How would you describe the residents to someone who doesn't live there? (probe: demographics, class, occupations, household/family type)
- What kind of people live on your street/in your building?
- Would you say the neighborhood has any leaders? Who would you consider a leader? Why?
- Are you involved with any neighborhood-specific organizations (e.g. CPNA)? If yes, why did you choose to join? Do you attend meeting regularly or whenever there is a specific issue of interest? If not, have you been asked to join any?
- Are you familiar with the neighborhood association? Do you receive the CPNA newsletter? Do you read it? Are you on the neighborhood listserv?
- Are you a member of any other clubs or groups that meet regularly? It can be informally or formally.
- How do you spend your free time? Are there areas not directly in the neighborhood that you spend a lot of time in?
- Have you ever been involved in any neighborhood-wide efforts to address issues, like the expansion of The Bakery or others? (prompt: recent traffic concerns, YMCA closing, new development)

- What areas do you consider to be a part of the neighborhood (specific streets, businesses)? Where would you draw the neighborhood boundaries?
- What areas in the neighborhood do you frequent the most?
- What do you know about the Creekridge YMCA and The Center? What do you think about their presence in the neighborhood? Have you ever used their services?
- Have you ever participated in neighborhood-wide events, such as National Night Out, the Annual Picnic, or the Pine Grove Open House?
- Other than these large events, do you think neighbors spend a lot of time interacting socially? Where do these interactions happen?
- If you had a problem with a neighbor or in the neighborhood, how would you handle it? (probe: individually, go to property management, neighborhood association, police) Have you ever had any problems in the past? How have you handled them?
- Do you feel safe in your neighborhood? Have you dealt with any crime-related issues?
- What do you think makes someone a good neighbor? Do you have good neighbors?
- Do you think other neighborhoods in Durham look like this one, or is Creekridge Park different? How?
- The CPNA claims on its website that the neighborhood is mixed-income and diverse – do you think that is true? Why or why not?
- Do you see interracial interactions in the neighborhood? Like, whites and blacks and Latinos spending time together? Do you have a specific example? Where do you see this? If you don't see it, why do you think that is?
- Now to finish up I'd like to ask some question about your personal characteristics. Remember, you don't have to answer these questions if you do not want to.
 - How old are you?
 - How do you identify racially and ethnically?
 - What is your occupation?
 - What was the highest level of education you completed?
- I am trying to get a sense of who lives in this neighborhood and what the experiences of residents are. Are there people that you think I should talk to or that would be willing to speak with me?
- Is there anything I didn't mention that you think I should know to understand life in this neighborhood?

Appendix B: Interview Participant Demographics

1. Adrienne, White Female, early thirties, homeowner, Emerson Court
2. Alan, White Male, fifties, homeowner, Emerson Court
3. Angela, Black Female, late forties, homeowner, CreekrIDGE Road
4. Ann, White Female, late thirties, homeowner, Cardinal Street
5. Beth, White Female, fifties, homeowner, Emerson Court
6. Brendan, White Male, early thirties, homeowner, Smith Road
7. Bryan, White Male, fifties, homeowner, Pine Avenue
8. Charles, White Male, early thirties, homeowner, Peach Avenue
9. Cheryl, Black Female, fifties, homeowner, Pine Avenue
10. Connie, Black Female, fifties, homeowner, Pine Avenue
11. Cristina, Latina Female, renter, Pine Grove apartments
12. Cynthia, White Female, sixties, homeowner, Harris Street
13. Daniel, White Male, fifties, homeowner, Peach Avenue
14. David, White Male, eighties, homeowner, CreekrIDGE Road
15. Debbie, White Female, fifties, homeowner, Valley Court
16. Deborah, White Female, homeowner, Union Avenue
17. Denise, White Female, late twenties, renter, Central Street
18. Diana, Latina Female, early forties, renter, Cardinal Street (formerly)
19. Ed, White Male, fifties, business owner, Cardinal Street
20. Emma, White Female, late twenties, homeowner, Colony Street
21. Eric, White Male, late twenties, homeowner, Central Street
22. Esther, White Female, renter, Pine Grove Apartments
23. George, Black Male, late twenties, renter, Valley Court
24. Hector, Latino Male, fifties, renter, Cardinal Street
25. James, White Male, late forties, renter, Harris Street
26. Jamie, White Female, fifties, homeowner, CreekrIDGE Road
27. Jerry, Black Male, sixties, homeowner, Tyler Avenue
28. Judy, White Female, early forties, homeowner, Peach Avenue
29. Juliana, Latina Female, early thirties, renter, Pine Avenue
30. Julie, WF, early thirties, homeowner, Cardinal Street
31. Keith, White Male, fifties, homeowner, Central Street
32. Ken, White Male, late thirties, homeowner, Cardinal Street

33. Lawrence, Black Male, early thirties, renter, Valley Court
34. Liz, White Female, late forties, homeowner, Cardinal Street
35. Lois, White Female, sixties, renter, Pine Grove Apartments
36. Lori, White Female, late twenties, homeowner, Emerson Court
37. Luke, White Male, early thirties, homeowner, Colony Street
38. Marie, White Female, eighties, homeowner, Creekridge Road
39. Marta, Latina Female, late twenties, renter, Cardinal Street (formerly)
40. Martin, Latino Male, early forties, renter, Orchid Place
41. Mary, Black Female, fifties, renter, Colony Street
42. Matt, White Male, fifties, homeowner, Peach Avenue
43. Michelle, White Female, late twenties, homeowner, Central Street
44. Patty, White Female, late twenties, homeowner, Harris Street
45. Ray, White Male, sixties, homeowner, Union Avenue
46. Rhonda, White Female, early thirties, homeowner, Peach Avenue
47. Robin, White Female, fifties, homeowner, Central Street
48. Rose, White Female, homeowner, Peach Avenue
49. Roy, White Male, late thirties, homeowner, Creekridge area
50. Russ, White Male, fifties, homeowner, Central Street
51. Ruth, White Female, fifties, homeowner, Harris Street
52. Sandra, White Female, late thirties, homeowner, Pine Avenue
53. Scott, White Male, early thirties, homeowner, Harris Street
54. Seth, White Male, early forties, homeowner, Harris Street
55. Sharon, White Female, early thirties, homeowner, Harris Street
56. Sonia, Female, homeowner, Mason Avenue
57. Stephanie, White Female, early thirties, homeowner, Central Street
58. Tammy, White Female, fifties, homeowner, Central Street
59. Terry, White Male, fifties, homeowner, Creekridge Road
60. Thomas, White Male, late twenties, renter, Central Street
61. Timothy, White Male, fifties, homeowner, Harris Street
62. Tina, White Female, early thirties, homeowner, Central Street
63. Valerie, White Female, early thirties, homeowner, Creekridge area

References

- Adams, Rebecca G., and Graham Allan. 1998. Contextualising friendship. In *Placing Friendship in Context*, edited by R. G. Adams and G. Allan. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Adams, Stella, Jonathan Coker, David Hall, Justin Lefkovits, Adam Rust, and Chandler Vataavuk. 2006. City of Durham Analysis of Impediments Study Fair Housing Plan. North Carolina Fair Housing Center.
http://www.durhamnc.gov/departments/comdev/pdf/analysis_imped_fh.pdf
- Allan, Graham. 1989. *Friendship: Developing a Sociological Perspective*. San Francisco: Westview Press.
- Allport, Gordon W. 1954. *The Nature of Prejudice*. Cambridge: Addison-Wesley.
- Andersen, Margaret L. 2003. Whitewashing Race: A Critical Perspective on Whiteness. In *White Out: The Continuing Significance of Racism*, edited by A. W. Doane and E. Bonilla-Silva. New York: Routledge.
- Anderson, Jean Bradley. 1990. *Durham County*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Arendell, Terry. 1997. Reflections on the Researcher-Researched Relationship: A Woman Interviewing Men. *Qualitative Sociology* 20 (3):341-365.
- "A Richer Life." Washington, DC: National Fair Housing Alliance. Accessed March 16, 2012. <http://www.aricherlife.org/index.html>
- Barrera, Mario. 1979. *Race and Class in the Southwest: A Theory of Racial Inequality*. South Bend, IL: University of Notre Dame Press.
- Bell, David, Sarah L. Holloway, Mark Jayne, and Gill Valentine. 2008. Pleasure and Leisure. In *The SAGE Companion to the City*, edited by T. Hall, P. Hubbard and J. R. Short. Los Angeles: SAGE.
- Berrey, Ellen C. 2005. Divided over Diversity: Political Discourse in a Chicago Neighborhood. *City & Community* 4 (2):143-170.
- Black, Dan, Gary Gates, Seth Sanders, and Lowell Taylor. 2002. "Why Do Gay Men Live in San Francisco?" *Journal of Urban Economics* 51, no. 1: 54-76.
- Blauner, Robert. 1972. *Racial Oppression in America*. New York: Harper and Row.

- Blokland, Talja. 2008. Gardening with a Little Help from Your (Middle Class) Friends: Bridging Social Capital Across Race and Class in a Mixed Neighbourhood. In *Networked Urbanism: Social Capital in the City*, edited by T. Blokland and M. Savage. Burlington, VT: Ashgate.
- Blomley, Nicholas K. 2004. *Unsettling the city: Urban land and the politics of property*. New York: Routledge.
- Blumer, Herbert. 1958. "Race Prejudice as a Sense of Group Position." *The Pacific Sociological Review* 1, no. 1: 3-7.
- Bobo, Lawrence, and Vincent L. Hutchings. 1996. Perceptions of Racial Group Competition: Extending Blumer's Theory of Group Position to a Multiracial Social Context. *American Sociological Review* 61 (6):951-972.
- Bobo, Lawrence D., Melvin L. Oliver, James H. Johnson, Jr., and Abel Valenzuela, Jr., eds. 2000. *Prismatic Metropolis: Inequality in Los Angeles*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Bonilla-Silva, Eduardo. 2009. *Racism without Racists: Color-Blind Racism and the Persistence of Racial Inequality in the United States*. Lanham: Rowan and Littlefield.
- . 2003. "New Racism," Color-Blind Racism, and the Future of Whiteness in America. In *White Out: The Continuing Significance of Racism*, edited by A. W. Doane and E. Bonilla-Silva. New York: Routledge.
- Bonilla-Silva, Eduardo, Carla Goar, and David G. Embrick. 2006. "When Whites Flock Together: The Social Psychology of White Habitus." *Critical Sociology* 32, no. 2-3: 229-53.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. 1984. *Distinction: A social critique of the judgment of taste*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. 1989. "Social Space and Symbolic Power." *Sociological Theory* 7, no. 1: 14-25.
- Brower, Sidney. 1996. *Good Neighborhoods: A Study of In-Town and Suburban Residential Environments*. Westport, CT: Praeger.
- Brown-Saracino, Japonica. 2010. *A neighborhood that never changes: Gentrification, social preservation, and the search for authenticity*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

- Bullard, Robert D. 2007. Introduction: The Significance of Race and Place. In *The Black Metropolis in the Twenty-First Century: Race, Power, and Politics of Place*, edited by R. D. Bullard. New York: Rowman and Littlefield.
- Burton, Linda M., Andrew Cherlin, Donna-Marie Winn, Angela Estacion, Clara Holder-Taylor. 2009. "The Role of Trust in Low-Income Mothers Intimate Unions." *Journal of Marriage and Family* 71:1107-1124.
- Butler, Tim. 2008. Social Capital and the Formation of London's Middle Classes. In *Networked Urbanism: Social Capital in the City*, edited by T. Blokland and M. Savage. Burlington, VT: Ashgate.
- Card, David, Alexandre Mas, and Jesse Rothstein. 2011. Are Mixed Neighborhoods Always Unstable? Two-Sided and One-Sided Tipping. In *Neighborhood and Life Chances*, edited by H. B. Newburger, E. L. Birch and S. M. Wachter. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Cary, Town of. "About Cary." Cary, NC: Town of Cary. Accessed March 1, 2012. http://www.townofcary.org/New_to_Cary_/About_Cary.htm
- Casey-Leininger, Charles F., and Erinn L. Green. 2007. Stable Integrated Communities: A Report to The Stephen H. Wilder Foundation. Accessed March 15, 2012. <http://www.cincinnatiassoc.org/attachments/1/stable.pdf>
- Chalmers, Virginia. 1997. White Out: Multicultural Performances in a Progressive School. In *Off White: Readings on Race, Power, and Society*, edited by M. Fine, L. Weis, L. C. Powell and L. M. Wong. New York: Routledge.
- Charles, Camille Zubrinsky. 2006. *Won't You Be My Neighbor? Race, Class, and Residence in Los Angeles*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- . 2003. The Dynamics of Racial Residential Segregation. *Annual Review of Sociology* 29 (1):167-207.
- Charmaz, Kathy. 2006. *Constructing Grounded Theory: A Practical Guide through Qualitative Research*. London: SAGE Publications.
- Chaskin, Robert J. 1997. Perspectives on Neighborhood and Community: A Review of the Literature. *The Social Service Review* 71:521-547.
- Collins, Patricia Hill. 1991. *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness and the Politics of Empowerment*. 2nd ed. New York: Routledge.

- Cose, Ellis. 1994. *The Rage of a Privileged Class: Why Are Middle-Class Blacks Angry? Why Should America Care?* New York: Harper Perennial.
- Cosgrove, Denis E. 1998. *Social formation and Symbolic Landscape*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Cox, Oliver. 1970. *Caste, Class and Race: A Study in Social Dynamics*. New York: Monthly Review Press.
- Crenshaw, Kimberle. 1995. Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics and Violence Against Women of Color. In *Critical Race Theory: Key Writings that Formed the Movement*, edited by K. Crenshaw, N. Gotanda, G. Peller and K. Thomas. New York: The New Press.
- Dalmage, Heather M. 2004. Protecting Racial Comfort, Protecting White Privilege. In *The Politics of Multiracialism: Challenging Racial Thinking*, edited by H. M. Dalmage. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Denton, Nancy A., and Douglas S. Massey. 1991. Patterns of Neighborhood Transition in a Multiethnic World: U.S. Metropolitan Areas, 1970-1980. *Demography* 28:41-63.
- DeSena, Judith N. 1999. *People Power: Grass Roots Politics and Race Relations*. New York: University Press of America.
- DeYoung, Curtiss Paul, Michael O. Emerson, George Yancey, and Karen Chai Kim. 2003. *United by faith: The multiracial congregation as an answer to the problem of race*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Drake, St. Clair and Horace R. Cayton. 1962. *Black Metropolis: A Study of Negro Life in a Northern City*. New York: Harper and Row.
- Du Bois, W.E.B. 1903. *Souls of Black Folks*. New York: Penguin Books.
- . 1899. *The Philadelphia Negro*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Durham County Register of Deeds, "Index to Corporations, Assumed Names and Partners – Durham County, NC," 1881-1983. Accessed March 1, 2012.
<http://rodweb.co.durham.nc.us/localization/menu.asp>
- Edwards, Korie L. 2008. *The Elusive Dream: The Power of Race in Interracial Churches*. New York: Oxford University Press.

- Ellen, Ingrid Gould. 1998. Stable Racial Integration In The Contemporary United States: An Empirical Overview. *Journal of Urban Affairs* 20:27-42.
- Embrick, David G. 2008. The Diversity Ideology: Keeping Major Transnational Corporations White and Male in an Era of Globalization. In *Globalization and America: Race, Human Rights, and Inequality*, edited by A. J. Hattery, D. G. Embrick and E. Smith. New York: Rowman and Littlefield.
- . 2006. "The Making and Selling of an Illusion: An Examination of Racial and Gender Diversity in Post Civil-Rights U.S. Corporations." Texas A&M University.
- Ex-Officer Pleads Guilty to Stealing From Hispanic Drivers*. 2007. Capital Broadcasting Company. [cited October 1 2009]. Available from http://www.wral.com/news/news_briefs/story/2118634/.
- Feagin, Joe R., Hernan Vera, and Nikitah Imani. 1996. *The Agony of Education: Black students at White Colleges and Universities*. New York: Routledge.
- Fennelly, Katherine. 2008. "Prejudice Toward Immigrants in the Midwest." In *New Faces in New Places*, ed. Douglas S. Massey, 151-78. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Fong, Eric, and Kumiko Shibuya. 2005. Multiethnic Cities in North America. *Annual Review of Sociology* 31 (1):285-304.
- Frankenberg, Ruth. 1993. *White Women, Race Matters: The Social Construction of Whiteness*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Franklin, John Hope and Alfred A. Moss, Jr. 2000. *From Slavery to Freedom: A History of African Americans*. New York: Knopf.
- Frazier, Franklin E. 1965. *Black Bourgeoisie*. New York: Free Press.
- Freeman, Lance. 2009. Neighbourhood Diversity, Metropolitan Segregation and Gentrification: What Are the Links in the US? *Urban Studies* 46 (10):2079-2101
- Frey, William H. and Reynolds Farley. 1996. Latino, Asian, and Black Segregation in U.S. Metropolitan Areas: Are Multi-ethnic Metros Different? *Demography* 33: 35-50.
- Galster, George. 1989. Residential Segregation in American Cities: A Further Response to Clark. *Population Research and Policy Review* 8:181-92.
- Giddens, Anthony. 1984. *The Constitution of Society: Outline of the Theory of Structuration*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

- Glaeser, Edward and Jacob Vigdor. 2012. "The End of the Segregated Century: Racial Separation in America's Neighborhoods, 1890-2010." Manhattan Institute for Policy Research Civic Report, no. 66, January 2012. http://www.manhattan-institute.org/html/cr_66.htm
- Glenn, Evelyn Nakano. 2002. *Unequal Freedom: How Race and Gender Shaped American Citizenship and Labor*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- 1999. The Social Construction and Institutionalization of Gender and Race: An Integrative Framework. In *The Gender Lens: Revisioning Gender*, edited by M. M. Ferree, J. Lorber and B. Hess. Lanham, MD: SAGE Publications.
- Grazian, David. 2003. *Blue Chicago: The search for authenticity in urban blues clubs*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Hall, Stuart. 1986. "Gramsci's Relevance for the Study of Race and Ethnicity." *Journal of Communication* 10:5-27.
- 1980. "Race, articulation and societies structured in dominance." In *Sociological Theories: Race and Colonialism*. Paris: UNESCO.
- Hallman, Howard W. 1984. *Neighborhoods: Their Place in Urban Life*. Beverly Hills, CA: SAGE Publications.
- Hartigan, John. 1999. *Racial Situations: Class Predicaments of Whiteness in Detroit*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Hartmann, Douglas, Joseph Gerteis, and Paul R. Croll. 2009. An Empirical Assessment of Whiteness Theory: Hidden from How Many? *Social Problems* 56 (3):403-424.
- Hirschman, Charles and Douglas S. Massey. 2008. "Places and People: The New American Mosaic." In *New Faces in New Places*, ed. Douglas S. Massey, 1-22. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- hooks, bell. 2000. "Eating the Other: Desire and Resistance." In *The Consumer Society Reader*, edited by J.B. Schor and D.B. Holt. New York: The New Press.
- Hordge-Freeman, Elizabeth, Sarah Mayorga, and Eduardo Bonilla-Silva. 2011. Exposing Whiteness Because We Are Free: Emancipation Methodological Practice in Identifying and Challenging Racial Practices in Sociology Departments. In *Rethinking Race and Ethnicity in Research Methods*, edited by I. John H. Stanfield. Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press.

- Horton, John. 1995. *The politics of diversity: immigration, resistance, and change in Monterey Park, California*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- HUD. "Buying a Home." Washington, DC: US Department of Housing and Urban Development. Accessed March 1, 2012.
http://portal.hud.gov/hudportal/HUD?src=/topics/buying_a_home
- Hummon, David Mark. 1990. *Commonplaces: Community ideology and identity in American culture*. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Huntington, Samuel. 2004. *Who are we? The challenges to America's National Identity*. New York: Simon and Schuster.
- Hurtado, Aida, and Abigail J. Stewart. 1997. Through the Looking Glass: Implications of Studying Whiteness for Feminist Methods. In *Off White: Readings on Race, Power, and Society*, edited by M. Fine, L. Weis, L. C. Powell and L. M. Wong. New York: Routledge.
- Iceland, John. 2009. *Where We Live Now: Immigration and Race in the United States*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- , 2004. Beyond Black and White: Metropolitan residential segregation in multi-ethnic America. *Social Science Research* 33: 248–271.
- Itzigsohn, Jose. 2009. *Encountering American Faultlines: Race, Class, and the Dominican Experience in Providence*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Jackman, Mary R. 1994. *The Velvet Glove: Paternalism and Conflict in Gender, Class, and Race Relations*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Jackman, Mary R., and Robert W. Jackman. 1986. Racial Inequalities in Home Ownership. In *Race, Ethnicity, and Minority Housing in the United States*, edited by J. A. Momeni. New York: Greenwood Press.
- Johnson, Charles S. 1943. *Patterns of Negro Segregation*. New York: Harper.
- Johnson, Heather Beth, and Thomas M. Shapiro. 2003. Good Neighborhoods, Good Schools: Race and the 'Good Choices' of White Families. In *White Out: Continuing Significance of Racism*, edited by A. W. Doane and E. Bonilla-Silva. New York: Routledge.

- Joseph, Mark L. 2011. Reinventing Older Communities Through Mixed Income Development: What are we learning from Chicago's Public Housing Transformation? In *Neighborhood and Life Chances: How Place Matters in Modern America*, edited by H. B. Newburger, E. L. Birch and S. M. Wachter. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Joseph, Mark, and Robert Chaskin. 2010. Living in a Mixed-Income Development: Resident Perceptions of the Benefits and Disadvantages of Two Developments in Chicago. *Urban Studies* 47 (11):2347-2366.
- Kim, Claire Jean. 1999. The Racial Triangulation of Asian Americans. *Politics and Society* 27:105-38.
- Kleit, Rachel Garshick. 2008. Neighborhood Segregation, Personal Networks, and Access to Social Resources. In *Segregation: The Rising Costs for America*, edited by J. H. Carr and N. K. Kutty, 237-60. New York: Routledge.
- Kong, Lily. 2008. Power and Prestige. In *The SAGE Companion to the City*. Los Angeles: SAGE.
- Krivo, Lauren J., and Robert L. Kaufman. 1999. How Low Can It Go? Declining Black-White Segregation in a Multiethnic Context. *Demography* 36 (1):93-109.
- Kuo, Frances E., and William C. Sullivan. 2001. Environment and Crime in the Inner City: Does Vegetation Reduce Crime? *Environment and Behavior* 33 (3):343-367.
- Latino Outreach. "Latino Community Outreach and Engagement." Durham: Duke University Office of Durham and Regional Affairs. Accessed March 16, 2012. https://community.duke.edu/Duke-Durham%20Relations/latino_outreach/index.php
- Lewis, Amanda E. 2004. What Group? Studying Whites and Whiteness in the Era of Color-Blindness. *Sociological Theory* 22:623-646.
- Ley, David. 2003. Artists, Aestheticisation and the Field of Gentrification. *Urban Studies* 40 (12):2527-2544.
- . 1996. *The New Middle Class and the Remaking of the Central City*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Lofland, John, David A. Snow, Leon Anderson, and Lyn H. Lofland. 2006. *Analyzing Social Settings: A Guide to Qualitative Observation and Analysis*. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth/Thomson Learning.

- Maly, Michael T. 2005. *Beyond Segregation: Multiracial and Multiethnic Neighborhoods in the United States*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- 2002. The Neighborhood Diversity Index: A Complementary Measure of Racial Residential Settlement. *Journal of Urban Affairs* 22:37-47.
- Massey, Douglas S. 1987. The Ethnosurvey in Theory and Practice. *International Migration Review* 21:1498-1522.
- Massey, Douglas S. and Nancy Denton. 1993. *American Apartheid: Segregation and the Making of the Underclass*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- 1989. Hypersegregation in U.S. Metropolitan Areas: Black and Hispanic Segregation along Five Dimensions. *Demography* 26 (3):373-391.
- McClain, Paula D. 2006. North Carolina's Response to Latino Immigrants and Immigration. In *Immigration's New Frontiers: Experiences from the Emerging Gateway States*, edited by J. Greg Anrig and T. A. Wang. New York: The Century Foundation Press.
- McClain, Paula D., Niambi M. Carter, Victoria M. DeFrancesco Soto, Monique L. Lyle, Jeffrey D. Grynaviski, Shayla C. Nunnally, Thomas J. Scotto, J. Alan Kendrick, Gerald F. Lackey, and Kendra Davenport Cotton. 2006. Racial Distancing in a Southern City: Latino Immigrants' Views of Black Americans. *Journal of Politics* 68: 571-584.
- McDermott, Monica, and Frank L. Samson. 2005. White Racial and Ethnic Identity in the United States. *Annual Review of Sociology* 31 (1):245-261.
- McPherson, Miller, Lynn Smith-Lovin, and James M. Cook. 2001. Birds of a Feather: Homophily in Social Networks. *Annual Review of Sociology* 27:415-444.
- Meredith, J. Greif. 2009. Neighborhood Attachment in the Multiethnic Metropolis. *City & Community* 8 (1):27-45.
- Merry, Sally Engle. 1981. *Urban Danger: Life in a Neighborhood of Strangers*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Mills, Charles W. 2004. Racial Exploitation and the Wages of Whiteness. In *The Changing Terrain of Race and Ethnicity*, edited by M. Krysan and A. E. Lewis. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- 1997. *The Racial Contract*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

- Nager, Norma. 1980. Continuities of Urban Policy on the Poor: From Urban Renewal to Reinvestment. In *Back to the City: Issues in Neighborhood Renovation*, edited by S. B. Laska and D. Spain. New York: Pergamon Press.
- NC General Assembly. "House Bill 33: Consular Documents Not Acceptable as ID (2011-2012 Season)." Raleigh, NC: North Carolina General Assembly. Accessed March 20, 2012.
<http://www.ncleg.net/gascripts/billlookup/billlookup.pl?Session=2011&BillID=H33>
- NYT/CBS News. 2010. "Poll: April 28-May 2, 2010." The New York Times/CBS News. Accessed October 1, 2011. <http://s3.amazonaws.com/nytdocs/docs/330/330.pdf>
- O'Connor, Christopher D. 2010. Empowered communities or self-governing citizens? (Re)examining social control within the move toward community. In *Social control: Informal, legal, and medical*, edited by J. J. Chriss. Bingley, UK: Emerald Group Publishing Limited.
- Oliver, Melvin I, and Thomas M Shapiro. 1995. *Black Wealth/White Wealth: New Perspectives on Racial Inequality*. New York: Routledge.
- Park, Robert Ezra. 1950. *Race and Culture*. Glencoe: The Free Press.
- . 1924. The Concept of Social Distance As Applied to the Study of Racial Attitudes and Racial Relations. *Journal of Applied Sociology* 8:339-344.
- Parrado, Emilio, and Chenoa Flippen. 2009. Neighborhood Context of Reception and HIV Risks among Latino Immigrants in Carrboro/Durham, NC. Paper presented at the annual meeting for the Population Association of America, April 30-May 3, in Detroit, MI.
- . 2005. Migration and Gender among Mexican Women. *American Sociological Review* 70:606-632.
- Parrado, Emilio A., Chris McQuiston, and Chenoa A. Flippen. 2005. Participatory Survey Research: Integrating Community Collaboration and Quantitative Methods for the Study of Gender and HIV Risks Among Hispanic Migrants. *Sociological Methods Research* 34: 204-239.
- Pierce, Jennifer L. 2003. "Racing for Innocence": Whiteness, Corporate Culture, and the Backlash Against Affirmative Action. In *White Out: The Continuing Significance of Racism*, edited by A. W. Doane and E. Bonilla-Silva. New York: Routledge.

- Portes, Alejandro, and Ruben Rumbaut. 2006. *Immigrant America: A Portrait*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Public and Indian Housing. "About HOPE VI." Washington, DC: US Department of Housing and Urban Development. Accessed March 4, 2012.
http://portal.hud.gov/hudportal/HUD?src=/program_offices/public_indian_housing/programs/ph/hope6/about
- Putnam, Robert D. 2007. E Pluribus Unum: Diversity and Community in the Twenty-First Century. *Scandinavian Political Studies* 30 (2):137-74.
- Rabrenovic, Gordana. 1996. *Community Builders: A Tale of Neighborhood Mobilization in Two Cities*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Robins, Douglas M., Clinton R. Sanders, and Spencer E. Cahill. 1991. Dogs and Their People. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography* 20 (1):3-25.
- Roediger, David R. 2007. *The Wages of Whiteness: Race and Making of the American Working Class*. New York: Verso.
- Roof, Wade Clark, Thomas L. Van Valey, and Daphne Spain. 1976. Residential Segregation in Southern Cities: 1970. *Social Forces* 55:59-71.
- Rose, Damaris. 2004. Discourses and Experiences of Social Mix in Gentrifying Neighbourhoods: A Montreal Case Study. *Canadian Journal of Urban Research* 13 (2):278-316.
- Rosenbaum, Dennis P. 1988. Community crime prevention: A review and synthesis of the literature. *Justice Quarterly* 5 (3):323-295.
- Rosenbaum, Emily and Samantha Friedman. 2007. *The Housing Divide: How Generations of Immigrants Fare in New York's Housing Market*. New York: New York University Press.

- Royster, Deidre. *Race and the Invisible Hand: How White Networks Exclude Black Men from Blue-Collar Jobs*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Rude, Jesse Dennison. 2009. Interracial friendships in context: Their formation, development, and impact. Ph.D., ProQuest Dissertations and Theses, University of California, Davis, United States -- California.
- Rude, Jesse, and Daniel Herda. 2010. Best Friends Forever? Race and the Stability of Adolescent Friendships. *Social Forces* 89 (2):585-607.
- Russell-Brown, Katheryn. 2008. *The Color of Crime: Racial Hoaxes, White Fear, Black Protectionism, Police Harassment, and Other Macroaggressions*. New York: New York University Press.
- Ryan, William. 1971. *Blaming the Victim*. New York: Pantheon Books.
- Saito, Leland T. 2009. *The Politics of Exclusion: The Failure of Race-Neutral Policies in Urban America*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Schnore, Leo F., and Philip C. Evenson. 1966. Segregation in Southern Cities. *The American Journal of Sociology* 72:58-67.
- Schrock, Douglas, and Michael Schwalbe. 2009. Men, Masculinity, and Manhood Acts. *Annual Review of Sociology* 35 (1):277-295.
- Shapiro, Thomas M. 2004. *The Hidden Cost of Being African American: How Wealth Perpetuates Inequality*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Sharman, Russell Leigh. 2006. *The Tenants of East Harlem*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Shaw, Wendy S. 2007. *Cities of whiteness*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Pub.
- . 2005. Heritage and gentrification: Remembering 'the good old days' in postcolonial Sydney. In *Gentrification in a Global Context*, edited by R. Atkinson and G. Bridge. New York: Routledge.
- Shrestha, Nanda R., and Wilbur I. Smith. 2002. *Epilogue: Geographical Imageries and Race Matters*. Edited by K. A. Berry and M. L. Henderson, *Geographical Identities of Ethnic America: Race, Space, and Place*. Reno: University of Nevada Press.
- Small, Mario Luis. 2009. 'How many cases do I need?': On science and the logic of case selection in field-based research. *Ethnography* 10:5-38.

- Smith, Heather A. 2008. "The Untraditional Geography of Hispanic Settlement in a New South City: Charlotte, North Carolina." In *Immigrants Outside Megalopolis: Ethnic Transformation in the Heartland*, ed. Richard C. Jones, 237-262. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield.
- Smith, Janet L. 2010. Integration: Solving the Wrong Problem. In *The Integration Debate: Competing Futures for American Cities*, edited by C. Hartman and G. D. Squires. New York: Routledge.
- Smith, Norma. 2002. "Oral History and Grounded Theory Procedures as Research Methodology for Studies in Race, Gender and Class." *Race, Gender and Class* 9:121-38.
- Smith, Shanna L., and Cathy Cloud. 2010. Welcome to the Neighborhood? The Persistence of Discrimination and Segregation. In *The Integration Debate: Competing Futures for American Cities*, edited by C. Hartman and G. D. Squires. New York: Routledge.
- Smith, Tom W. 2002. Measuring inter-racial friendships. *Social Science Research* 31:576-593.
- Smith, Tom W, Peter Marsden, Michael Hout, and Jibum Kim. 2011. *General social surveys, 1972-2010*[machine-readable data file] /Principal Investigator, Tom W. Smith; Co-Principal Investigator, Peter V. Marsden; Co-Principal Investigator, Michael Hout; Sponsored by National Science Foundation. --NORC ed.-- Chicago: National Opinion Research Center [producer]; Storrs, CT: The Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, University of Connecticut [distributor].
- Snow, David A., Robert D. Benford, and Leon Anderson. 1986. Fieldwork Roles and Informational Yield: A Comparison of Alternative Settings and Roles. *Urban Life* 14:377-408.
- Spickard, Paul. 2007. *Almost All Aliens: Immigration, Race, and Colonialism in American History and Identity*. New York: Routledge.
- Steinberg, Stephen. 2010. The Myth of Concentrated Poverty. In *The Integration Debate: Competing Futures for American Cities*, edited by C. Hartman and G. D. Squires. New York: Routledge.
- Sullivan, Shannon. 2006. *Revealing Whiteness: The Unconscious Habits of Racial Privilege*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

- Taub, Richard P., D. Garth Taylor, and Jan D. Dunham. 1984. *Paths of Neighborhood Change: Race and Crime in Urban America*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Terrien, Elizabeth Jefferis. Forthcoming. "Cultural Identity and Community Indicators: Cases of Canine Interaction in Los Angeles and Chicago." University of Chicago.
- Thompson, Mark A. 2000. Black-White Residential Segregation in Atlanta. In *The Atlanta Paradox*, edited by D. L. Sjoquist. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Tissot, Sylvie. 2011. Of Dogs and Men: The Making of Spatial Boundaries in a Gentrifying Neighborhood. *City & Community* 10 (3):265-284.
- Twine, Frances Winddance, and Jonathan W. Warren, eds. 2000. *Racing Research, Researching Race: Methodological Dilemmas in Critical Race Studies*. New York: New York University Press.
- US Census Bureau. 2008. *North American Industry Classification System*. US Census Bureau 2008 [cited October 7 2010]. Available from <http://www.census.gov/cgi-bin/sssd/naics/naicsrch?chart=2007>.
- Weitzer, Ronald. 2000. Racialized Policing: Residents' Perceptions in Three Neighborhoods. *Law & Society Review* 34 (1):129-155.
- Weitzer, Ronald, and Steven A. Tuch. 2005. Racially Biased Policing: Determinants of Citizen Perceptions. *Social Forces* 83 (3):1009-1030.
- Wellman, David T. 1977. *Portraits of White Racism*. 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- White, Michael J., Ann H. Kim, and Jennifer E. Glick. 2005. Mapping Social Distance: Ethnic Residential Segregation in a Multiethnic Metro. *Sociological Methods Research* 34 (2):173-203.
- Williams, Terry, Eloise Dunlap, Bruce D. Johnson, and Ansley Hamid. 1992. Safety in Dangerous Places. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography* 21:343-374.
- Wilson, William J. 2009. *More than Just Race: Being Black and Poor in the Inner City*. New York: W. W. Norton Company.
- . 1987. *The Truly Disadvantaged: The Inner City, the Underclass and Public Policy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

- Wilson, William Julius, and Richard P. Taub. 2006. *There Goes the Neighborhood: Racial, Ethnic, and Class Tensions in Four Chicago Neighborhoods and Their Meaning for America*. New York: Knopf.
- Winant, Howard. 1997. Behind Blue Eyes: Whiteness and Contemporary U.S. Racial Politics. In *Off White: Readings on Race, Power, and Society*, edited by M. Fine, L. Weis, L. C. Powell and L. M. Wong. New York: Routledge.
- Winders, Jamie. 2009. "Placing Latino Migration and Migrant Experiences in the U.S. South: The Complexities of Regional and Local Trends." In *Global Connections and Local Receptions: New Latino Immigration to the Southeastern U.S.* ed., Jon Shefner and Fran Ansley, 223-244. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press.
- . 2008. "Nashville's New 'Sonido': Latino Migration and the Changing Politics of Race." In *New Faces in New Places*, ed. Douglas S. Massey, 249-273. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Woldoff, Rachael A. 2011. *White flight/black flight: The dynamics of racial change in an American neighborhood*. Ithaca, N.Y.:Cornell University Press.
- Zinn, Howard. 2003. *A People's History of the United States: 1492-Present*. New York: Perennial Classics.
- Zukin, Sharon.1987. Gentrification: Culture and Capital in the Urban Core. *Annual Review of Sociology* 13 (1):129-147.

Biography

Sarah Mayorga was born in San Juan, Puerto Rico on July 23, 1984. She graduated with a Bachelor of Arts degree from Providence College (Providence, Rhode Island) in May of 2002. She completed her Master of Arts degree at Duke University (Durham, North Carolina) in December of 2008. In 2009, she co-authored "Si Me Permiten Hablar: Limitations of the Human Rights Tradition to Address Racial Inequality" for *Societies without Borders* with Eduardo Bonilla-Silva. In 2011, she co-authored two book chapters: one with Elizabeth Hordge-Freeman and Eduardo Bonilla-Silva entitled "Whiteness Exposed, Freedom Espoused: Identifying and Challenging Racial Practices in Sociology Departments" for John Stanfield's *Rethinking Race and Ethnicity in Research Methods*; the other, "On (Not) Belonging: Why Citizenship Does Not Remedy Racial Inequality," was written with Eduardo Bonilla-Silva for his co-edited volume entitled *State of White Supremacy: Racism, Governance, and the United States*. Mayorga was also the recipient of various honors while attending Duke University. In 2007 the Sociology Department at Duke University awarded her a Graduate-Undergraduate Collaboration Research Grant. In 2009 she received the Tiryakian Research Fellow Award and a Dissertation Research Grant from Duke University's Program in Latino/a Studies. In 2010 she was a Graduate Fellow at Duke University's Center for the Study of Race, Ethnicity and Gender in the Social Sciences (REGSS). In 2011, she was awarded a Summer Research Fellowship from Duke University's Graduate School and a Dissertation Improvement Grant from the

National Science Foundation. She received an honorable mention from the Ford Foundation's 2011 Dissertation Fellowship Program and was the recipient of the 2011 Racial/Ethnic Minority Graduate Scholarship from the Society for the Study of Social Problems.