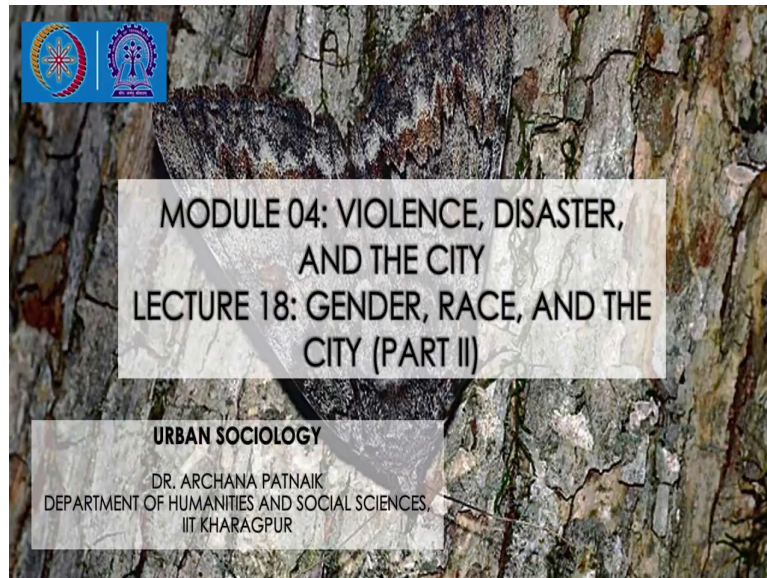


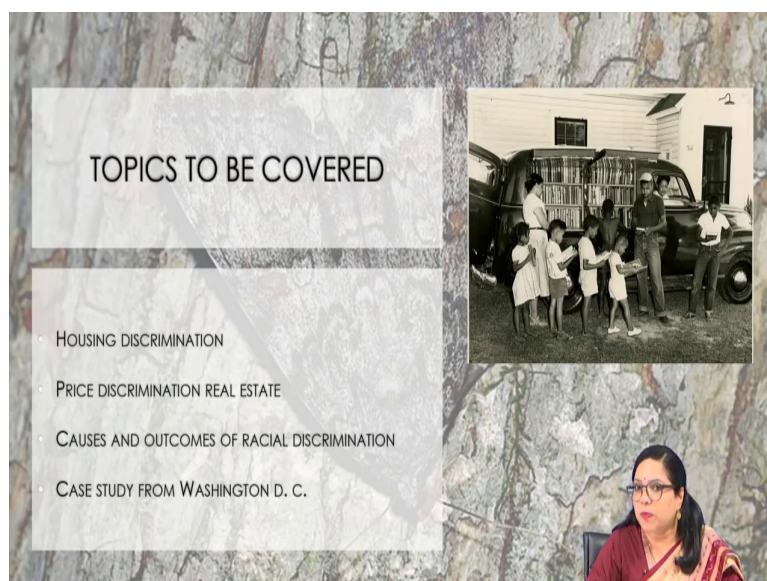
Urban Sociology
Professor Archana Patnaik
Department of Humanities and Social Science
Indian Institute of Technology Kharagpur
Lecture 18
GENDER, RACE AND THE CITY (PART II)

(Refer Slide Time: 00:27)



Welcome to the second part of the lecture on Gender, Race and the City. As I had discussed earlier in the previous lecture, today, I will be covering the topic of race and how the racial disparities affect the urban experiences.

(Refer Slide Time: 00:44)



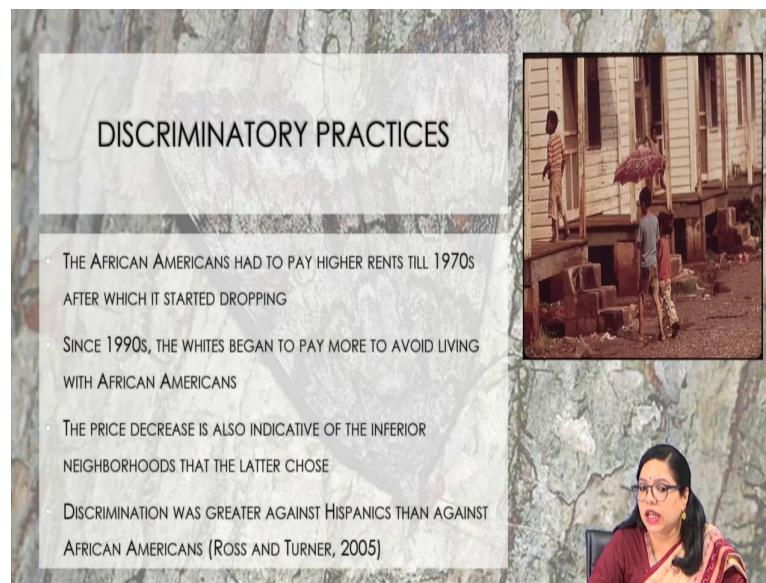
The topics that I will touch upon are housing discrimination, then the price discrimination of real estate, the causes and outcomes of racial discrimination, and the case study from Washington DC.

(Refer Slide Time: 01:02)



Although the Fair Housing Act has considerably lessened discrimination against minority races, the same cannot be said when it comes to racial segregation. Most racial backgrounds occupy neighbourhoods that cater to individuals from their own race. As a result, there is a differential access to services and opportunities. The other way to know that discrimination is still prevalent is to examine the differences housing rates for the majority versus the minority races. The minority races often have to shell out extra since they are prevented from living in certain residential areas.

(Refer Slide Time: 01:59)



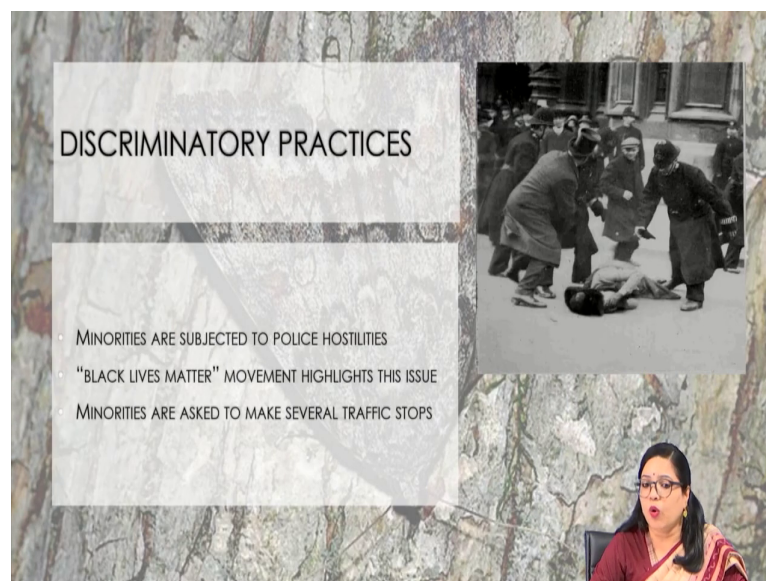
DISCRIMINATORY PRACTICES

- THE AFRICAN AMERICANS HAD TO PAY HIGHER RENTS TILL 1970s AFTER WHICH IT STARTED DROPPING
- SINCE 1990s, THE WHITES BEGAN TO PAY MORE TO AVOID LIVING WITH AFRICAN AMERICANS
- THE PRICE DECREASE IS ALSO INDICATIVE OF THE INFERIOR NEIGHBORHOODS THAT THE LATTER CHOSE
- DISCRIMINATION WAS GREATER AGAINST HISPANICS THAN AGAINST AFRICAN AMERICANS (ROSS AND TURNER, 2005)

A historical photograph in the top right corner shows a group of people, including children, standing in front of a dilapidated, multi-story building with many windows, likely a segregated housing area.

During the great migration of African Americans to the northern cities in the 1950s, they had to pay much higher prices till 1970s. However, in the 1990s, the whites began to pay more since they did not want to live in the same neighbourhood as the African Americans. The decrease in housing price can also be attributed to the inferior quality of the neighbourhood that the minorities opted for. The comparison of data of the years 1989 and 2000 showed greater discrimination against Hispanics than the African americans (Ross and Turner, 2005).

(Refer Slide Time: 02:58)



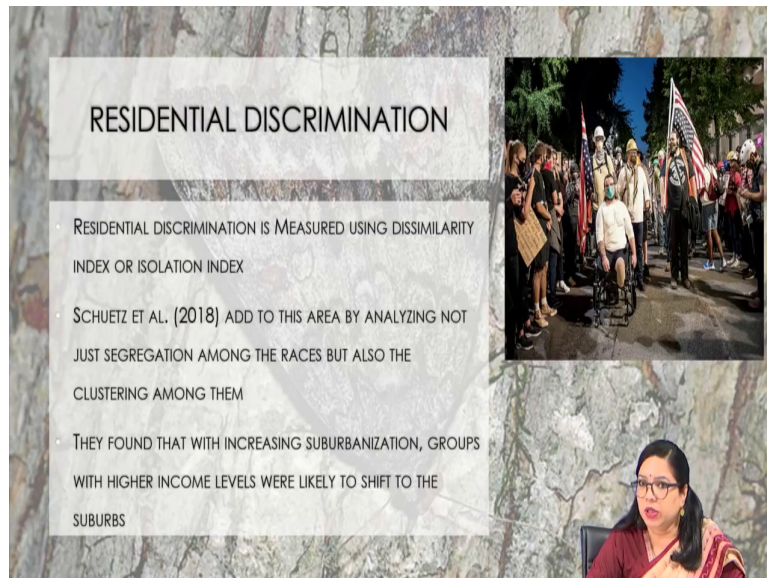
DISCRIMINATORY PRACTICES

- MINORITIES ARE SUBJECTED TO POLICE HOSTILITIES
- "BLACK LIVES MATTER" MOVEMENT HIGHLIGHTS THIS ISSUE
- MINORITIES ARE ASKED TO MAKE SEVERAL TRAFFIC STOPS

A photograph in the top right corner depicts a group of police officers in riot gear surrounding and using force against a person lying on the ground, illustrating police brutality.

Even though open discrimination against minority races have significantly reduced, they are still subjected to hostilities in the form of force used by the police. The “Black Lives Matter”

movement has highlighted this issue. The traffic cops often ask African Americans for great number of stops than they do the whites. This is a major form of discrimination and harassment. Even the rate of police shootings is much higher when it comes to the blacks. (Refer Slide Time: 03:42)



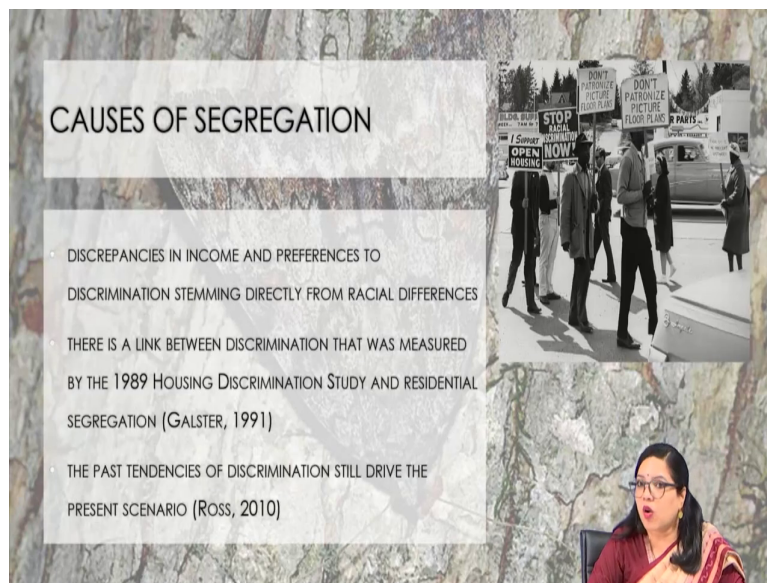
The slide features a title 'RESIDENTIAL DISCRIMINATION' at the top. Below it, a list of bullet points discusses measurement methods and research findings. An inset photograph on the right shows a group of people at a protest, with one person in the foreground holding a sign that reads 'BLACK LIVES MATTER'.

RESIDENTIAL DISCRIMINATION

- RESIDENTIAL DISCRIMINATION IS MEASURED USING DISSIMILARITY INDEX OR ISOLATION INDEX
- SCHUETZ ET AL. (2018) ADD TO THIS AREA BY ANALYZING NOT JUST SEGREGATION AMONG THE RACES BUT ALSO THE CLUSTERING AMONG THEM
- THEY FOUND THAT WITH INCREASING SUBURBANIZATION, GROUPS WITH HIGHER INCOME LEVELS WERE LIKELY TO SHIFT TO THE SUBURBS

Discrimination in residences are measured using dissimilarity index or isolation index. However, the two indices give an unclear picture of segregation patterns. Schuetz et al. (2018) add to this area by analyzing not just segregation among the races but also the clustering among them. Additionally, they also see how far the residences are from the city center and how that affects the income levels. They found that with increasing suburbanization, groups with higher income levels were likely to shift to the suburbs.

(Refer Slide Time: 04:32)



CAUSES OF SEGREGATION

- DISCREPANCIES IN INCOME AND PREFERENCES TO DISCRIMINATION STEMMING DIRECTLY FROM RACIAL DIFFERENCES
- THERE IS A LINK BETWEEN DISCRIMINATION THAT WAS MEASURED BY THE 1989 HOUSING DISCRIMINATION STUDY AND RESIDENTIAL SEGREGATION (GALSTER, 1991)
- THE PAST TENDENCIES OF DISCRIMINATION STILL DRIVE THE PRESENT SCENARIO (ROSS, 2010)

The slide features a background image of a protest with people holding signs that read "STOP RACIAL", "DON'T PATRONIZE PICTURE FLOOPY PLANS", and "I SUPPORT OPEN HOUSING".

The causes of segregation are many including discrepancies in income and preferences to discrimination stemming directly from racial differences. According to Galster (1991), there is a link between discrimination that was measured by the 1989 Housing Discrimination Study and residential segregation.

In the opinion of Ross (2010), it is the past tendencies of discrimination that still drive the present scenario. Other authors state that it is the unwillingness of the whites to move into areas that are dominantly occupied by the blacks.

(Refer Slide Time: 05:33)



IMPACT OF RACIAL SEGREGATION

- STUDIES HAVE SHOWN HOW THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC PROGRESS FOR AFRICAN AMERICANS GET A SETBACK BECAUSE OF SEGREGATION
- "GREATER RACIAL DISPARITIES IN EXPOSURE TO NEIGHBORHOOD POVERTY, VIOLENCE, AND LOCAL SCHOOL PERFORMANCE "(DE LA ROCA, ELLEN, AND O'REGAN, 2014, CITED IN P. 4) IN SEGREGATED METROPOLITANS
- JOB-SEEKING YOUTHS MAY HAVE TO SHIFT TO NEIGHBOURHOODS WITH NO JOBS (KAIN, 1968)

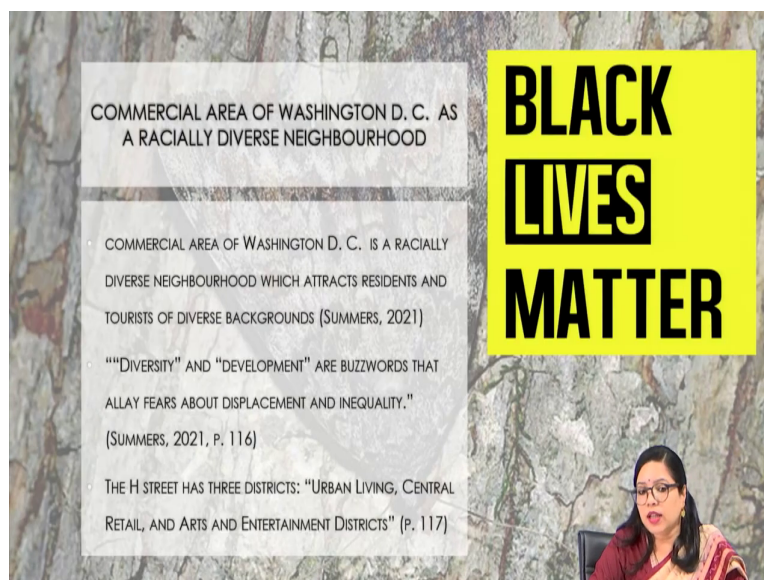
The slide features a background image of a protest with people holding a banner that reads "Affordable Housing for All! Don't Move - Fight Back!".

There is a huge impact of racial segregation on the minorities. Studies have shown how the socio-economic progress for African Americans get a setback because of segregation. The metropolitans that are more segregated are linked with “greater racial disparities in exposure to neighborhood poverty, violence, and local school performance “(De la Roca, Ellen, and O’Regan, 2014, cited in p. 4).

As a result of this segregation, job seeking youth may have to shift to the neighborhoods with no job. As Kain states, this eventual segregation has equally devastating effects on the Latino youth. “The mechanisms identified in most of these studies tend to point toward differences in exposure to poverty, resident education levels or other factors that are consistent with segregation either increasing negative spillovers or decreasing positive spillovers across individuals who live near each other” (p. 4).

Segregation can lessen the amount of capital accrued in minority households. It can also prevent intermingling of all races. The job opportunities and wages are also determined by segregation patterns. Such discrimination can also encourage young blacks to look for new separate homes from their parents’.

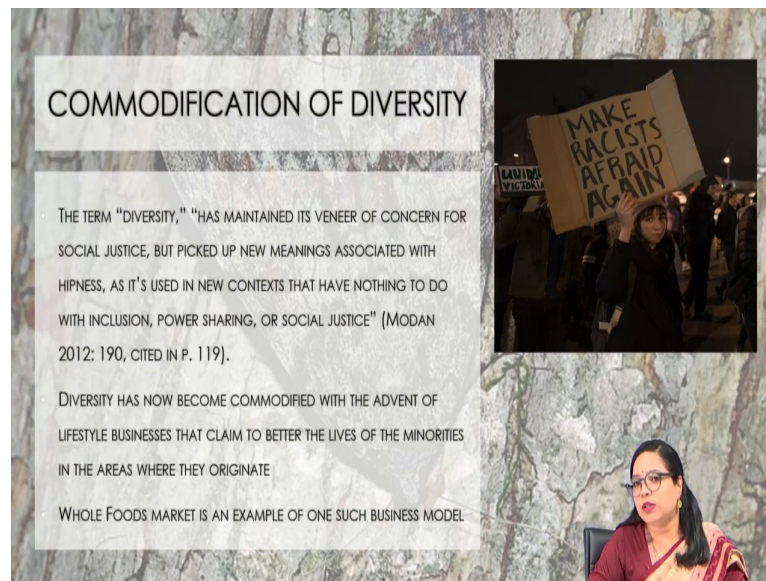
(Refer Slide Time: 07:23)



Brandi Thompson Summers in their book chapter “Race, Authenticity, and the Gentrified Aesthetics of Belonging in Washington, D.C.”, writes how the commercial area of Washington D. C. is a racially diverse neighbourhood. As a result of this diversity, young white residents and tourists are drawn to the area.

““Diversity” and “development” are buzzwords that allay fears about displacement and inequality.” (p. 116). The author focuses on H street, an area in the downtown that was earlier an exclusive marketplace for the blacks. However, now it has gained importance as a racially diverse area for various business interests. It has three districts: “Urban Living, Central Retail, and Arts and Entertainment Districts” (p. 117).

(Refer Slide Time: 08:29)



The slide features a textured, stone-like background. On the left, a white rectangular box contains the title 'COMMODIFICATION OF DIVERSITY' in bold, uppercase letters. Below the title, there are three bullet points. To the right of the text box, there is an inset photograph of a protest at night, showing a person holding a sign that reads 'MAKE RACISTS AFRAID AGAIN'. In the bottom right corner of the slide, there is a small video feed of a woman with dark hair and glasses, wearing a red and gold sari, who appears to be the presenter.

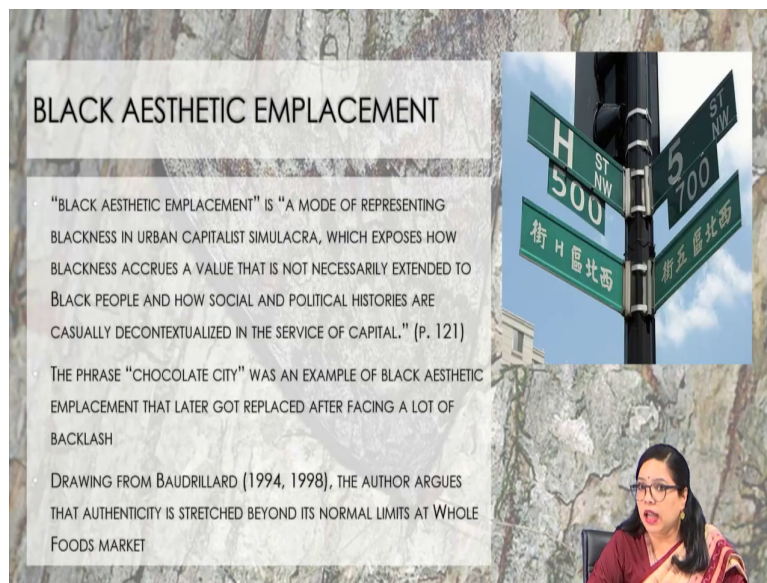
COMMODIFICATION OF DIVERSITY

- THE TERM "DIVERSITY," "HAS MAINTAINED ITS VENEER OF CONCERN FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE, BUT PICKED UP NEW MEANINGS ASSOCIATED WITH HIPNESS, AS IT'S USED IN NEW CONTEXTS THAT HAVE NOTHING TO DO WITH INCLUSION, POWER SHARING, OR SOCIAL JUSTICE" (MODAN 2012: 190, CITED IN P. 119).
- DIVERSITY HAS NOW BECOME COMMODIFIED WITH THE ADVENT OF LIFESTYLE BUSINESSES THAT CLAIM TO BETTER THE LIVES OF THE MINORITIES IN THE AREAS WHERE THEY ORIGINATE
- WHOLE FOODS MARKET IS AN EXAMPLE OF ONE SUCH BUSINESS MODEL

The term “diversity,” “has maintained its veneer of concern for social justice, but picked up new meanings associated with hipness, as it’s used in new contexts that have nothing to do with inclusion, power sharing, or social justice” (Modan 2012: 190, cited in p. 119). Diversity has now become commodified with the advent of lifestyle businesses that claim to better the lives of the minorities in the areas where they originate.

The whole foods market chain is an example of one such business that opened up on the H street. It sells organic foods and claims to be a responsible business model. The departmental store, however, is also known for its expensive products.

(Refer Slide Time: 09:26)



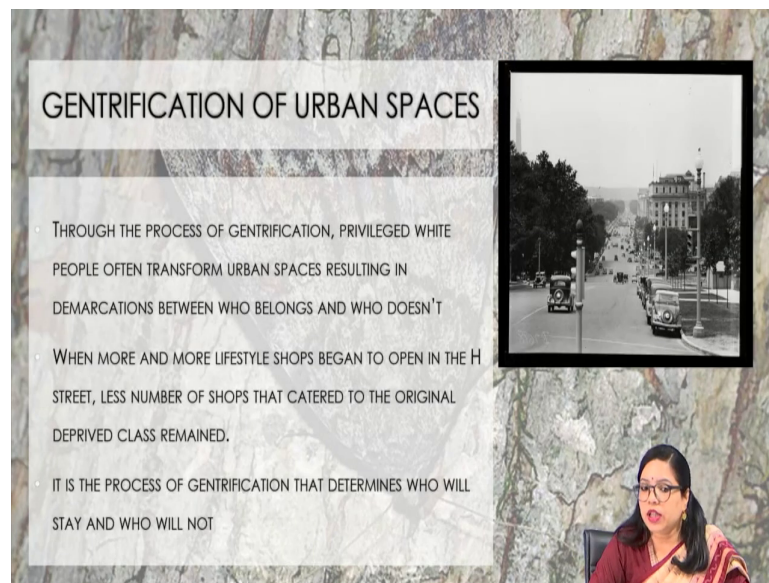
BLACK AESTHETIC EMPLACEMENT

- "BLACK AESTHETIC EMPLACEMENT" IS "A MODE OF REPRESENTING BLACKNESS IN URBAN CAPITALIST SIMULACRA, WHICH EXPOSES HOW BLACKNESS ACCRUES A VALUE THAT IS NOT NECESSARILY EXTENDED TO BLACK PEOPLE AND HOW SOCIAL AND POLITICAL HISTORIES ARE CASUALLY DECONTEXTUALIZED IN THE SERVICE OF CAPITAL." (P. 121)
- THE PHRASE "CHOCOLATE CITY" WAS AN EXAMPLE OF BLACK AESTHETIC EMPLACEMENT THAT LATER GOT REPLACED AFTER FACING A LOT OF BACKLASH
- DRAWING FROM BAUDRILLARD (1994, 1998), THE AUTHOR ARGUES THAT AUTHENTICITY IS STRETCHED BEYOND ITS NORMAL LIMITS AT WHOLE FOODS MARKET

Inside the shop, there is a paper-cutting with the phrase “Chocolate City” which, according to the author, is an example of “black aesthetic emplacement”, “a mode of representing blackness in urban capitalist simulacra, which exposes how blackness accrues a value that is not necessarily extended to Black people and how social and political histories are casually decontextualized in the service of capital.” (p. 121).

The phrase was later changed to confectioner’s corner when it faced a lot of controversy on social media. “At Whole Foods Market, authenticity is a hyperreality, one that does not reflect a prior social reality, but a new one constructed from models or ideas about “the real” and “authentic” (Baudrillard 1994, 1998)”. The constant emphasis on diversity is a phenomenon of the neoliberal age and is rewarding for the white people.

(Refer Slide Time: 10:51)



The slide features a background map of an urban area. On the right side, there is a black-and-white photograph of a wide street with vintage cars and a large building in the distance. A woman is visible in the bottom right corner of the slide, appearing to be presenting.

GENTRIFICATION OF URBAN SPACES

- THROUGH THE PROCESS OF GENTRIFICATION, PRIVILEGED WHITE PEOPLE OFTEN TRANSFORM URBAN SPACES RESULTING IN DEMARCATIONS BETWEEN WHO BELONGS AND WHO DOESN'T
- WHEN MORE AND MORE LIFESTYLE SHOPS BEGAN TO OPEN IN THE H STREET, LESS NUMBER OF SHOPS THAT CATERED TO THE ORIGINAL DEPRIVED CLASS REMAINED.
- IT IS THE PROCESS OF GENTRIFICATION THAT DETERMINES WHO WILL STAY AND WHO WILL NOT

Hipster economics is the trend of romanticizing or remodeling urban landscapes by seeing poverty through the lens of aesthetics (Kendall, 2014). Through the process of gentrification, privileged white people often transform urban spaces resulting in demarcations between who belongs and who doesn't. When more and more lifestyle shops began to open in the H street, a smaller number of shops that catered to the original deprived class remained.

As a result, the original inhabitants began to leave the area. Thus, it is the process of gentrification that determines who will stay and who will not. There is “end of local public services and a transition to a new economy that privileges exclusive commerce, gentrified culture, and consumption” (p. 128).

(Refer Slide Time: 12:02)



H STREET AS A "SPACE OF CONSUMPTION"

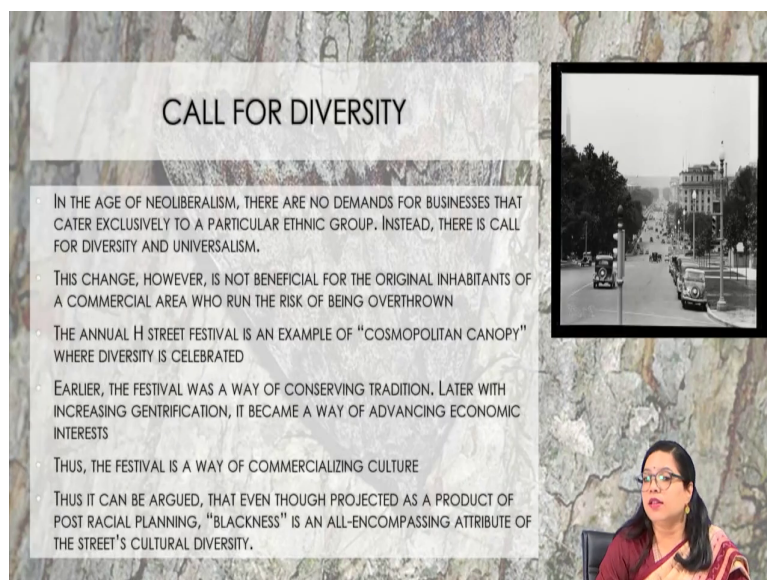
- "FIRST, STORE OWNERS REPRESENT THE INTERESTS OF A CULTURAL COMMUNITY THAT OPERATES IN DIRECT CONTRAST WITH LONG-TIME RESIDENTS.
- SECOND, RETAILERS (AS WELL AS DEVELOPERS AND INVESTORS) ENTER THE CONSUMPTION SPACE IN SEARCH OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY.
- FINALLY, RETAILERS ACT AS SOCIAL ENTREPRENEURS AS THEY ESTABLISH SOCIAL SPACES THAT INVITE NEW RESIDENTS AND TOURISTS, WHILE ALIENATING LONG-TIME RESIDENTS AND VISITORS (ZUKIN 2010: 19-20)"



H Street operates as a “space of consumption” in three different ways:


“First, store owners represent the interests of a cultural community that operates in direct contrast with long-time residents. Second, retailers (as well as developers and investors) enter the consumption space in search of economic opportunity. Finally, retailers act as social entrepreneurs as they establish social spaces that invite new residents and tourists, while alienating long-time residents and visitors (Zukin 2010: 19-20)”.

(Refer Slide Time: 12:54)



CALL FOR DIVERSITY

- IN THE AGE OF NEOLIBERALISM, THERE ARE NO DEMANDS FOR BUSINESSES THAT CATER EXCLUSIVELY TO A PARTICULAR ETHNIC GROUP. INSTEAD, THERE IS CALL FOR DIVERSITY AND UNIVERSALISM.
- THIS CHANGE, HOWEVER, IS NOT BENEFICIAL FOR THE ORIGINAL INHABITANTS OF A COMMERCIAL AREA WHO RUN THE RISK OF BEING OVERTHROWN
- THE ANNUAL H STREET FESTIVAL IS AN EXAMPLE OF "COSMOPOLITAN CANOPY" WHERE DIVERSITY IS CELEBRATED
- EARLIER, THE FESTIVAL WAS A WAY OF CONSERVING TRADITION. LATER WITH INCREASING GENTRIFICATION, IT BECAME A WAY OF ADVANCING ECONOMIC INTERESTS
- THUS, THE FESTIVAL IS A WAY OF COMMERCIALIZING CULTURE
- THUS IT CAN BE ARGUED, THAT EVEN THOUGH PROJECTED AS A PRODUCT OF POST RACIAL PLANNING, "BLACKNESS" IS AN ALL-ENCOMPASSING ATTRIBUTE OF THE STREET'S CULTURAL DIVERSITY.

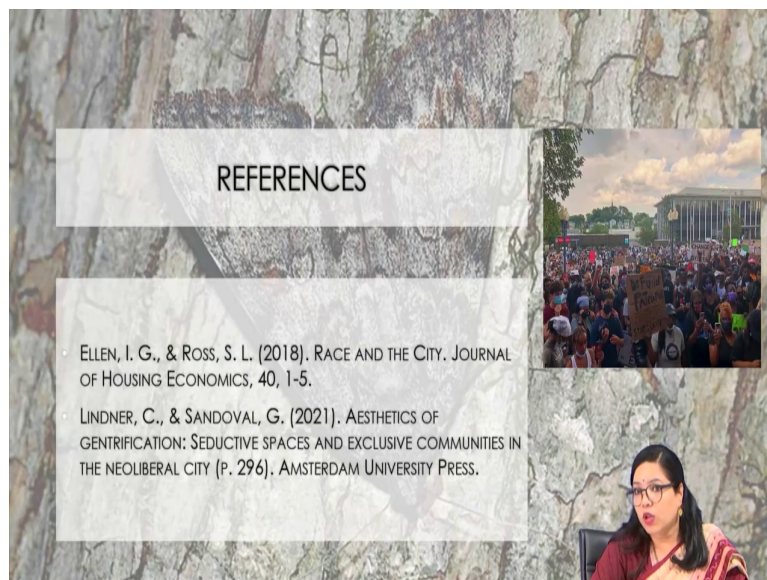


In the age of neoliberalism, there are no demands for businesses that cater exclusively to a particular ethnic group. Instead, there is call for diversity and universalism. This change, however, is not beneficial for the original inhabitants of a commercial area who run the risk of being overthrown. The annual H street festival is an example of “cosmopolitan canopy” where diversity is celebrated.

It “establishes the street as the ideal consumption space mentioned above – one that focuses on producing gentrified spaces for residents and visitors to socialize and hang out, but one that also caters to a particular lifestyle that actively reinvents the space” (p. 131). Earlier, the festival was a way of conserving tradition. Later with increasing gentrification, it became a way of advancing economic interests.

Moreover, it has boosted the tourism industry immensely. A lot of people even gain interest in inhabiting the neighbourhood after being a part of this festival. Thus, the festival is a way of commercializing culture. The “constructed multicultural urbanity” of the H street “that relies on a depoliticized ethnic cool” “decontextualizes the history of the space” (p. 133). Thus it can be argued, that even though projected as a product of post racial planning, “blackness” is an all-encompassing attribute of the street’s cultural diversity.

(Refer Slide Time: 15:12)



I hope through today's class, you gained knowledge about how race interacts with the city. That is all for today's lecture. I will see you for the next one.

(Refer Slide Time: 15:20)



Thank you for listening and have a great day ahead.