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"Alberta Arts District" : boundaries and belonging among long-time residents in a culturally changing neighborhood

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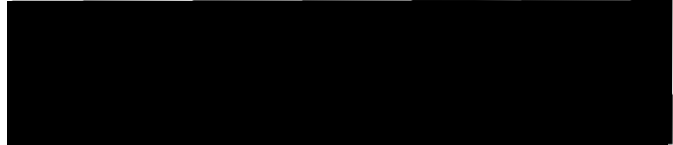
THESIS APPROVAL

The abstract and thesis of Sammy Shaw for the Master of Arts in Sociology were presented November 3, 2005, and accepted by the thesis committee and the department.

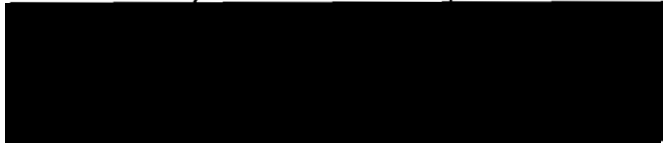
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ABSTRACT

An abstract of the thesis of Sammy Shaw for the Master of Arts in Sociology presented November 3, 2005.

Title: "Alberta Arts District": Boundaries and Belonging among Long-Time Residents in a Culturally Changing Neighborhood.

This study takes a cultural perspective in studying the "Alberta Arts District," a gentrifying neighborhood in Northeast Portland in which bohemian cultural production/consumption has become the dominant and commodified vision of the community. Survey data demonstrates residents' general opinions and levels of participation in the changing neighborhood. Forty long-time residents, black and white, homeowners and renters, are interviewed in-depth regarding their perceptions of change. Long-time residents of gentrifying neighborhoods are often overlooked as a less powerful group that only has to negotiate rising rents and property values. This study approaches the meaning of neighborhood changes for long-time residents who have the potential to react culturally, socially, and economically in a neighborhood where racial and economic differences are structured by segregation and divestment. In the course of identifying positive, negative, and mixed feelings about changes, long-time residents also establish their belonging in the neighborhood as it changes around them. This is often done through constructing symbolic boundaries around newcomers, new businesses, and new cultural events in the neighborhood. This study

finds that although most long-time residents perceive changes to be positive, race and homeownership affect different outcomes for different groups. Particularly, long-time black residents may establish belonging as being black in a diminishing black community, whereas long-time white homeowners may establish belonging by being homeowners in the context of positive changes.

“ALBERTA ARTS DISTRICT”: BOUNDARIES AND BELONGING
AMONG LONG-TIME RESIDENTS IN A
CULTURALLY CHANGING NEIGHBORHOOD

by

SAMMY SHAW

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of

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Chapter I: Introduction

Alberta Arts District is a new name for an old neighborhood that has undergone rapid social and cultural changes in recent years. In a short period of time, a booming local economy that revolves around an “Arts District” identity has coincided with an increase in homeownership and escalating property values nearby. The opening of art galleries and studio spaces on Alberta Street has given rise to a monthly art festival known as Last Thursday Art Walks that attract arts and crafts street vendors and art tourists from all over Northwest Oregon. Small businesses and restaurants that fit into this “Arts District” niche – catering to art tourists and incoming residents – thrive as well. “Alberta Arts District” is also a convenient real-estate slogan which links the “Arts District” identity to a demand for nearby housing and subsequent skyrocketing of residential property values. For many urban academics and bohemian status seekers, the rise of “Alberta Arts District” represents a familiar story of the role of art and production of culture in neighborhoods that gentrify.

Gentrification is a contentious and politically loaded issue, framed between the promise of neighborhood vitality on the one hand, and displacement as social injustice on the other. To complicate matters, gentrification often entails residential turnover that revolves on axes of class as well as race, making gentrification particularly contentious for long-time African American residents. For long-time black homeowners, gentrification may present contradictory forces of pressure;

increasing property values on the one hand, and the loss of black community (at least at the symbolic level) on the other. Nonetheless, gentrification results – if only temporarily – in racially diverse neighborhoods, calling into question the extent to which residential proximity can lead to stable social integration.

This thesis examines how long-time residents react and participate within this new cultural world focusing on blacks and whites, homeowners and renters. Long-time black residents and long-time homeowners are specified as unique groups in gentrifying neighborhoods, situated between poles of a changing community on the one hand and rising property values on the other. This thesis examines how these long-time residents perceive neighborhood changes that are distinctly cultural; how they perceive newly arriving residents, how they perceive and use new businesses and cultural amenities, and to what extent do long-time residents participate in this new cultural world, using Last Thursday Art Walks as a handle on neighborhood cultural participation.

Chapter Two introduces literature that approaches this problem from several angles. The problem of gentrification is discussed, particularly in light of the presence of art and artists in gentrifying neighborhoods. Symbolic boundaries are discussed as a framework of cultural differentiation that may distinguish the relative identity of long-time residents as they establish their fit in their neighborhood in light of the cultural changes taking place. Literature on segregation and neighborhood race relations are considered to examine the roots of racial differences in the context of neighborhood space. Finally, a theory of cultural participation is developed for special application to a demographically changing, gentrifying neighborhood. If arts

consumption can be seen as a means of establishing social membership, neighborhood cultural participation assumes that the consumption of art – as it specifically relates to neighborhood space and neighborhood change – is a means of establishing social belonging in the neighborhood in the context of the arts-related changes occurring in the Alberta Arts District.

Chapter Three presents a brief history of the neighborhood in question and discusses the rise of Alberta Arts District and Last Thursdays Art Walks. This chapter also discusses the neighborhood in terms of its sociodemographic groups, juxtaposing the emergence of an African American population in the context of divestment, followed by the rise of a new bohemian cultural element in the context of reinvestment. Finally, this chapter provides a thick description of Last Thursday Art Walks as the major internal source of cultural change.

Chapter Four discusses the methods used. A mixed-methods approach of survey and interview data is collected and analyzed. This chapter overviews the demographic characteristics of survey and interview respondents. Also, key variables are conceptualized and statistical operations are discussed.

Chapters Five through Eight are findings chapters. Chapter Five presents an overview of the central research question: How do long-time residents perceive the changes in the Alberta Arts District? Chapter Six addresses the question of how long-time residents perceive of new residents in the neighborhood. Chapter Seven turns to analyze the uses and meanings of new local businesses and cultural amenities along Alberta Street. Chapter Eight addresses the final research question – How do long-time black and white residents perceive and react to the newly established cultural

character of the Alberta Arts District? Specifically using Last Thursday Art Walks as a handle on neighborhood cultural participation.

This thesis finds that long-time residents attach a variety of meanings to new residents, new businesses, and the “Arts District” identity. Race and homeownership affect outcomes differently among different groups. Black renters’ and owners’ perceptions of change range from positive to negative, with many maintaining mixed feelings. White residents, however, are differentiated by homeowners who generally perceive positive changes and renters who generally perceive negative changes. Where neighborhoods are contested realms of identity and belonging, a resident’s market position in the neighborhood (owning versus renting) does not solely determine how changes are perceived. Among long-time black residents, race itself is demonstrated to be a more salient factor.

Chapter II: Literature and Theory

Art and artists are often inseparable from processes of gentrification that culminate in intensified private market investment and a local economy of distinctly cultural amenities. Inner-city neighborhoods are also an historic site of racial inequalities in which the homogenizing forces of racist segregation may affect real and symbolic racial differences among long-time residents in their reactions to neighborhood change. A framework of symbolic boundaries is implemented that may usefully distinguish the ‘cultural territories of race’ as they are lived and constructed in neighborhood space.¹ Particularly, symbolic boundaries may be framed around aspects of gentrification that are distinctly cultural, including boundaries between long-time and newly arriving residents, boundaries regarding the nature of new local businesses, and boundaries relating to participation in neighborhood cultural events.

In the life-cycle of artist neighborhoods (or bohemian enclaves) a distinct arts-based economy emerges that involves creative producers and consumers, new cultural amenities, and the conscious marketing of the neighborhood as a realm of creativity. A theory of cultural participation may be implemented with special application to the neighborhood as a realm of both bohemian cultural production and historic racial inequality. Neighborhood belonging may be established by

¹ See Lamont (1999), *The Cultural Territories of Race*, which develops the concept of symbolic racial boundaries, but is curiously lacking in racial differences in constructions of neighborhood belonging.

participating in new local businesses and cultural events that signify changes to new and long-time residents.

Gentrification

Gentrification is a trend in many American cities whereby a pattern of private market investment and residential use among a wealthier class of individuals in poorer neighborhoods is sufficient to transform the social character of the neighborhood (Zukin 1987). By most accounts, the change implied by gentrification produces cleavages between social groups. Tensions can occur between newly arriving and long-time residents (Spain 1993), as well as between racial and ethnic groups (Anderson 1990; Perez 2002). Differences in the ability to mobilize politically can also result in changing political and cultural representation of groups in the neighborhood, often despite the protests of established residents (Rogers 1989; Kasinitz 1988; Perez 2002; Picarsic 2005). For their part, incoming residents may espouse an ideology that legitimates their social position as ‘urban pioneers,’ taming the inner-city frontier (Smith 1996), or they may even make attempts to break down group barriers and actively pursue a preservationist, or ‘authentic’ community (Brown-Saracino 2004). Despite these intentions, gentrification implies that a neighborhood is in transition, is changing demographically, and is a socially contentious and often volatile issue, particularly for long-time residents.

The corollary of gentrification is that poorer, long-time residents are often displaced as a result of rising rents and property values (Gale 1985; LeGates & Hartman 1986). When gentrifying neighborhoods involve previously divested,

racially segregated neighborhoods, displacement also carries a racial element along with it (Lee, Spain & Umberson 1985). Although gentrification can bring certain benefits to particular interest groups (e.g.; increased tax bases in the inner-city benefit city governments (Lee et al 1985)), the social costs associated with displacement are also argued to outweigh any potential benefits (Durham & Sheldon 1986). However, displacement is often assumed and seldom measured empirically, perhaps because displaced residents are notoriously difficult to locate. Recent research suggests that long-time residents may actually hold on longer in neighborhoods that gentrify than they would otherwise, particularly if rent-control, or other subsidized housing programs are available (Freeman & Branconi 2002). The research on gentrification and displacement is thus undecided (Griffith 1996), but raises an important question nonetheless – How do long-time residents respond to gentrification? Long-time homeowners in neighborhoods that gentrify may stand to gain financially from the rising value of their homes. From a rational action perspective, long-time homeowners might therefore have an impetus to remain in the neighborhood and appreciate the changes associated with gentrification.

Much of the literature on gentrification has tended to look beyond group attitudes and differences and focus instead on the causes of the phenomenon, which may be strictly market driven (Smith 1979, 1986), culturally motivated (Bridge 2001; Ley 2003), or a combination of the two (Zukin 1987). Smith (1979, 1986) proposes a rent gap thesis that states that differences between market values and potential values of inner-city real-estate open a niche in the private market to exploit under priced homes for renovation, commodification, and profit. In this scheme, the market

dictates who moves in and who moves out. On the other hand, the conspicuous display of inner-city lifestyle aesthetics, such as historic or Victorian home renovation (Jager 1986) identifies gentrifiers as a distinct class-cultural group, implying a cultural motivation rather than an economic predetermination to live in 'historic' or 'hip' inner-city neighborhoods. More specifically, there is a growing literature that links the presence of art and artists to the inner-city as a significant force of cultural expression, attracting cultural producers and consumers to inner-city neighborhoods as spaces of creative production (Bain 2003; Blazak 1991; Florida 2002, 2005; Ley 1996, 2003; Lloyd 2002, 2004; Pashup 2004). For long-time residents in neighborhoods that gentrify this means that rising property values are not the only changes to account for. For residents who are able to hold on financially, particularly for long-time homeowners, experiencing gentrification entails rapid cultural changes as well.

Unfortunately, systematic studies of the perceptions of long-time residents in gentrifying neighborhoods are scarce (Bridge 2001; Freeman 2003). Lance Freeman (2003) takes this into consideration when interviewing long-time black residents of gentrifying neighborhoods in New York City. Long-time residents there tend to perceive an influx of whites as a symbol of coming changes. The mere coincidence of whites and revitalization efforts in their neighborhood demonstrates for these residents a continuing narrative of racial inequality. While some of the changes may be for the better, they nevertheless draw attention to racial differences.

Symbolic Boundaries

This study is informed by Michele Lamont's (1992) development of symbolic boundaries as a cultural framework to study group differences. Drawing from developments in cultural sociology that explain actions and behavior as either internalized conditions of social-structural differences (Bourdieu 1984) or as differences in cultural resources made available by social-structural conditions (Swidler 1986), it may be possible to view boundaries between groups as a natural and necessary means of identifying and constituting the self and other, as well as sources of continuing structures of group inequality. According to Lamont (1992):

Boundary work is an intrinsic part of the process of constituting the self; they emerge when we try to define who we are: we constantly draw inferences concerning our similarities to, and differences from, other, indirectly producing typification systems. Thereby we define our own inwardness and the character of others (at once), identity being defined relationally. By generating distinctions, we also signal our identity and develop a sense of security, dignity, and honor... Boundary work is also a way of developing a sense of group membership; it creates bonds based on shared emotions, similar conceptions of the sacred and the profane, and similar reactions toward symbolic violators. More generally, boundaries constitute a system of rules that guide interaction by affecting who comes together to engage in what social acts. They thereby also come to separate people into classes, working groups, professions, species, genders, and races. Therefore, boundaries not only create groups, they also potentially produce inequality because they are an essential medium through which individuals acquire status, monopolize resources, ward off threats, or legitimate their social advantages, often in reference to superior lifestyle, habits, character, or competences (11-12).

Developing social belonging requires a means of distinguishing between in-groups and out-groups. Lamont (1992) demonstrates that this can be done by drawing symbolic boundaries morally, socioeconomically, and culturally.² Boundaries can

² Moral Boundaries involve distinctions made on the basis of perceptions of right and wrong. Socioeconomic boundaries involve distinctions made regarding group differences in money and status.

also emerge between racial groups, as “repertoires of strategies of action... scripts of personhood and collective identity... [and the] developing ideologies in the reproduction of racial inequality” (Lamont 1999, pg xi). One aspect of racial boundaries identified by Lamont (1999) may be “differences among blacks and between blacks and whites in their understanding of various aspects of social life...” (pg xii). These concepts may be extended to include differences in the understanding of cultural changes taking place in neighborhoods where racial differences are already structured.

Social structures limit the cultural resources that individuals draw from to make meaning of their self and others. “Stereotypes and Prejudices [can be seen as] supraindividual byproducts of basic social processes – shaped by cultural resources” (Lamont 1992). Understanding social-structural differences are therefore paramount to understanding the limits and resources that individuals can use to make sense of selves and others.

For the sake of this study, symbolic boundaries will be identified as differences between blacks and whites in how long-time residents understand cultural change in the neighborhood environment. By assuming dueling social-structural processes that juxtapose gentrifying class-cultural groups on the one hand, and a divested, racially segregated inner-city neighborhood on the other, we may apply a framework of symbolic boundaries to the perceptions of change among long-time black and long-time white residents in a gentrifying neighborhood. As long-time

Cultural boundaries involve distinctions made regarding aesthetic dispositions and group cultural traits.

residents in a gentrifying neighborhood witness change, boundaries may arise that place new residents as morally, socioeconomically, or culturally different. These differences may culminate in racial differentiation as well if racial groups have limited means of understanding each other.

Race and the Neighborhood

In the last century, blacks and whites have mostly lived isolated from one another within clear geographic neighborhood boundaries in all large U.S. cities. These patterns may be driven by discriminatory personal preferences among whites (Farley et al 1994), or more significantly by institutionalized discrimination practices on the part of lending institutions, realtors, insurers, and rental agents (Frey & Meyers 2005). The well known work of Massey and Denton (1993) explores the scope and magnitude of continued racial segregation of blacks by whites in American inner-cities despite prior civil rights gains including the fair housing act of 1968. “Race not class” has been the single defining feature of housing patterns in the U.S. in which both poor and upwardly mobile blacks are relegated to divested, undesirable neighborhoods (Massey & Denton 1993: pg 114). The trend is serious enough to deserve the term ‘American Apartheid.’ As Massey and Denton (1993) put it;

Residential segregation is the institutional apparatus that supports other racially discriminatory processes and binds them together into a coherent and uniquely effective system of racial subordination. Until the black ghetto is dismantled as a basic institution of American urban life, progress ameliorating racial inequality in other arenas will be slow, fitful and incomplete (8).

Residential segregation is thus recognized as the structural “linchpin” of racial inequality and U.S. race relations (Pettigrew 1979). As such, racial segregation has

been shown to have social effects within the neighborhood. Social disorganization theory states that social isolation and concentrated poverty experienced by blacks in segregated neighborhoods reduces social networks and effectively removes these residents as an 'underclass' social group from mainstream social and cultural institutions. Considering that middle-class blacks will escape the confines of the ghetto given the opportunity, those remaining will have little economic or social resources to draw from. Underclass residents in divested neighborhoods may lose trust with their neighbors and withdraw from community life (Wilson 1987, 1996). Compression theory, on the other hand, regards the centrality of the neighborhood to black urbanites as a function of the multiple constraints on their social options. Rather than withdrawing from community life, the segregation experience necessitates for black residents greater social interaction and community participation among neighbors (Lee, Campbell & Miller 1991; *see also* Warren 1975). The homogenizing effects of segregation can unite middle-class and poor blacks as a racially conscious group with distinctive cultural institutions such as the black church that informs 'strategies of action' for dealing with social conditions specific to the black community (Pattillo-McCoy 1998).

As a geographic, economic, and symbolic racial boundary, racial segregation reproduces stereotypes and inequalities. This is demonstrated with research regarding residential integration attitudes (Bobo & Zubrinsky 1996; Charles 2000; Farley et al 1994). Different processes of in-group/out-group differentiation operate for different groups. For the dominant group, a theory of relative group position (*see* Blumer 1958) states that rather than anti-out-group feelings towards members of other races,

prejudice involves commitment to status differences. Dominant group members come to expect certain group differences, learned socially. Thus, whites can be found to be aversive to integration because of the relative loss of status that is associated with living near blacks (Bobo & Zubrinsky. 1996). Subordinate groups however, whose status cannot be threatened, cannot use status differentials to motivate anti-integration attitudes. However, if members of a minority group perceive long-standing inequalities (*as in* Freeman 2003) racial alienation may occur in which members of minority groups can come to perceive members of the dominant group as potential threats nonetheless (Bobo & Hutchings 1996), and potentially evoke animosity (Bobo & Zubrinsky 1996).

The unwillingness among whites to share neighborhood space with blacks has generated a geographic, economic, social, and cultural structure to U.S. race relations. This structure of racial differentiation is a limit to the cultural resources that blacks and whites can draw from when making meaning of other groups beyond the neighborhood. More importantly, structures of racial differentiation can limit the resources that blacks and whites can draw from when making meaning of other groups *within* the neighborhood. Although racial barriers to demographic integration may be recognized as eroding very slowly (Farley et al 1994; Frey and Meyers 2005), interracial social integration may even be slower coming (Sigelman, Bledsoe, Welch & Combs 1996). However, Sigelman et al. (1996) find that for whites, living in proximity to blacks may be a significant basis for interracial interaction.

Interracial interaction is important in gentrifying neighborhoods because social interaction can have a heavy impact on what is identified as neighborhood

affect, or the level of sentiment and satisfaction that residents attach to the place they live. Affect in turn can determine whether or not one will be inclined to move out of a neighborhood or continue to stay despite social or cultural changes (Lee et al 1991). If racial differences are rooted in the neighborhood and racial groups evoke racial boundaries in constructing belonging in the neighborhood, then social interaction may be limited to one's own racial group. This study is not concerned with interracial interaction *per se* but poses the question in terms of symbolic boundaries among long-time whites and blacks in their perceptions of cultural changes taking place in the neighborhood.

Gentrification may present a rather perverse instance of demographic integration, integration that takes place so rapidly that it threatens neighborhood stability and often results in the transition from a predominantly black neighborhood to a predominantly white neighborhood. Nonetheless, gentrifying neighborhoods present an opportunity for blacks and whites to integrate demographically as well as socially. Patterns of neighboring and interracial socialization become important in approaching the question of how groups will participate socially and culturally in integrated neighborhoods. The question of how long-time residents respond to gentrification should also hinge on racial differences structured in neighborhood space.

Art and the Neighborhood

The production and consumption of art have been shown to involve processes unique to neighborhood space as well. Indeed, gentrification is often understood as

the spatial realm where art, creativity, and creative lifestyles are produced and consumed (Bain 2003; Blazak 1991; Lloyd 2002, 2004; Ley 2003; Zukin 1982). The neighborhood changes implied by gentrification, though perhaps having structural roots, can appear uniquely cultural at the internal level. This section provides a theoretical macro-micro link that accounts for the presence of an arts-related economy as an internal force of neighborhood change, and as such, a source of symbolic differentiation among newer and long-time residents.

Macro-level perspectives place art and gentrification as a product of larger trends in economic and social restructuring. Whether post-industrial, post-Fordist, or post-modern in approach, the role of cultural production and consumption in the inner-city has assumed a new social significance, coinciding with the discovery of 'gentrification' as early as the late 1960's and 1970's (Ley 1996). Florida (2002) posits that with the change in western industrial economies from manufacturing to service industry, the new value of 'creativity' as a cultural and economic resource is the new "decisive force of competitive advantage" (pg. 5). Creativity in most professional occupations is an economic demand of late capitalism, systematically exploited and placing artists as producers of creativity at "the very heart of the process of innovation and economic growth" (Florida 2002, pg 6).

In this account, artists are integral to the idea of an emerging new 'creative class' in which creativity and culture find their niche in the inner-city (*also see* Ley 1996).

Bohemian enclaves are distinct neighborhoods where artists and activists reside. They thrive as a source of identity for artists as well as functioning realms of cultural production. Blazak (1991) characterizes bohemian artists as "decidedly

downwardly mobile... pursuing art for art's sake... and leading expressive rather than instrumental lifestyles" (pg 107). Such lifestyles require a combination of inexpensive living arrangements, ample physical space for production, and the maximization of leisure time, all of which can be found in devalorized and cheap inner-city neighborhoods. By stepping outside of mainstream social arrangements and suburban normalcy, artists claim an individualistic, creative identity (Bain 2003; Blazak 1991; Ley 2003; Lloyd 2004). Artists use gritty, poor, inner-city neighborhoods to develop an ideology of outsider, creative-individualist, and urban pioneer. The 'margins' as Alison Bain (2003) calls it, are thus "mythical realms" of both identity creation and creative production. "Urban grittiness is used as creative stimulus" (Bain 2003, pg 311). This bohemian identity links artists, students, and activists to particular neighborhoods as cultural producers, often the same neighborhoods previously divested and segregated (Knauss 2002). While these neighborhoods have historically been obscure, ebbing and flowing alongside global economic trends of expansion and contraction (Blazak 1991), they are now found in cities everywhere and are becoming the new norm of the inner-city landscape (Lloyd 2005).

Despite bohemian ideals, artists are inescapably linked to social and market processes that create economic and cultural value. Zukin (1982) demonstrates that developments in arts markets following relationship changes between galleries and museums in New York City throughout the 20th century has established art as an accessible commodity for more middle-class Americans, creating a consumer market and consequently raising the standard of living for artists. The rise of a state-

supported arts infrastructure has also provided steady employment opportunities for artists in educational and cultural institutions making art a viable career choice for many. Subsequently, a four-year college degree in the arts can amount to higher levels of socioeconomic status, and a share in the middle-class world view. “Far from shocking the bourgeoisie, art becomes the aesthetic vision of the bourgeoisie” (Zukin 1982, pg 97).

Pierre Bourdieu (1984) deploys the concepts of cultural capital and habitus to explain social class differences in arts consumption. Cultural capital may be considered a particular type of social currency based on taste. “It involves knowledge about high art and culture, a high degree of sophistication and of know-how, and an appreciation of knowledge in general and of speaking knowledgably” (Alexander 2003). It follows that knowledge of art is used as cultural currency, a high status symbolic boundary by which individuals can recognize others with similar taste patterns as members of a high-status group. For Bourdieu, however, the exchange of this currency does not require conscious agency on the part of group members. Rather, the concept of habitus links the tastes and judgments of social groups as inherited, class-based dispositions. The habitus is thus the profound knowledge of tastes and behaviors that requires no rational explanation, that are unconsciously recognized within the habitus for the sake of distinction (Bridge 2001).

David Ley (2003) considers how cultural capital and habitus operate in gentrifying artist neighborhoods in Canada. Artists can be distinguished as a group low in economic capital and high in cultural capital, whereas art consumers tend to be high in economic capital and represent the audience or the consumers of art. In the

relationship between the two groups, artists and their consumers trade culture for capital, the exchange of which binds them in a particular middle-class habitus. Though artists are instrumental in developing new forms of cultural expression, they are nonetheless bound by the markets in which they operate, dialectically rebelling and conforming to market structures, developing new forms and possibilities for cultural expression, so long as they are consumable, or capable of being used as symbols of expression (Ley 2003). Artists “represent the colonizing arm of the middle-class,” they are bound by cultural relationships, but nevertheless bring about new directions (Ley 2003 pg 2533 *quoting Habermas 1983*). When bohemian neighborhoods are a source of creativity for high cultural capital artists, the exchange of culture for capital implies the consumption of bohemian space. Previously divested inner-city neighborhoods are thus ‘new directions’ for ‘new middle-class,’ ‘*cultural* new class,’ (Ley 1996) or new ‘creative class’ (Florida 2002) residents.

It follows that bohemian neighborhoods, as sites of creative production, can also be sites of creative consumption where the actual living spaces and ideals of artists are valorized as consumable cultural commodities. Zukin (1982) describes a process happening in SoHo in New York City in the 1960s in which artists were the first to turn abandoned inner-city warehouses into living and working space. The ideal arrangement of having large open spaces with ample natural light meant that artists could live and work in the same space for very low rents. Eventually, however, such open living arrangements became valorized as ideal living situations in general, and building owners were able to convert the space into multiple apartment lofts for residential-only use and charge much more. The warehouse live/work arrangement

become a focal point among artists, who when displaced from Manhattan, set in motion the same process in industrial areas in outlying neighborhoods in New Jersey (Cole 1987).³

Given that arts production and consumption involve institutionally and culturally bound relationships, arts-based markets may emerge in a neighborhood that involves multiple tiers of cultural amenities ultimately uniting bohemians, art, and producers and consumers of creative space. First, coffee shops, bars, and entertainment venues can serve as bohemian support networks or meeting grounds where artists, students, and activists can get together to share ideas and form group identities (Lloyd 2004).⁴ These business supports can also serve as distribution networks for art pieces (Crane 1992), linking art as creative production to a particular bohemian milieu. Tourists and status seekers may use these spaces to identify with bohemian culture as well. Secondly, art galleries may emerge that tend to attract investment and attention from a considerably higher socioeconomic group (Cole 1987), often from outside the neighborhood. Regardless of any direct connection between neighborhood artists and gallery owners, galleries benefit from the distinct bohemian amenities that give the neighborhood an off-beat arts related flavor, also

³ As an example of the value that can be created in the process, an artist using a 4,000 square foot warehouse space in Hoboken in 1976 spent \$300 per month. That space was converted into 275 or 700 square foot apartments that cost between \$800 and \$1,650 in 1986 (Cole 1987: 392-393). Though these examples relate to industrial space turned residential, they attest to the power of art and artists to open up housing markets, particularly for wealthier residents.

⁴ Lloyd (2002) introduces the term 'neo-bohemia' to describe the market structure of new artist neighborhoods in the new creative economy. Entertainment and media industries concentrate in neighborhoods where young artists, students, and otherwise bohemian residents reside, capitalizing on the "privileged spaces of creative production." The downwardly mobile lifestyle aesthetic of artists means that artists are a ready and willing reserve of cheap and creative labor power, exploitable by creative industries such as television, film, and popular music which "require the constant input of cultural innovations" (Lloyd 2004: 345).

serving to legitimate arts consumption at its source of production in the bohemian neighborhood. Third, real-estate interests can benefit from bohemian support networks and galleries alike for establishing a commodifiable cultural presence in the neighborhood that can serve as a marketing scheme and raise land and housing values. Finally, regular arts festivals and celebrations might emerge that serve to attract crowds of tourists to participate in the neighborhood as a realm of cultural production and consumption.⁵

Bohemian cultural production is thus a valorized commodity in itself. As macro economic structures unfold and artistic creativity becomes a source of cultural as well as economic value, bohemian spaces of production become idealized centers of value. However, bohemian artists and activists – escaping mainstream social relationships – are not necessarily conscious agents of neighborhood gentrification. Bohemian artists are at once ideologically opposed to the commodification of urban space and simultaneously representative of the aesthetic disposition of a larger class-cultural habitus.

This section has developed the role of art and the idea of creative cultural production as a force of gentrification. Particular market structures link cultural and economic value in a system of distribution involving artists, art, cafes, pubs, galleries, and real-estate. The ultimate product, the bohemian neighborhood as a source of culture and creativity, is fundamentally inseparable from the real-estate market which threatens to overtake it. Although rising rents and property values are considered the

⁵ One example is given in Lloyd 2002, another example is the Last Thursday Art Walks and Annual Art Hops found in the “Alberta Arts District,” the neighborhood in question.

‘pragmatic wedge’ that threatens to displace poorer residents, neighborhood change is conceptualized here as the transitioning character of a neighborhood undergoing distinctively cultural transformations.

Returning to the question at hand – how do long-time residents understand and make meaning of neighborhood change? – it is particularly this cultural change that will be addressed. This study targets long-time homeowners in particular, as well as long-time renters still in the neighborhood. Given that many long-time residents remain in the neighborhood despite economic changes, how do these residents react to the cultural changes taking place?

Cultural Participation

The presence of art in a gentrifying neighborhood is of particular interest considering the framework of symbolic boundaries previously discussed. While it has been shown above that art can be used as a means of social belonging in the neighborhood, it follows that art can be socially differentiating as well. Cultural sociologists have long been concerned with questions of who participates in the arts. What types of arts do different groups participate in? And for what reasons?⁶

DiMaggio’s (1987) theory of cultural participation “views artistic taste and consumption as a means of establishing social membership and constructing and

⁶ High social status individuals are able to exploit cultural capital to maintain symbolic boundaries, by recognizing other members of similar tastes and class dispositions and by being in positions of power in which to structure other institutions to favor themselves (Alexander 2003), such as schools (Bourdieu 1984, DiMaggio 1982a) and art museums (DiMaggio 1982b; Zolberg 1992). Indeed, scholars have demonstrated that the processes through which art is dichotomized into ‘high’ cultural versus ‘pop’ cultural forms, do not reflect essential differences in art form nor individual claims to aesthetic choice, but are rather means of status distinction controlled through institutional channels (DiMaggio 1982b, Levine 1988).

maintaining social networks that provide access to material and symbolic goods” (DiMaggio and Ostrower 1990: pg 755). This theory views art as a particular means of symbolic belonging, exploited primarily through conversation, its possessor brings knowledge of artistic experiences around with his or her self and is capable of deploying it in any given social situation that arises for the sake of establishing belonging.

Shared cultural interests are common contents of sociable talk. Consumption of art gives strangers something to talk about and facilitates the sociable intercourse necessary for acquaintanceships to ripen into friendships... Some cultural consumption [like] television provides fodder for least common denominator talk... [while] conversations about more arcane cultural forms – such as opera, minimalist art, breakdancing – enable individuals to place one another and serve as rituals of greater intensity... Taste, then, is a form of ritual identification and a means of constructing social relationships (and of knowing what relationships need not be constructed)” (DiMaggio 1987: 443).

Thus, artistic consumption can both be used as a symbolic boundary, and as a symbol of belonging. It follows that art consumption is not only a means of establishing high status contacts, but also of establishing contacts in a wide variety of settings.

Individuals of higher socioeconomic status have greater prospects for social mobility in daily routines. That is, they are more likely to find themselves in situations in which knowledge of multiple genres of arts and culture can be put to use (DiMaggio 1987).

Subsequent research on class differences in arts consumption supports this theory. While low status individuals are relatively limited in their aesthetic choices, higher status individuals consume a wide variety of art forms, suggesting that high status individuals act more as cultural ‘omnivores’ than as distinctive high-brows (Peterson & Simkus 1992). High socioeconomic status individuals also tend to

consume more genres across ethnic group lines making ‘multicultural capital’ a specialized form of cultural capital that endows its possessor with a particular status as well (Bryson 1996).

Drawing from the theory of cultural participation, DiMaggio & Ostrower (1990) measure racial differences in arts consumption. Two hypotheses inform their study. A convergence hypothesis predicts that as blacks make gains in education and occupations from which they were previously excluded, participation in high-status, Euro-American art forms increases and participation in distinct Afro-American art forms fade. Conversely, a resistance hypothesis states that as blacks make gains in education and occupational status they will tend to assert their group membership by participating more in historically Afro-American art forms such as Jazz and Soul/R&B. Findings reveal that most racial differences in arts consumption, or cultural participation, can be explained by level of education. Small but significant residual racial differences may suggest what the authors refer to as dual-engagement, implying convergence with respect to Euro-American art forms, but resistance with respect to Afro-American art forms, especially for middle-class blacks (pg 773). As blacks become upwardly mobile, they are more likely to participate more in both Euro-American, and Afro-American art forms. This idea is reminiscent of Dubois’s ‘dual consciousness’ which holds essentially the same implications, that black Americans live and learn to operate in two distinct cultural worlds (DiMaggio & Ostrower 1990).

The rise of a local art scene and a local economy of cultural amenities in a neighborhood that is previously segregated and divested presents a unique chance to

observe cultural participation in the neighborhood in terms of race. DiMaggio and Ostrower's analysis would suggest that upwardly mobile blacks would be more likely to participate in this new art scene as a means of expressing social mobility. However, if segregation is a racially homogenizing practice, and arts production and consumption take place in that neighborhood space where many blacks already live, participation in this new cultural world may suggest something other than social mobility. I am suggesting that long-time residents of Alberta may use Last Thursday Art Walks as a means of establishing social membership in a changing neighborhood, regardless of what artistic genres are represented. A framework of assimilation versus resistance with respect to arts consumption may hinge on the difference between Euro and Afro-American art forms. Indeed, the question here may boil down to how long-time residents perceive of the Alberta art scene as representing them culturally. Long-time residents may use Last Thursdays and the new cultural world to develop belonging in the neighborhood. On the other hand, long-time residents may draw boundaries around the neighborhood's new cultural character, and instead construct belonging in terms of what the new culture is not, thereby 'resisting' rather than 'assimilating.' To the extent that racial differences are structured into the neighborhood, we may find that racial differences in neighborhood cultural participation are in essence the result of racial boundaries constructed around the meaning of the neighborhood as a place of belonging.

Research Questions

1. How do long-time black and long-time white residents in the 'Alberta Arts District' perceive the cultural changes taking place?
2. Besides potential racial differences, are there differences between long-time homeowners and renters in perceptions of cultural changes?
 - a) Are there differences among long-time residents in their perceptions of new residents?
 - b) Are there differences among long-time residents in perceptions and uses of new businesses and cultural amenities?
 - c) Are there differences among long-time residents in perceptions of art and participation in Last Thursday Art Walks?

Chapter III: Background

Alberta Arts District is a new name for a neighborhood that has undergone rapid, economic, social, and cultural change in recent years. The rise of the art scene and the distinct presence of shops, cafes, and restaurants that exist along Alberta Street now follow a history of prosperity and then divestment and decline, followed again by a current housing market boom and gentrification that revolves around a market of cultural amenities. Last Thursday Art Walks, beginning in 1997, signal the major influence of cultural change in Alberta's current resurgence.

The Rise and Fall of Alberta Street

The commercial, residential, and light industrial building stock that anchors most of the businesses and residents along Alberta Street today was built in the 1900's and 1910's following the construction of a street trolley line along Alberta Street from Northeast Martin Luther King (formerly Union Avenue) to Northeast 30th Avenue. In this period, the area along Alberta street was a frontier, a suburb on the outskirts of Portland. Union Avenue at the time was a major thoroughfare - lying just to the West, running North and South - bustling with life and business activity and was also the highway that was designated as the main route to Vancouver, Washington across the Columbia River. The Alberta Street corridor, located off just Union Avenue, received plenty of traffic in this location. The street trolley would run every ten minutes from Alberta Street, along Union Avenue to Downtown Portland,

making Alberta a viable living area with commercial activity, a trolley ride away from downtown (Urban Living Maps).

By the 1940's, Alberta Street was as busy as it would ever be. The area was the home to many groups of European immigrants that came to work in the rail yards and shipyards in the early 20th century (Urban Living Maps). Living in Alberta in the 1940's, one could find all the amenities that one would need. Small businesses were almost crammed onto the street. One block between Northeast 15th and Northeast 16th Streets housed at least 12 businesses often with their owner's apartments above, including a gas station, a post office, a cabinet maker, a tavern, a shoe shiner, two barbers, a grocery store, and a clothes presser. The next block up would look almost identical. On the whole there were well over 100 small businesses on Alberta between Northeast 15th and 30th streets, including 11 grocery stores and 6 taverns that served the working class residents after a long day in the ship yards or rail yards (Portland Directory 1940).

In the period following World War II, Alberta witnessed a steady decline. Geographic and transportation changes taking place throughout the country at this time were having their effects on North and Northeast Portland, and Alberta Street in particular. In 1948, the street trolley that connected Alberta to the rest of Portland was closed and replaced by buses. The designated highway to Vancouver, Washington, Union Avenue, was rerouted to North Interstate Avenue, several blocks to the west, pushing interstate traffic further away from Alberta. Finally in the 1960's, The Interstate 5 freeway was completed which served to completely isolate North/South traffic from businesses along the Alberta corridor (Urban Living Maps). These

changes left Alberta Street with a large commercial building stock in which business owners could no longer support themselves. The suburbs had moved further North and East leaving Alberta Street off the map, long since forgotten by commuters of the Post WWII generation.

Forging a Black Community in Portland

World War II also brought social and demographic changes to Portland. In the early 1940's, Portland's black population increased from about 2,000 to 20,000 when the city's ship building industry recruited workers from as far away as the Southern U.S. to meet the demand for British and American Navy fleets (Portland Bureau of Planning 1993). Some of this population (and perhaps many of their children) would eventually find residence around Alberta Street. During the 1940's, the increase of blacks in Portland caused a backlash of sorts in which overt discrimination – which could already have been characterized as widespread in Portland – increased to all but legalize blacks from buying or renting houses in white neighborhoods, effectively segregating the majority of Portland blacks into one North Portland neighborhood that would eventually be called Albina (McLagan 1980). Before this period and since, race relations in Portland have remained tenuous. The relative size of Portland's black population, only 6.8% (compared to a national 12.3%) (McKinnon 2001; United States Bureau of Census) might indicate that Portland has not always been a welcoming place for blacks to settle. On the other hand, by the year 2000, Portland is one of the only cities of its size to witness a major 10-year decline in its residential

dissimilarity index (Frey & Meyers 2005), meaning that black and white residents are becoming rapidly integrated demographically.

In greater Oregon, African Americans comprise only 1.6% of the population (McKinnon 2001). Oregon was incorporated into the U.S. in 1859 as an exclusionary state, meaning that blacks were not legally allowed to live in the state. Socially, Oregon settlers coming from the “Old Northwest” states were not immune to the anti-black ideology that characterized white attitudes at the time. Politically, Oregon eventually sided with the abolitionist cause, but from pioneer logic, this may well have meant that settlers were free to farm their own land without competition from wealthy plantation owners as in the South. The presence of blacks as slaves or otherwise could have meant an unbalanced development of Oregon’s economy based on exploited labor (McLagan 1980). Ironically, the first Oregonians were looking for economic equality. Oregon was to be free, free from slavery and free from ‘troublesome issues’ of a ‘most troublesome class of population.’ Oregon was to be for whites only, as evidenced by several exclusionary laws designed to protect the ‘white race’ (McLagan 1980).

Small numbers of black pioneers were able to forge tenuous social and economic gains throughout the late 19th and early 20th centuries (Portland Planning Bureau 1993). Although many blacks were successful in Portland, segregated housing patterns emerged nonetheless. As early as 1920, black residents were blamed for causing declining property values. Restrictive covenants barred the sale or rental of homes to blacks in most of Portland’s neighborhoods.

With the influx of ship-yard workers in the 1940's also came a demand for housing. Newly arriving African Americans took up residence in two general areas. The Kaiser Corporation, being responsible for having increased Portland's population by 25% within just a few years, built Vanport City on a dry flood plain off the Columbia River to house many of the workers. In 1945, Vanport City had a population of over 30,000 residents, and over 20% of them were African American. The majority of African Americans, however, were concentrated in the same inner-Northeast area that previous black residents were located (Portland Planning Bureau 1993).

In 1948, a Columbia River flood destroyed Vanport City, forcing its residents to evacuate and find housing in other Portland neighborhoods. The major alternative for black Portlanders was the one low-income neighborhood where other blacks in the city lived, but residents housed in this area were already overcrowded. After the Vanport flood, the black population would spill over into the surrounding areas as well. Between 1940 and 1950, the neighborhood that would become known as Albina witnessed a considerable out-migration of whites and in-migration of blacks. Redlining, segregation, and divestment in this era immediately following World War II would bind over 50% of Portland's African American population between Northeast Fremont, North Interstate, Union Avenue, and Northeast Oregon Streets (Portland Planning Bureau 1993).

In 1956, a City Planning Commission report determined that over 60% of housing on the south end of Albina area was substandard and demolished it to build a War Memorial sports coliseum. The construction of the Interstate 5 freeway also

displaced many black residents on the west side of Albina. In 1958, the Portland Development Commission was formed to regulate U.S. statutes regarding slum clearance and urban renewal. Conspicuously, much of the Albina community was bought and razed by the PDC for several development projects including the building of Emanuel Hospital in the early 1970's. Black residents would find themselves migrating further and further North to make way for such urban renewal plans. By the 1960's and 70's, many blacks began locating in another area to the Northeast that had been home to a smaller portion of Portland blacks since 1945 (Portland Planning Bureau). The area around Northeast Alberta Street had been in decline for several years, and many of the homes could be bought or rented by a growing black population that was getting squeezed out of parts of Albina.

Rise of the "Arts District"

In the last decade, Alberta has been undergoing the processes of gentrification. The changes taking place in Alberta closely resemble the very theoretical processes described in Chapter Two, in which the presence of art – and the neighborhood as a field of creative cultural production and consumption – unfolds into a realm of demand for housing and distinct cultural amenities such as cafes, restaurants, and clothing boutiques. The newly acquired "Arts District" namesake describes an art scene that is anchored by several art galleries, a monthly art festival known as Last Thursday Art Walks, and a similar annual festival known as the Alberta Art Hop. These monthly and annual art festivals directly coincide with the emergence of art galleries beginning in 1996. This section describes a period of

‘bohemia in transition’ (Blazak 1991), followed by a description of Last Thursdays as a unique neighborhood cultural event that serves a specific function of cultural production and consumption, ultimately marketing the idea of bohemian creativity as a source of cultural capital.

Emerging in the early to mid-1990s, Alberta had spent several decades inside the red-line, and was divested and poor. It was nonetheless the very type of neighborhood that would be described by Bain (2003) as capable of supporting artists’ ideals, and spatial and economic necessities. It was a marginal neighborhood with a bad reputation, one which bohemian artists could use to establish an identity as a distinctively creative group of outsiders. Northeast Alberta Street was a street where alternative space could be found for artists to live and work in the large empty buildings of the street’s commercial past. Also, the relative cheapness and size of homes in the area meant that young and single artists and bohemians could pack into houses, minimizing rents and thereby maximizing leisure time. The prospect of crime and danger, whether real or imagined, also served to distinguish those living as bohemians as a distinct group among outsiders and insiders as well.

For a period in throughout the late 1980’s and 1990’s, gang and drug activity were an everyday reality for many residents. On the other hand, the perception and fear of gang and drug activity might be more pronounced for residents living outside the neighborhood, than those within. Racial stereotypes may also serve to further emphasize the area as unsafe, perhaps giving more ideological credence to those will to use the neighborhood as a source of anti-mainstream bohemian identity. The following accounts demonstrate this difference:

“...there was a couple years, like I say, when the gang activity started picking up in this area where it wasn't that safe. Then I'd say over the last 8-10 years, that level of activity now is greatly diminished, by police standards or just be general society's standards, the neighborhood is quite safer, but from our perspective it has always been a safe neighborhood [black homeowner 24 years].

“10 years ago this was a place that you would be feared for your safety. You wouldn't come here 10 years ago” [white street vendor at Last Thursday 10/28/04].

These accounts are typical depictions of Alberta's past. One is coming from a long-time, middle-class black resident, the other from an older but active producer/consumer of bohemian culture that does not live in the neighborhood. The increased safety described here, at least at the perceptual level, coincides with an influx of bohemian lifestylers, home buyers, small businesses, and the Last Thursday Art Walk, which brings a significant amount of outsiders to the neighborhood who may have felt that the Alberta of the past was not safe.

Improvements to the neighborhood's infrastructure throughout the 1990's aided the process of change. The placing of a new police precinct on MLK and Northeast Killingsworth in the early-mid 1990's added a police presence on Alberta Street which was only blocks away. The Portland Development Commission and Sabin Neighborhood Community Development Corporation implemented projects to make improvements to revitalize Alberta. Streets and sidewalks were fixed. Street lights along Alberta provided an added perception of safety. City money was also used to implement homeowner programs and business loans throughout the 1990's as well. The added effects of these changes opened the neighborhood for private market investment, effectively shining a spotlight on the area as one with a considerable rent

gap and investment opportunity, that is, for those who were in a position to access that opportunity. The influx of wealth over a ten year period beginning in the mid-1990s would largely come from outside the neighborhood, rather than from within.⁷

In 1991, the Portland Directory lists 46 businesses operating along Alberta Street between NE 15th and NE 30th. Many light industrial and trade shops are still there including Rex L. Walker Plumbing, Appliance and Refrigeration Hospital, and Bantu Towing. Cultural amenities in 1991 were few but included, My' esha's Attitude, a beauty salon, and Joe's Place, a Louisiana Social Club since 1971 that still exists, one of very few black-owned business establishments operating today.

By 1995, the first small businesses that may be described as serving a bohemian or first wave gentrifier habitus had emerged including the Community Cycling Center (CCC), Roslyn's Garden Café, Rexall Rose Café, La Sirenita Taqueria, and later Video Rama. These establishments may well have been operated from within the neighborhood, and many claimed, perhaps ideologically, to 'serve the community.' The CCC provides refurbished bicycles to neighborhood youth, but also provides access to cheap alternative transportation for area artists and activists seeking to live as cheaply as possible. Roslyn's Garden and the Rexall Rose (now replaced by the Tin Shed, and the Star E. Rose Café) provided meeting locations 'for the community' but were likely used by bohemians expressing their leisure time, sharing ideas, and gelling into a distinctive subculture. These cafes were also used as performance venues for local artists. Paintings were displayed on the walls, and

⁷ Information in this paragraph was compiled in the process of talking to residents and business and gallery owners in the neighborhood.

music and theatre was performed as well. La Sirenita served meal size burritos for \$2.00 (now \$2.50) that most local residents and ‘starving artists’ could afford. Video Rama provided a steady supply of ‘art-house’ movie rentals, a *petite-bourgeois* and subcultural alternative to mainstream ‘blockbusters.’

Several artists were living and working in old commercial buildings at this time. Many are still there including a lamp artist in what has now become a lamp gallery called Hi-iH. A fairly prominent metal sculptor is still operating out of what looks like a makeshift tin shack. Artists sharing studio space above the Rexall Rose still live with reduced rent above the renamed Star E Rose Cafe. Off Alberta, punk houses (or otherwise bohemian house-share situations) were scattered throughout the neighborhood where old unfinished concrete basements (partially able to contain loud music) could be used as do-it-yourself venues for local (and even nationally touring) rock bands with relatively fewer neighbor complaints than would be experienced in other neighborhoods. Punks, artists, activists, and bohemians used the divested area around Alberta to produce and consume creative lifestyles, living cheaply and maximizing leisure time. Their “voluntarily poor... decidedly downwardly mobile” lifestyle juxtaposed against a population of “compulsory poor” (Blazak 1991) began to develop into culturally differentiated groups within the neighborhood.

Art galleries on Alberta could be found as early as 1996, thus initiating a consumer market for arts in the neighborhood where many artists already lived. The relationship between gallery and artists in Alberta, however, is a peculiar one that deserves some scrutiny. According to Cole (1987), a market demand for art is established only when there is a large enough presence of a segment of the population

with the discretionary income to purchase art, and once that segment is established, rents in the neighborhood have usually long since surpassed what is affordable for artists (pgs 402-403). On Alberta, however, it appears that galleries and artists lived together simultaneously, and indeed still do. When asked what attracted gallery owners to set up shop on Alberta, answers include cheap rents, ability to live and work in the same building, and the apparent growth of a local art scene. Gallery owners in this account may be more aptly considered as a first wave of cultural speculators rather than demand driven entrepreneurs.

Nonetheless, the added presence of art galleries along Alberta could not be more welcome to local property owners and developers. The impressive success of another Portland artist enclave, the recently renamed “Pearl District” downtown, provided an example of how to drive up property values by marketing a neighborhood with distinct cultural amenities, including art. Gallery owners and property developers on Alberta began talking. The Pearl’s monthly *First Thursday* Art Walk celebration was at first going to be extended to Alberta Street, but it was later realized that Alberta could not compete with their high status success and thus the *Last Thursday* Art Walk was created in 1997, billed as a alternative to the more mainstream *First Thursday*, and ‘Alberta Arts District’ as an alternative to ‘The Pearl.’

One problem early on was that the only two galleries on Alberta Street at the time were located 15 blocks apart, and it was also still a neighborhood that many outsiders would not dare venture into. Other local businesses were asked to fill the gaps by showing art including the cafes and the video store, and the few

living/working studios in between were encouraged to open as well. A brochure was created that listed the businesses that were showing art (the first Art Walk included only 7), and Last Thursdays became an advertising campaign to attract people to the neighborhood to look at and hopefully buy art and eat at the few restaurants that were there. By the year 2000, the 'gaps' between NE 15th and NE 30th Streets were slowly filled by more and more art galleries, studios, shops, and cafes. A non-profit arts/business association called Art On Alberta emerged, headed by gallery owners, which would come to oversee the month-to-month process of adding new businesses to the brochure and actively pursue city grants for local infrastructure improvements in the 'community's interest,' and in their own interest. Any new business that could open and show art was added to the Alberta Arts District brochure and served to both market themselves and the idea of a local economy revolving around art. Slowly, street vendors began to recognize the monthly ritual on Alberta Street, and since about the year 2000 have been a permanent fixture on Alberta Street every month, perhaps even dominating the appearance of the festival.

The development of Alberta Street therefore revolves around the marketing of distinctly cultural amenities. This cultural economy includes: a) bohemian support networks, such as cheap and spacious building stock, cafes, and cheap restaurants providing an aura of bohemia and ideal spaces for creative artists; b) art galleries, regular arts festivals and cultural events – such as Last Thursday Art Walks, Annual Art Hops, and Annual Street Fairs – and the Art On Alberta arts/business association which provide an advertisement link to those outside the neighborhood; and c) property developers and real-estate interests capitalizing on the newly coined

“Alberta Arts District” and the idea of bohemia as a source of creative production/consumption and cultural capital.

Last Thursday

Last Thursday art walks are a monthly festival that can attract over a thousand visitors from Portland and elsewhere. Galleries open late exhibiting new artists and offering food and wine to customers. Street vendors line the street in every possible location selling arts, crafts, and food to passers-by. Restaurants and bars on these nights are also overflowing with business. On warm summer nights, Last Thursday patrons number in the thousands, crowding sidewalks, and making walking from one end of the street to the other a long, slow journey. Last Thursdays provide a mechanism of support for businesses that are either arts-related or are set up to capitalize on the crowd that attends the Art Walks.

Demographically, Last Thursday Art Walks attract a fairly diverse crowd. There are some serious art browsers, a lot of young families with strollers, and a lot of young people in their twenties and thirties. Last Thursday is sometimes referred to as “white night” (Dawdy 2000) or “white wall” (Morrison 2005) by anyone critical of racial aspects of gentrification, because in an historically African American neighborhood, the overwhelming majority of art-goers are white. Many patrons are from the neighborhood, but many are also from outside the neighborhood and the city’s surrounding suburbs.

Business and venue doors can act as demographic filters, separating particular crowds from others. In a pizza/pub early on a Last Thursday one could be

overwhelmed by young families pushing strollers. In a gallery across the street one could expect to find serious art consumers, between 30 and 60 years old, drinking wine and speaking urbanely about painting, sculpting, and neighborhood revitalization. Down the street a tavern and social club serves as a meeting ground for African American residents from Alberta and other Northeast Portland neighborhoods. Actually, Joe's Place caters to more whites on Last Thursdays than on other nights. The Know is a bar and performance venue filled with smoke and beer bottles, showing art that caters to younger artists and musicians. A couple blocks away sits an up-scale restaurant that represents those affording a higher social status, from the nicer suburbs, whom might have heard of the new Zagat rated restaurant in the Arts & Entertainment issue of the local paper. Out on the street, these crowds combine and intermingle in an atmosphere of celebration and anxiety. Street performers, musicians, and vendors provide entertainment and art to peruse, while many neighborhood residents and suburbanites as well participate in a mix of celebration and wonder of what has happened to the neighborhood.

The energy of the crowd can shift from block to block, often depending on a particular musician, performer, or vendor set up at any given location. In one particular block, there are two galleries that share the same building and there is a doorway connecting them. Next door is a small café and printing press that also has performances. Outside, the same vendors usually set up selling various jewelry and crafts. All of this takes place in a relatively tight space. At one Last Thursday, a drum circle started on this block creating throngs of onlookers who were passing by or were in the galleries. The sidewalk became clogged with people and dancers spilled

into the street. Part of the appeal of Last Thursday is that you never know what to expect as at any given moment the whole street can come alive with creative energy. Clowns are riding seven-foot tall bikes, drunken partiers are wild on the sidewalks, and belly dancers are spilling into the streets. In this respect Last Thursday is not unlike an art happening itself, always hinging on the potential of an unexpected experience, catapulting the art patron into the world of bohemia, both producing and consuming artistic lifestyle as culture.

Street vendors began participating in Last Thursday Art Walks slowly over time since the first one began in 1997. By one account the Last Thursday phenomenon really got going when street vendors started coming regularly, in about 2000 to 2001, creating a more obvious atmosphere of art gathering and bohemian production. To a passerby with no experience or knowledge of Alberta, the street vendors would appear to be the most obvious attraction. On warm summer nights street vendors may be crammed into every imaginable nook along Alberta's sidewalks, table end to table end, from 15th to 30th. Street vendors range in artistic experience, income, and familiarity with Last Thursday. Finding common themes among street vendors in either their attitudes about art or in their perceptions of the Alberta art scene is difficult. One obvious similarity, however, is that they are rarely residents of the immediate neighborhood, but often they wish they were. They also tend to be younger, likely in their twenties and thirties, although there are also plenty of older and younger street vendors.

Street vendors' perceptions of the Alberta neighborhood also vary. Many vendors talked to me about wanting to move to Alberta because of its cheapness and

artistic identity. In a conversation with one young woman, who also happened to be a first time Art Walk vendor from outside the neighborhood, I had mentioned that this neighborhood still seems like one of the cheapest in Portland, and she added that that is going to change soon because the neighborhood is “soon to become really trendy.” Interestingly, most of the street vendors who I talked to would indeed like to move to Alberta because of its cheapness and artistic identity, but none were from there. In fact, I did not talk to one single street vendor that had been living in Alberta for more than one month.

Last Thursday unites street vendors as artists to a spatial realm that is considered to be a place of bohemian production. Street vendors often identify with Alberta in this way, and selling art on the street is often an attempt to establish ties to sites of cultural production as such. Ironically, it appears that most street vendors and art-patrons as well are from outside the neighborhood, but for each, the street represents the idea of bohemia.

Last Thursday therefore links artists – likely from outside the neighborhood – with consumers and particular businesses that offer distinct cultural amenities (whether that is art or food and drinks). Given the distinct arts flavor in the neighborhood, property developers are also impacted by the cultural value that is attached in this market structure that thrives on the idea of bohemian cultural production.

Until recently, the Alberta area has also been home to a significant portion of Portland’s African American population. The previous influx and current exodus of black residents around Alberta may be considered in light of the street’s economic fluctuations. During a period of decline, the Alberta area became a welcome home to

more and more blacks. During its current resurgence, black residents have become fewer and fewer. Racial segregation does not account for economic assets, it only homogenizes blacks and creates the conditions for deteriorating assets (Massey & Denton 1993). That businesses are moving in and blacks are moving out may speak nothing of economic ability, but indicates instead that blacks have been institutionally limited from economic opportunities in their neighborhood. Because black residents hold a limited share of the newly instituted business opportunity on Alberta, their presence in establishing distinctively cultural amenities is also limited. While there are black businesses, black street vendors, and black cultural institutions on Alberta Street, they are perhaps an even smaller minority at Last Thursday's than black residents are in the neighborhood. Curiously, the monthly brochure designed by Art On Alberta seldom lists businesses that are operated by African Americans or Persons of Color, despite a handful of clothing boutiques, styling salons, social clubs, and churches that could only be described as cultural amenities. Despite this observation, there are many black participants in Last Thursdays including artists, street vendors, shop owners, and property developers. At least one of these businesses, a gallery owner, chooses to be left off of the brochure due to disagreements about the hegemonic interests of the Art On Alberta organization.

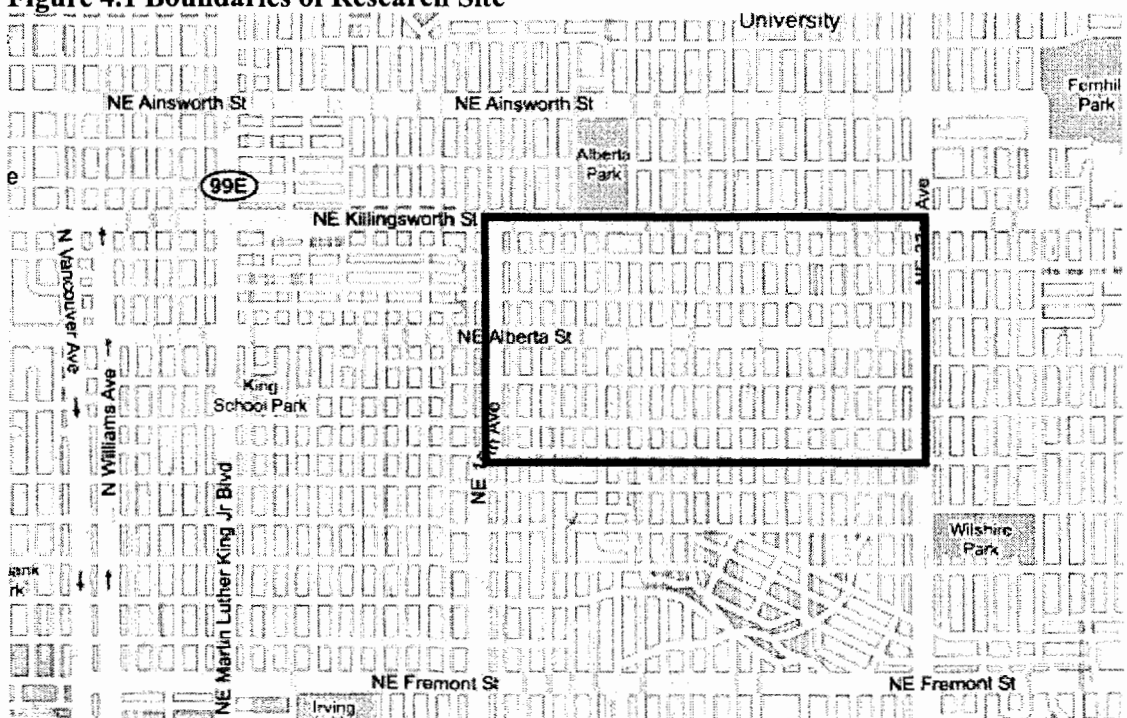
Chapter IV: Methods and Data

This research uses a mixed-methods approach to answer the question of how long-time black and white renters and homeowners perceive and react to the changes in the Alberta Arts District. Data was collected as part of a larger study of changing Northeast Portland neighborhoods conducted by this thesis's chair. First, 243 randomly selected households in the Alberta neighborhood were surveyed to measure demographic information, attitudes and opinions about the neighborhood and neighbors, and various levels of participation in the neighborhood. Data from these surveys are discussed with respect to sample representativeness and the demographic characteristics of survey respondents. Second, 40 structured, in-depth interviews were conducted with Alberta residents, allowing respondents to explain in their own words their attitudes and opinions about their neighborhood, their neighbors, and the neighborhood's newly established cultural identity. In-depth interviews specifically target long-time residents, homeowners, and black homeowners in particular as a population that is both underrepresented in the survey data and represents a theoretically interesting population for the question of perceptions of change and neighborhood cultural participation. Finally, supplementary data was also collected from participant observations at Last Thursday events and interviews with gallery owners along Alberta Street.

Research Site

The Alberta Neighborhood is not a technically recognized Portland neighborhood, but instead runs along Alberta Street through parts of three recognized neighborhoods, Vernon, Sabin, and Concordia. The area chosen comprises nineteen blocks of Alberta Street's busiest section, extending outward from Alberta Street five city blocks in each direction, totaling an area of 190 square city blocks. The Alberta neighborhood is bound by Northeast 33rd Street (East boundary), Northeast 15th Street (West boundary), Northeast Killingsworth Street (North boundary), and Northeast Prescott Street (South boundary). This particular area also corresponds directly to four block groups delineated by the U.S. census bureau. Thus this area corresponds to the changes in question, and it can also be compared to census statistics from previous years.

Figure 4.1 Boundaries of Research Site



Household Surveys

Households in the Alberta neighborhood were randomly selected and surveyed to measure demographic information, opinions, attitudes, and various levels of participation in the neighborhood. 243 of 330 randomly selected households (73.6%) completed a face-to-face survey on their doorstep that lasted ten to fifteen minutes. The remaining 87 households either refused or were unable to be contacted. Data was collected by eleven graduate students as part of a research practicum course conducted by Professor Daniel Sullivan. Each was assigned thirty households from which they were to interview one adult resident by approaching them at their front door. Surveyors made up to twelve attempts to contact unavailable residents at all hours and all days of the week.

In-Depth Interviews

Forty in-depth interviews were conducted following the survey. Because this study seeks to understand cultural differentiation from the point of view of long-time residents in a gentrifying neighborhood, and because race is a theoretically interesting and often underrepresented variable, this portion of the study targets long-time black homeowners as the primary group in question. Long-time white residents were also interviewed to account for possible racial differences. Of each racial group, renters were also targeted to identify differences between homeowners and renters. Of the forty interviews conducted; seventeen black homeowners, seven black renters, eleven white owners, and five white renters participated. Interviews were recorded using a digital voice recorder, transcribed on a word processor, and analyzed as narratives.

Funding was received for this portion of the study through National Science Foundation grants procured by this study's advisor to compensate residents \$25 each for their participation.

To account for the possibility of racial differences in response rates experienced in the initial survey, respondents and interviewers were race matched for the in-depth interviews. Theoretically, matching has the advantage of easing emotional distress around particularly sensitive issues (Warren & Karner 2005). Because race is a theoretically important variable, and because there were questions about race in the interview, race-matching is a justifiable method in this study.⁸

Residents were recruited for in-depth interviews using purposive and snowball sampling methods. Potential respondents were simply drawn from the list of completed surveys described above. Demographic information had already been collected so residents could be identified demographically by address. However, completed surveys revealed only small numbers of certain demographic groups, particularly long-time black homeowners. Snowball methods were also implemented to account for the remainder of black homeowners and renters targeted for interviews. Participating residents were simply asked if they knew of anybody else in the neighborhood that fit the categories in question and if they would be interested in being interviewed as well. For white homeowners the sample frame was adequate and snowball sampling was not necessary. For white renters and black renters, snowball

⁸ However, all long-time residents were recruited for the study with a letter in the mail and a follow up visit to the household usually only by myself. On some occasions, both interviewers would recruit at the households of potential respondents, both whites and blacks. No differences among potential respondents were perceived by interviewers based on the race of the person inviting the resident to participate.

methods were also used because many had often moved on since the original survey was conducted. Residents were also identified by whether or not they had attended Last Thursday during the last twelve months. Altogether, the interview portion of the study would contact close to 100 residents were contacted before only 40 were interviewed.⁹

Survey and Interview Instruments

Appendices 4.1 and 4.2 show the survey instrument and interview schedule. Both questionnaires attempt to measure similar themes of attitudes and opinions, and neighborhood participation, both socially and culturally. Questions for the survey instrument were taken from several previously tested and administered survey questionnaires.¹⁰ The questions chosen correspond to four major categories of data; relationships with neighbors, participation in neighborhood organizations and events,

⁹ Although 20 black homeowners were originally targeted for interviews, only 18 of the 243 completed surveys were black homeowners, only 16 of those 18 had lived in the neighborhood for more than 2 years. Furthermore, one of those remaining did not wish to participate in follow up questions. Of the 15 original black homeowners in the sample, only 7 readily participated. Also, there were very few homeowners that had lived in the neighborhood for over 10 years, and even fewer renters that had lived there that long. Respondents were eventually chosen and although they were not all long-time residents of 10 years or more. Some residents that participated had only lived in the neighborhood for 5 and 4 years. After exhausting the sample frame, 27 additional black homeowners were contacted via snowball sampling to recruit the remaining respondents, of which only 10 agreed to participate. Furthermore, even recruitment by snowball methods was problematic because residents simply were not able to suggest any other residents that fit the right categories. White homeowners were not hard to find, they were generally willing to participate, and they were evenly split between those attending Last Thursday and those not attending. White renters are perhaps another transient population, and thus long-time residents in this category were also hard to locate. Three of the five white renters were recruited via snowball sampling methods as well.

¹⁰ Previous studies from which survey questions were taken include: The Social Capital Community Benchmark, Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, Aug. 2000; Mid-Life Development in the United States (MIDUS) – Survey of Minority Groups [Chicago and New York City], 1995-1996; National Institute of Justice, Neighborhood Revitalization and Disorder in Salt Lake City, Utah, 1993-2000; Urban Poverty and Family Life Survey of Chicago, 1987; Center for Disease Control, 1992; JUA article, 1996, “Change, Cohesion, and Commitment in a Diverse Urban Neighborhood,” Patrick G. Donnelly et al.

attitudes and opinions about the neighborhood and neighbors, and demographic characteristics. Answer categories were given with each question and were exhaustive. For example: “During the past 12 months, how frequently have you borrowed something or loaned something to a neighbor? – weekly, monthly, less than once a month, or never?” Two questions regarding the respondent’s level of education and working status were deemed too sensitive to disclose in a face-to-face situation. For these two questions, given after all other questions are asked, a card was given to the respondent with a complete list of answer choices to respond to. Each answer choice had a letter next to it and respondents were asked to give the letter that best describes themselves. This way the respondent could safely answer the question without having to directly state their working status or level of education.

The interview schedule was constructed with the intention of approaching the same categories of questions; relations with neighbors, participation in neighborhood organizations and events, and attitudes and opinions about the neighborhood and neighbors. These questions were asked open-ended to allow respondents to answer in their own words. Going beyond the questions of what residents think and how residents behave, as the survey data measures, the interviews are intended to get at the meaning of the neighborhood and the changes taking place. Several questions were asked of residents to directly describe the neighborhood and its changes; for example “How would you describe the level of crime or amount of safety in the neighborhood?” Several questions were also asked which required residents to comment specifically on neighborhood changes, while allowing residents to define the changes themselves.

Data and Operations

This section describes survey and interview respondent characteristics. The concept of long-time residence is also discussed. Finally, the rationale for statistical operations performed in later chapters is also described.

Survey Sample Representativeness

Table 4.1 compares the survey's sample to the 2000 U.S. census.

Table 4.1 Demographic Characteristics: Survey Respondents vs. Total Alberta Residents

(percent distribution)	2000 U.S. Census		2004 Alberta Survey
	Total Population	Population over 18	(respondents at least 18)
<i>(Total n)</i>	4761	3612	243
College Degree		30.0	47.7
Women	51.5	52.1	56.8
Men	48.5	47.9	43.2
Homeowners		55.9	57.6
Renters		44.1	42.4
Race/Ethnicity			
White (alone)	54.9	61.7	72.7
Black (alone)	30.6	26.4	16.5
Other (alone)	08.0	07.4	05.8
Multi-racial	06.6	04.5	05.0
Hispanic/Latino	07.4	06.8	05.4

Sampling error is revealed between racial groups and by level of education.

Of the 243 completed surveys only 40 respondents identified as “Black/African American” for a total of 16.5% of the population of Alberta. The 2000 census on the other hand, shows that this area housed 26.4% African American residents (of residents over 18 years old). Seventy-two percent of respondents in the sample identified as “White/Caucasian” as compared to only 61.7% “White/non-Latino” in

the 2000 census. Thus, whites are overrepresented and blacks are underrepresented by this survey. In terms of education, 30% of Alberta residents reported having a college degree or higher on the 2000 census. In the survey in question, 47.7% reported at least a four year degree.

Alberta is a rapidly gentrifying neighborhood. An often implied definition of gentrification is that long-time residents are displaced by a wealthier class of residents. Indeed, much may have changed in the 4 years between the 2000 census and the 2004 survey, particularly the demographic characteristics of the neighborhood. The population in the sample without a high school diploma is less than half of what was reported by the census in the year 2000. Some of this difference may be explained by displacement. It would seem logical that this population would thus be replaced by an increasing number of college and graduate degrees. And because race and level of education are highly correlated in our sample, the trend of displacement and replacement can just as easily be observable in terms of black and white.

The survey methods used here are not without limitations. If race and level of education are to be considered as variables, it must be addressed that the data collected does not accurately represent differences among these groups. If that difference is due to cultural boundaries – the thrust of this study – then this is perhaps a natural limitation of the research. On the other hand, this limitation statistically might be compensated for qualitatively.

Nonetheless, these data also demonstrate that Alberta's residents are a diverse population, but are rapidly homogenizing into younger, whiter, and more highly

educated households. Roughly one quarter of residents who live in Alberta today moved into the neighborhood before the changes began to take place.¹¹ These long-time residents, conceptualized in this chapter as having lived in Alberta for ten years or more, represent the primary group of interest in measuring perceptions of change. They are essentially the residents who have experienced the most change. Table 4.2 displays the demographic characteristics of residents by five and ten year cohorts.

Table 4.2 – Demographic Characteristics of Respondents by Length of Residency (2004 survey)

	<u>< 5 years</u>	<u>5 – 9.9 years</u>	<u>10 + years</u>	Total n	Total %
Respondents (n - %)	137 – 56.4%	42 – 17.3%	64 – 26.3%	243	100
Race (%)					
Black	09.5	21.4	28.1	40	16.5
White	81.8	64.3	57.8	176	72.4
Other	08.8	14.3	14.1	27	11.1
Mean Age	34	38	53	40	
College Degree (%)	57.7	50.0	25.0	116	47.7
Rents (%)	56.2	38.1	15.6	103	42.4
Owns (%)	43.8	61.9	84.4	140	57.6

* Mean length of residence – 7.6 years
 * Median length of residence – 3.5 years

Length of residence is a relative idea. For highly mobile individuals, renting or owning in one location for over three years may constitute a claim to belonging in the neighborhood. Most residents in Alberta have been there long enough to witness at least some of the stark character changes associated with gentrification. A few residents have been there long enough to witness white-flight and divestment, and now the current phase of gentrification. This analysis focuses on the changes associated with gentrification and thus conceptualizes long-term residents as those living in the area before gentrification, as opposed to those moving in during or since.

¹¹ As described in Chapter 3, *changes* that are distinctly cultural.

However, the complex processes of gentrification take many years and their beginnings may be difficult to pin down. As discussed in Chapter Three, the beginnings of gentrification in Alberta may well be associated with an influx of bohemian residents and the local businesses that support them beginning around 1995, roughly ten years ago. Residents living in Alberta five years or longer will have noticed stark differences as well.

Long-time residents, those living in the neighborhood for ten years or longer, comprise only a fourth of all residents currently living in Alberta. Those living in the neighborhood less than five years represent the majority of current Alberta residents. These numbers demonstrate the rapid influx of residents to the neighborhood. Residents living in Alberta less than five years outnumber the next five-year cohort by more than three to one. Much of this difference may be explained by mobile renters coming and going, but homeowners moving in within the last five years also outnumber their next five-year cohort by more than two to one. Demographically, newer residents do tend to be younger, whiter, and more educated than those moving in before them. Residents living in Alberta for over ten years are majority white, but racially more diverse than newer residents and considerably less educated. Long-time residents also tend to be older, and are much more likely to own their homes. Long-time residents are perhaps more settled, of lower socioeconomic status, and less mobile, but living in a neighborhood that is rapidly changing.

Long-time whites and long-time blacks vary by several key demographic characteristics, particularly homeownership and level of education. Table 4.3 demonstrates demographic differences between blacks and whites in terms of their

length of residence. 61.4% of whites own their homes and only 47.5% of blacks in Alberta own their homes. Among residents in the neighborhood of less than 10 years, only 36.4% of blacks own their homes as compared to 53.2% of whites. Although more whites than blacks are buying into Alberta recently, the most significant difference may be between long-time residents, of whom 92% of whites own their homes, compared to only 61 % of long-time blacks owning their homes. The one category that blacks outnumber whites is that of renters who have been in the neighborhood for over 10 years.

Table 4.3 - Demographic Characteristics by Racial Group (2004 Survey)

Years of residence:	White			Black		
	<u>< 10 yrs</u>	<u>10+ yrs</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>< 10 yrs</u>	<u>10+ yrs</u>	<u>Total</u>
Mean Age	34	53	38	42	52	47
Homeowners	53.2	91.9	61.4	36.4	61.1	47.5
College (4 years)	68.3	37.8	61.9	09.1	05.2	07.5

n = 215

Racial differences in level of education are even more striking. Sixty-two percent of whites in Alberta have a four-year college degree or more, while only 7.5% of blacks do. Among blacks, level of education is not related to when a resident moved in. However, the relationship between level of education and length of residence for whites is clear. Thirty-eight percent of long-time white residents in Alberta hold a college degree or better, while 68.3% of whites living in Alberta less than ten years hold at least a college degree.

The differences between whites and blacks regarding level of education may be revealing. It is apparent that large numbers of highly educated individuals are moving to Alberta. That blacks are by and large less educated than whites

demonstrates familiar patterns of racial inequality, but because the relationship between level of education and length of residence is only significant among whites, it is also apparent that newly arriving whites are of a more differentiated socioeconomic status than are newly arriving blacks. More than half of all blacks living in Alberta have moved in within the last ten years, but only 9.1% of incoming blacks have college degrees. Over two-thirds of incoming whites, 68.3% have college degrees or more. Gentrification implies a rapid socio-demographic transition typified by young, educated, whites, which is clearly demonstrated in table 4.3 above. However, the majority of blacks currently in Alberta have also moved in within the last ten years, and there is little difference in level of education among newly arriving and long-time black residents.

Interview Respondent Characteristics

Forty long-time Alberta residents were interviewed from a wide range of backgrounds. These residents were targeted with the consideration that they had lived in the neighborhood long enough to adequately experience and describe the changes taking place. However, each group has slightly different characteristics. Residents living in the neighborhood for longer than ten years were often difficult to find.

Seventeen black homeowners were interviewed and they range in length of residence from four to fifty years, with a mean length of 19.4 years. Three of these residents have been living in Alberta for over Forty-eight years and could be considered historic residents, all of whom related stories of experiencing direct discrimination from their neighbors when they first moved into Alberta. Six other

long-time black homeowners ranged from eighteen to thirty-four years of residence. The remaining black residents interviewed are relatively newer, with eight residents ranging from eight to twelve years in residence, and one of four years and another of five years. Some residents did not live immediately within the Alberta boundaries that the survey was taken, but they lived very close. These residents, contacted by snowball sampling, were very familiar with the neighborhood. One is the owner of a gallery and community market space, and another is a pastor at a church in the area. The resident of four years had worked on Alberta for some time before moving in.

Seven black renters were interviewed and they range in length of residence from four to thirty-three years with a mean length of seventeen years. This population is unique in that it ranges from young adults to middle aged adults who have been renting in and around the Alberta area for most of their lives. Several long-time black renters grew up with their families in Alberta or in nearby Northeast Portland neighborhoods and are now renting in the area. Some residents have been living in their current place for only one or two years, but have lived in the Alberta neighborhood for much longer and are thus considered long-time residents. One resident was interviewed who grew up and works in the neighborhood, but only recently moved out of Alberta.

Eleven white homeowners interviewed range from five to twenty-six years with a mean length of 17.6 years. These residents range from young to old households. Many long-time white homeowners raised children in the neighborhood who are no longer living with them. Only two white homeowners were identified as living in the neighborhood for less than ten years.

The five white renters interviewed range from three and a half to ten years in the neighborhood, with a mean length of 6.2 years. Although this population is considerably newer than other groups, they still represent the oldest of white renters available for interviews. White renters in general may make up a significant portion of Alberta's population, and are likely a very mobile group. That these white renters have lived in the neighborhood for at least three years is actually a bit of a rarity.¹² Other long-time white renters targeted for interview had moved on during the seven or eight months of time between the survey and the interview portions of the study. Interestingly, these 'long-time' white renters represent a portion of bohemian culture. Four of these five white renters identified as artists, and another as a professional activist. Many were drawn to the neighborhood because of friends living nearby, the ability to lead expressive lifestyles, and the bohemian cultural amenities.

Operations and Analysis

Dependent variables include; general opinions of the neighborhood and the changes that have occurred (analyzed in Chapter 5), perceptions of people in the neighborhood, or how new residents compare to long-time residents (analyzed in Chapter 6), opinions and reactions towards new businesses in the neighborhood (analyzed in Chapter 7), and opinions and reactions to neighborhood cultural changes including participation in Last Thursday Art Walks (analyzed in Chapter 8).

¹² Three of the white renters interviewed here were contacted by snowball sampling methods, and these were the longest of white renters; 5, 7.5, and 10 years.

Statistical analyses are performed regarding general opinions of the neighborhood and its changes (Chapter 5), use of new local grocery stores (Chapter 7), and participation in Last Thursday Art Walks (Chapter 8). Bivariate and multivariate analyses are used to demonstrate group differences in the dependent variables discussed above. In Chapters Seven and Eight a series of binary logistic regressions are performed regarding the use of grocery stores and Last Thursday Art Walks during the last year, and then subsequent continued use of these amenities among those who do use them at least once. Survey questions 12, 13, and 14 ask respondents whether or not they have engaged in the above activities during the past twelve months. These questions are followed by asking how often. Logistic regressions are analyzed for participation by coding the primary questions (12, 13, and 14) as binary ‘yes-no’ variables. Logistic regressions are also analyzed regarding subsequent participation or use by coding the secondary questions (12a, 13a, and 14a) as dichotomous groups of frequent vs. non-frequent participants given each dependent variable’s distribution characteristics.

By isolating frequent shoppers and participants among those who shop at grocery stores or attend Last Thursday at least once, analyses in Chapters Seven and Eight conceptualize frequent and non-frequent participants as the difference between groups who may feel represented by the new amenities in which they are taking part versus those who do not. For example, going to the Last Thursday Art Walk once and not going back is treated as qualitatively different from going to Last Thursday and returning at least one more time. As will be discussed in Chapters Seven and Eight, residents may make choices in terms of how they participate in the neighborhood by

whether or not they are represented culturally by its amenities, stores, or events. Therefore, by observing both the residents that shop for groceries or participate culturally on Alberta, and then the residents that continue to shop and participate frequently, these analyses attempt to explore group differences in how the neighborhood's changes represent its residents. Frequent use of grocery stores is coded as 'weekly' shopping regarding the New Seasons grocery store, and 'monthly' shopping regarding the Alberta Street Co-op. Frequent Last Thursday participation is measured by separating those who have gone once, and those who have gone once and continue to go more than once.

Demographic variables deserve mention as well. Survey question 38 asks residents to state their racial or ethnic background. White/Caucasian and black/African American made up the primary racial groups and are the subject of racial differentiation in this study. Therefore, race has been recoded to account for only blacks and whites, with 1 = black and 0 = white. Level of education has also been recoded to account only for the binary distinction between those attaining at least a four-year degree and those not, with 1 = "4-year college degree" and 0 = "less than four-year degree." Length of residence is divided into categories of less than five years, between five and ten years, and over ten years for bivariate analyses, but treated as a continuous variable in multivariate regression analyses. The five-year categories for bivariate analyses are conceptualized as time periods corresponding to particular phases of gentrification discussed in Chapter Three.

Regarding participation in Last Thursday Art Walks, the subject of Chapter Eight, additional independent variables are identified that may account for

participation beyond demographic factors. Following the work of Pattillo-McCoy (1998), church attendance within the neighborhood is conceptualized as a form of neighborhood cultural participation that may be unique to blacks in black neighborhoods. Church attendance is cultural participation, but not participation in cultural changes. However, if one is likely to participate in other neighborhood cultural activities, they may also be more or less likely to participate in cultural changes. Secondly, the perception of the neighborhood as having ‘gotten better’ (discussed in Chapter Five) may also determine whether or not long-time residents are likely to participate in events marking the neighborhood’s cultural changes. This is coded as a binary variable separating respondents who characterize the neighborhood as having ‘gotten better’ versus those who feel it has ‘gotten worse,’ ‘stayed the same,’ or had no opinion. Finally, an index of social participation or ‘neighboring’ was constructed using survey questions 8, 9, and 10. These questions ask residents to order various measures of interaction with their neighbors from “weekly” = 3, “monthly” = 2, “less than once a month” = 1, or “never” = 0. The three questions were added to create an index ranging from 0 to 9, with 0 representing extremely low social interaction with neighbors and 9 representing very high social interaction with neighbors. ‘Neighboring’ is treated as a continuous independent variable which may influence whether or not one attends Last Thursday or continues to attend, based on the extent to which one is social with their neighbors.

The 40 in-depth interviews were transcribed verbatim, printed out for analysis, and then coded and analyzed using colored pencils to delineate codes, categories, and themes. Specific categories include narratives that coincide with the

research questions analyzed in Chapters Six, Seven, and Eight; residents' perceptions of new residents and the demographic changes, residents' perceptions and uses of new local businesses, and residents' perceptions and uses of the changes specific to the "Arts District" identity of the neighborhood, and Last Thursday Art Walks in particular. These narratives are treated as the subsequent meanings that residents attach to these aspects of change that exist beyond statistical differences identified by survey data.

Supplementary Data

Supplementary data was collected by observing Last Thursday Art Walks and interviewing owners of several art galleries along Alberta Street. Field notes from the Art Walks were taken during these events and then written up immediately following the events. Interviews with gallery owners were unstructured, but tape recorded and transcribed as well. These sources of data do not directly address the research question but may be used to generate thick description of Last Thursdays and approach the meaning of it for those involved. This data is primarily used to inform background understanding of the cultural changes taking place developed in Chapter Three.

Chapter V: Overview of Opinions of Change

This chapter presents an overview of the primary research question, how do long-time black and white residents perceive the changes associated with the new Alberta Arts District? Survey data is analyzed to point out group trends in perceptions of change by length of residence, between homeowners and renters, between whites and blacks, and between those with a college degree and those without. First, residents' perceptions of lack of affordable housing as a neighborhood problem and their personal vulnerability to displacement are analyzed. These analyses are used as prerequisites to inform analyses of residents' general opinions of the neighborhood. Second, residents' opinions of change over the last five years, and opinions of future five-year changes are analyzed. Finally, residents' overall ratings of Alberta as a place to live are observed.

The following analyses begin to tell the story of what groups are significantly affected by neighborhood gentrification and how. Homeownership affords residents more security against displacement, and homeowners consistently tend to view positive past and future changes and positively rate Alberta as a place to live. Long-time residents are generally more stable as well (they have been living there the longest) and maintain positive opinions and perceptions of change, but not significantly more so than newer residents. Interestingly, a higher level of education significantly effects both the perception of lack of affordable housing as a problem and the likelihood of rating Alberta as an 'excellent' place to live. Race plays a much

larger role in opinions of change than it does in perceptions of affordability and vulnerability. While homeownership affords residents more security and subsequent positive perceptions of the neighborhood and its changes, the effect of race may offset the positive effects of homeownership. Although long-time black and white residents all appear to be stable, these analyses reveal that in general, blacks are less likely than whites to perceive the changes taking place in a positive light.

Affordability and Vulnerability

Gentrification implies that with rising property values residents of lower economic status will be displaced, and these will tend to be long-time residents. The following analysis does not measure displacement nor financial ability, but by observing perceptions of affordability as a problem, and individual residents' perceived personal vulnerability to displacement, this section approaches potential group differences in perceptions of displacement. If displacement affects some groups more than others, we might find group differences in perceptions of affordability and vulnerability. Table 5.1 demonstrates group distributions in perceptions of affordability and vulnerability.

Residents were asked to gauge a series of possible problems occurring in Alberta, including crimes and tensions between neighbors. The most frequently reported problem was 'lack of affordable housing.' Thirty-two percent of respondents determined affordability to be a 'serious problem' and an additional 26.7% determined it to be a 'minor problem.' Interestingly, the group indicated here to have the highest socioeconomic status is the most likely to perceive lack of affordable

housing as a problem. Of those with a college degree or higher, 70.7% report affordability as a serious or minor problem. Only 48% of residents without a college degree report affordability as a problem. Length of residence also influences an individual's perception of lack of affordable housing. The relationship here is curvilinear with those more likely to perceive of affordability as a problem being the cohort between five and ten years. Also, among those who do perceive this as a problem, residents living in the neighborhood for over five years are most likely to perceive affordability as a serious problem. Racial differences are evident but not statistically significant. Although more whites than blacks perceive lack of affordable housing as a problem, blacks who do perceive it as a problem are more likely than whites to perceive it as a serious problem. No significant differences are found between homeowners and renters.

Table 5.1 Residents Reporting Lack of Affordable Housing as a Problem in the Neighborhood versus Those Feeling Personally Vulnerable.

	Serious Prob.	Minor Prob.	Total	Chi - Square	Personally Vulnerable	Chi-Square
<i>Overall Sample</i>	32.1	26.7	58.8		25.1	
Tenure Status						
Owner	32.9	22.1	55.0		16.4	
Renter	31.1	33.0	64.1	2.86	36.9	13.35***
Length of Residence						
Less than 5 Years	27.0	30.7	57.7		27.0	
5 – 9.9 Years	40.5	31.0	71.4		21.4	
10 years or more	37.5	15.6	53.1	9.49**	23.4	0.62
Educational Attainment						
College Degree	36.2	34.5	70.7		26.7	
No College Degree	28.3	19.7	48.0	13.20***	23.6	0.41
Race						
White	30.1	31.3	61.4		23.9	
Black	37.5	17.5	55.0	3.05	27.4	0.22

*p<.10, **p<.05, ***p<.01
n = 243

Residents were also asked if they felt that they might not personally ‘be able to afford to stay,’ and if so, if they were ‘somewhat concerned’ or ‘very concerned.’ One fourth of all residents reported that they felt personally vulnerable. Of vulnerable residents, one-third reported that they were very concerned – 8.2% reported being very concerned that they would not be able to afford to stay. Renters are much more likely than homeowners to feel vulnerable to displacement, with 36.9% of renters feeling somewhat or very concerned about vulnerability and only 16.4% of homeowners feeling concerned. This trend was more consistent among whites than blacks, with a higher percentage of white renters reporting vulnerability than black renters. On the other hand, a higher percentage of black than white homeowners reported vulnerability, but this relationship is not statistically significant. Differences between homeowners and renters are also significant in terms of length of residence. Among renters that have been in Alberta for less than five years, 33.8% reported vulnerability, while nearly half of renters living in Alberta over five years reported vulnerability. Long-time black renters outnumber long-time white renters, potentially making long-time black renters one population that may be uniquely vulnerable. However, long-time blacks do not significantly report greater vulnerability than long-time whites.

While those with a college degree or more are the most likely group to perceive lack of affordable housing as a problem, this group is not significantly more vulnerable than less educated residents. Also, while the cohort between five and ten years is most likely to perceive affordable housing as a problem, this group is the least likely of cohorts to feel personally vulnerable. Although most highly educated

people are concerned about lack of affordable housing, those most affected by it are renters, particularly renters living in Alberta for five years or more. These findings reveal that perceptions of neighborhood affordability as a problem and personal vulnerability are not necessarily related. Most importantly, although this analysis does not measure displacement nor financial ability, it reveals that group differences in perceptions of affordability and vulnerability cannot be attributed to racial differences. This result should suggest that where racial differences in opinions of the neighborhood and perceptions of change are to be found, they are likely not the result of perceptions of affordability and vulnerability.

General Opinions

Analyses of residents' general opinions of change demonstrate that homeowners in general tend to notice the changes more favorably. However, group differences vary regarding opinions of the last five years, and opinions of potential future changes. While black and white residents are both likely to perceive positive past and future changes, blacks are significantly less likely than whites to perceive of positive future changes. Table 5.2 shows group differences in general perceptions of past and future changes.

Table 5.2 Resident Opinions of Neighborhood Changes

	<u>Opinion of Last 5 years</u>			<u>Opinion of Next 5 Years</u>		
	Gotten better	Gotten worse	Chi-Square	Will get better	Will get worse	Chi-Square
<i>Overall Sample</i>	59.3	05.3		73.3	05.8	
Tenure Status						
Owner	75.7	04.3		82.1	03.6	
Renter	36.9	06.8	38.36***	61.2	08.7	8.56**
Length of Residence						
Less than 5 Years	46.0	03.6		73.0	05.1	
5 – 9.9 Years	76.2	09.5		69.0	07.1	
10 Years or more	79.0	06.3	35.15***	76.6	06.3	0.76
Educational Attainment						
College Degree	59.5	06.0		74.1	05.2	
No College Degree	59.1	04.7	0.26	72.4	06.3	2.01
Race						
White	60.2	03.4		77.3	05.1	
Black	50.0	10.0	3.73	60.0	07.5	7.76**

*p<.10, **p<.05, ***p<.01

n = 243

Regarding changes over the last five years, most residents stated that the ‘neighborhood has gotten better.’ Fifty-nine percent said the neighborhood has ‘gotten better’ and only 5.3% stated that it had ‘gotten worse.’ Remaining residents stated that the neighborhood has ‘stayed about the same.’ Homeowners are generally much more likely than renters to perceive positive changes. Also, positive changes are perceived by those living in the neighborhood the longest. Most residents reporting that the neighborhood has ‘stayed about the same’ over the last five years had not been living in the neighborhood for five years. This difference is likely the result of these residents not having lived in the neighborhood long enough to answer the question adequately. However, homeowners living in Alberta for less than five years are 63.3% likely to report that the neighborhood has indeed ‘gotten better’

while only 32.9% of renters of less than five years report the ‘neighborhood has gotten better.’

Blacks are more likely than whites to report that the ‘neighborhood has gotten worse’ over the last five years. Ten percent of black residents report the neighborhood has gotten worse, compared to only 3.4% of whites. Although the numbers of those stating the neighborhood has gotten worse are small, the ratios among groups reporting ‘better’ to those reporting ‘worse’ are telling. Among blacks in Alberta, renters are only three times as likely to report the neighborhood has gotten better than worse, but black homeowners are ten times as likely to report the neighborhood has gotten better than worse. Among whites on the other hand, renters are ten times more likely to report ‘gotten better’ than ‘gotten worse,’ while homeowners are twenty times more likely to report better than worse.

When asked if the ‘neighborhood will get better,’ over the *next* five years, the effects of homeownership and length of residence diminishes and racial differences become more pronounced. Seventy-three percent of respondents said that Alberta ‘will get better’ and only 5.8% stated that it ‘will get worse.’ Again, the most significant differences here are found between homeowners and renters with more owners than renters perceiving positive future changes, and renters more likely than homeowners to state that the neighborhood will get worse. However, the positive difference attributed to homeownership diminishes. Regarding future changes renters are much less ambivalent, being more likely to give an opinion one way or the other. Again, this may be due to renters not having lived in the neighborhood long-enough to perceive past changes. The complete lack of difference between length of

residence cohorts for future changes reveals that many residents living in the neighborhood less than five years were only unable to formulate an opinion of past changes, but have no trouble giving opinions of future changes. Homeowners arriving in the last five years are only slightly more likely to answer positively to future changes, while renters of less than five years are decidedly more likely to perceive positive future changes.

Whites are also much more likely to perceive of positive future changes than blacks, although both groups are most likely to perceive future changes as positive. 7.5% of blacks and 5.1% of whites said the 'neighborhood will get worse.' This is a narrowing of the gap between white and black residents' negative perceptions of past changes. However, whites are still twice as likely as blacks to perceive that the neighborhood will get 'better' than 'worse' over the next five years. This difference is more pronounced between renters and homeowners. Black renters are only five times more likely to say 'will get better' than 'will get worse,' compared to black homeowners who are thirteen times more likely to say 'better' than 'worse.' White renters are nine times more likely to say better than worse, and white homeowners are twenty-three times more likely to say the 'neighborhood will get better' than 'will get worse.'

These analyses reveal that most residents state that the neighborhood *has* gotten better or stayed the same, and most residents also state that the neighborhood *will* get better or stay about the same. Particularly, more than three fourths of all long-time residents have stated positive changes in both categories. However, although there are small numbers of those reporting that the neighborhood has gotten worse,

and will get worse, there are consistent differences between renters and homeowners and between whites and blacks regarding these overall perceptions of change. These differences should not overshadow the fact that even the majority of blacks and renters are much more likely to interpret the changes positively than negatively, but if race and tenure status differences exist in general, then they may be revealed in the narrative descriptions of the neighborhood and its changes.

It must here be considered that these measured perceptions of changes are the most general categorical measures and do not begin to account for the range of attitudes and opinions that may cause a resident to change from 'better' to 'about the same,' or from 'about the same' to 'worse.' The consistently lower ratios of better-to-worse among blacks and renters (and black renters in particular), however, indicates that there is much more at stake for blacks and renters to consider when asked to formulate such general perceptions of change. Furthermore, it may be suggested that personal vulnerability may very well influence renters' perceptions of change because renters are both concerned about not being able to afford to stay, and also less likely to state that the neighborhood has gotten better or will get better. On the other hand, concern with affordability and personal vulnerability are not likely to influence black residents' perceptions of change because racial differences in vulnerability or affordability as a problem are not evident.

Finally, residents were also asked to give their overall opinion about Alberta as a place to live. Group differences are evident among every demographic category, with the strongest differences attributed to those with a higher level of education. Also, racial differences in general opinions tend to be very strong, with whites much

more likely than blacks to give Alberta a positive rating. Table 5.3 demonstrates group differences regarding general opinions of Alberta as a place to live.

Table 5.3 Overall Opinion of Alberta as a Place to Live

	<u>Excellent</u>	<u>Good</u>	<u>Fair</u>	Chi - Square
<i>Overall Sample</i>	39.9	44.9	14.0	
Tenure Status				
Owner	46.4	44.3	07.9	
Renter	31.1	45.6	22.3	12.45***
Length of Residence				
Less than 5 Years	43.1	42.3	13.1	
5 – 9.9 Years	50.0	31.0	16.7	
10 years or more	40.5	59.4	14.1	11.30*
Educational Attainment				
College Degree	55.2	38.8	05.2	
No College Degree	26.0	50.4	22.0	28.93***
Race				
White	47.7	43.2	08.5	
Black	22.5	45.0	32.5	19.23***

*p<.10, **p<.05, ***p<.01

n = 242

Most residents rate Alberta as at least good or excellent. Forty percent of residents rate Alberta as ‘excellent,’ while 45% rate the neighborhood as a ‘good’ place to live, and 14% rate Alberta as ‘fair.’ Less than 1% rate the neighborhood as ‘poor.’ Whites, homeowners, and those with college degrees are most likely to rate Alberta in the most positive light. More than half of all residents with a college degree rated Alberta as ‘excellent’ as compared to only 26% of those without. Over forty-six percent of homeowners rate Alberta as excellent as compared to 31% of renters. However, homeownership only increases the likelihood of giving Alberta an ‘excellent’ rating if residents have been in the neighborhood for less than ten years.

Long-time homeowners are much more likely to rate Alberta as ‘good,’ and long-time renters are more likely to rate the neighborhood as ‘fair.’

Racial differences are highly significant as well. Less than one in four of all black residents surveyed rate Alberta an ‘excellent’ place to live as compared to almost half white residents surveyed. Race can also combine with tenure status and length of residence to produce further differences. Black renters are most likely to rate the neighborhood as ‘fair,’ and black homeowners are most likely to rate the neighborhood as ‘good.’ Although having moved in recently, 69.2% of blacks living in the neighborhood less than five years have only rated Alberta as ‘fair,’ but only 8.1% of whites of less than five years said ‘fair.’

Regarding Alberta residents’ general opinions of the neighborhood, clear differences emerge by race, level of education, and homeownership. Those with the most positive ratings of the neighborhood are typically whites and homeowners with high levels of education. Other groups are more likely to indicate a more modest rating of the neighborhood. Black residents – and black renters in particular – are more likely to restrain their considerations of positivity. Long-time residents in general are most likely to maintain that Alberta is at least a ‘good place to live.’

According to the above analyses, clear patterns have emerged among Alberta residents’ perceptions of changes and opinions about the neighborhood. Many of these patterns may run contrary to popular assumption. Not all long-time residents are concerned that they might not be able to afford to stay. Likewise, not all black residents are concerned about vulnerability. Long-time renters are generally more concerned about vulnerability, but so are all renters in general. Furthermore, those

perceiving lack of affordable housing as a problem in the neighborhood are by and large highly educated and living in the neighborhood between five and ten years, most of whom do not also report significant differences in personal vulnerability. Renters in general are less likely than homeowners to state that the 'neighborhood has gotten better' or 'will get better,' and black renters and homeowners are more likely than whites to state that the neighborhood 'has gotten worse' or 'will get worse.' Likewise, blacks in general are much more likely to tone down their overall opinions of the neighborhood, especially black renters. In short, the issues of affordability and vulnerability seem to affect less racial differences than do actual perceptions of changes and opinions of the neighborhood.

Without making any real analyses of displacement, it is apparent that real numbers of blacks in Alberta are diminishing. This may very likely be the result of forced displacement as rents and property values rise, considering that poor blacks have historically been concentrated in Alberta.¹³ On the other hand, it also appears that blacks are slightly less satisfied with the changes taking place, or more accurately, they may draw from a more complex set of circumstances when asked to formulate general opinions of the neighborhood and its changes. Racial differences in opinions of change and ratings of the neighborhood are much greater than differences regarding perceptions of personal vulnerability and affordability as a problem. It must still be recognized that most blacks in Alberta perceive that the neighborhood has indeed 'gotten better' and will 'get better,' and that Alberta is at least a 'good' place

¹³ If long-time black residents are mostly renters, and indeed many are, displacement may have affected this group significantly before this study took place. Also, this group is underrepresented in this study.

to live. Black homeowners are more likely to espouse positive views. Likewise, long-time residents and renters in general share in positive perceptions of change.

These complicated findings beg some questions: What is the meaning of these changes to residents who have experienced them? Do racial differences in opinions have to do with demographic differences between long-time and newly arriving residents? Can these differences be attributed to the new cultural character of Alberta Street? Do the positive effects of homeownership reflect security against displacement or attachment to the community?

Chapter VI: Perceptions of New Residents

This chapter analyzes long-time black and long-time white residents' perceptions newer residents. As developed in Chapter Two, symbolic boundaries involve the construction of in-group membership in terms of lines drawn that separate out-group 'others.' Thus, perceptions regarding new residents are also inseparable from constructions of belonging as long-time residents establish their 'fit' in the culturally changing neighborhood. This chapter examines the questions, Are there racial differences among long-time residents in their perceptions of new residents? Do homeowners and renters differ in their perceptions of new residents?

Both race and homeownership effect differences in the way long-time residents construct boundaries with newcomers and establish belonging in the neighborhood. A portion of black homeowners and renters construct their fit in the neighborhood as being part of a diminishing black community. Although black homeowners are statistically more likely than black renters to see positive changes, differences between black renters and homeowners regarding perceptions of newcomers are not found. Both groups can appreciate the changes, but may also construct racial boundaries that signal belonging in a black community that is being threatened by an influx of whites. Whites on the other hand, are differentiated by homeowners who construct belonging as being part of positive neighborhood changes, and renters who construct belonging with other long-time residents who are being displaced.

Boundaries are drawn to the extent that newcomers do not fit with each group's narrative of belonging. For black renters and owners, racial boundaries can emerge that may be drawn ambivalently or may culminate in sharply drawn 'us' versus 'them' distinctions. For whites, ownership status is a source of belonging and positive changes, and thus boundaries are drawn between themselves and renters. For white renters on the other hand, neither ownership nor race can be a source of belonging, but socioeconomic and moral boundaries are often drawn around newcomers in general.

Black Homeowners and Renters

Long-time black homeowners and renters vary equally in their perceptions of newcomers. Some perceive changes to be generally positive, and others generally negative, while some remain ambivalent. Despite the many positive changes however, newcomers can also represent the opposite of what many long-time blacks perceive to be the loss of the black community. Boundaries drawn between newcomers can involve moral, socioeconomic, or cultural distinctions. These boundaries may simply be drawn in terms of length of residence, or they may culminate in racial boundaries as well. The meanings associated with losing other black residents in the neighborhood can produce feelings of discomfort and alienation, but also develop into constructions of belonging that place blacks as part of a black community that is being overtaken by whites.

First, positive narratives of newcomers and change are evident among black homeowners and renters that can lead to increased feelings of belonging. Long-time

black residents can perceive friendliness of newer residents in general to affect feelings of belonging in the neighborhood, feelings that might have been lacking in earlier years. If newer neighbors are perceived to be friendly, long-time residents may make attempts to get out more and get to know their new neighbors. Some similarities may even be evident among newcomers and long-time residents.

Although newer residents are demographically different in many ways, they may also be a group characterized by a particular phase in their life-cycle, namely, younger couples often with young children (Pashup 2004). Long-time black residents may also be in this life-cycle phase, and having children on the block can in some circumstances instigate contact between mothers or families. Also, renovations and repairs to houses and yards made by new residents can increase the physical appearance in the neighborhood, which is a welcome change for many long-time residents. The following narratives depict positive perceptions and involvement with new residents:

...What do you think is causing these changes?

In my opinion, this is the new, businesses are coming in. New people are coming in and they are able to make those changes to abandoned buildings we have [black renters 10 years].

Are newer residents different from long-time residents?

The mix has become more equitable I think... People are still friendly, but when I first moved here... People are still very very friendly.

Are you more social with your neighbors now than in the past, or is it about the same?

More, as things have grown, I've tried to go out and get a feel for who is around me [black homeowner 12 years].

Do you think the Physical appearance of the neighborhood will change much?

Well I'm hoping that it gets better, because I think that the bundle of people that are moving in, and their repairs and their working on their yard and all, I

think if we keep that same kind of attitude it will be better [black homeowner 34 years].

These narratives demonstrate that many long-time black homeowners actively engage in changes that are perceived as positive. This may be done through increased socialization with new residents, or through improving the physical appearance of the neighborhood. In other cases this can involve active participation in neighborhood associations or other cultural events. Long-time black homeowners may see the transition as an opportunity to get to know people, and develop a 'we' feeling as neighbors around perceived improvements to the community. However, these positive depictions may hinge on the perception that newcomers are friendly.

On the other hand, newcomers can be perceived by long-time blacks to be less friendly. Interactions on the street between long-time blacks and new residents can be perceived negatively and might signal class or racial differences among newcomers and long-time residents. Elijah Anderson (1990) characterizes new and long-time (white and black) residents as approaching each other with speculation and unease until eventually they become comfortable with each other. Among long-time blacks, the perception of unease among new whites is a common occurrence, as the following depictions demonstrate:

Are newer residents more or less sociable?

Less sociable, if I don't say hi, then its like, they go right past you. [black renter 15 years].

How would you describe this neighborhood to someone who was not familiar with it?

What I would describe it as, its not very, people, other residents in the area, now that other ones that I knew moved out, its hard to get to know people, they might speak but the majority of the people do not acknowledge, I don't think acknowledge, um, you might say if it was an African American person

they would probably stop and say something, but now its just, we just pass on the street and that's it, there's no relationship [black homeowner 5 years].

Are newer residents more or less sociable?

We call em yuppie, we have some yuppie girls across the street, um they don't speak...

So like when you're in your front yard, you say 'how ya doing?' they just keep walking?

Right. You know, when they see you they do a [180] turn before they get, to avoid speaking, they're less sociable.

Is there social class differences?

They have money [black homeowner 11 years].

Unfriendliness is also a sign of loss of community. Many long-time black homeowners are actively engaged in their neighborhood despite the perception of unfriendliness, but moral boundaries can be drawn between those who are perceived to only care about their new property as an investment versus those who actively pursue community life. People coming in and buying houses, spending their days at work, their evenings indoors, and their weekends outside renovating their homes while ignoring their neighbors are seen as exclusive and anti-community-oriented, and they may be prejudiced as well.

When you bought this house, did you see it as a good financial investment?

Well, I think any house is a good financial investment, then its up to you to invest in the community by being a positive member of it. So, one thing that I don't see enough in this community, is I don't see people who live in it... I don't see enough people who live within it interacting like they care more about not just the four walls that encompass their house, but everything else.

How would you describe the neighborhood to someone who wasn't familiar with it?

I tell them that if they moved into this neighborhood, don't, how do I say it... don't nurture the standoffish behavior of some of the people who live here currently... if you take a look at some of these houses, you can sort of get a guestimate of who is coming home just to lock their door. And um, I think a lot of it has to do with um, people's perceptions of other people's nationality.

So you see nationality as an issue also?

Yeah, racism. Racism is a sad thing but its always an issue... [black homeowner 8 years].

The above narrative also demonstrates that new residents may be perceived as being scarred to live in a neighborhood among blacks. Furthermore, if their reason for doing so is strictly economically motivated, then moral boundaries can also be constructed around new homeowners as a source of negative changes, or loss of community. New homeowners are often identified by long-time black homeowners as complaining excessively and over concerned with their property values. Conflicts over building fences or cutting down trees can create animosity between new and long-time residents. Group differences in how these types of problems are solved can be considered as harassment, and create further group boundaries. Ultimately, these boundaries can create racial differentiations between new and long-time residents:

How would you describe your relations with your neighbors?

Well, its been stormy, especially with the white neighbors. There was some... I think the way they communicate and the way we communicate, me as an African American, how we look at ownership is two different things. Like when I was doing some work on my yard, on my back yard, my neighbor next door came up to me and asked me why didn't I talk to them about what was going on, because our property lines are so close together, and I was taking down the Laurel bushes, and they were using the Laurel bushes as a way to hide their window, to give them some privacy, and I didn't know at the time, I was just trying to get the bushes away from my house because it was pushing up against my siding, that was my concern, so it became an issue. And there is other things that have come up as issues, and I don't know if its cultural differences or just an issue of not being able to communicate, or what was appropriate and how.

Can you give me an example?

Me and the neighbor next door. We [my husband] have tended to leave the garbage cans, after they have been empty on the front lawn, instead of putting them back on the side of the house. The next door neighbor and another neighbor called the city on us, instead of coming to talk to us and say this is an issue or a problem. Me and my [other] next door neighbor, she blew up on them. I felt the same way but didn't get into a confrontation. Like with the Laurel bushes, their issue was, 'you could have came and talked to me,' and

‘that was my property,’ and I know it was their property line and our issue was, for something that simple, you should have come and said, ‘you know what, you should have put that back’ [black homeowner 8 years].

...are there any changes you haven’t liked?

Changes I don’t like? Individuals thinking that they have the right, have rights to certain space in the neighborhood, or such as parking by your house... I have two cars and one of the my 80’s Riviera, I don’t drive it all the time, so I’ve gotten green tags on that car five times.

And that’s to say that [its an] abandoned car or something?

Right, and then like if you push the thing in, and when the parking people come they’ll see it belongs to this address so its just like kind of harassment, so I put my car on my lawn, to keep from getting harassed, its been on the lawn, and now I’ve built a fence and I got a roll-away thing back there so I’m going to drive It around inevitably but I mean its harassment, totally [black homeowner 9 years].

Newcomers do not just bring positive or negative changes, they also bring cultural differences. As developed in Chapters Two and Three, incoming residents in gentrifying neighborhoods may be of two different types. Bohemian artists and lifestylers seek to move into off-beat neighborhoods where they can pursue ‘downwardly mobile’ and creative lifestyles. A distinctively higher economic group of incomers can accompany or follow them, buying houses and raising property values. As shown above, excessive concern for neatness and property values can serve to establish boundaries between long-time blacks and incoming homeowners in terms of how they understand problems and how to solve them. Other incoming residents on the other hand, bohemians who are not likely to own homes, can also be perceived as different enough to establish strong cultural boundaries that can effectively limit social interactions. These bohemians may be understood simply as ‘different’ and ambivalent boundaries may be constructed around them. They may

also be understood as exclusive or discriminating, and as having particular benefits for being white, as the following narratives demonstrate:

...You know you see a lot of young adults with you know, tattoos, kind of um, dress as you feel, its not just tattoos, its wear what you want to wear, kind of dress how you feel, lot of rings, and in the nose, and that kind of stuff...

An alternative?

And alternative may be the wrong term, I don't know if I like that term but I can't think of...

With the tattoo and piercing they wouldn't be mainstream.

Not as in... now mainstream is really welcome because those folks don't discriminate. And so they are welcome, but the majority of the folks I see are that kind of, different colored hair... [black homeowner 11 years].

Are there any changes you haven't liked?

I don't like the huge increase in the dogs. I don't like the huge increase in all the bicycles. And for a while there was a big influx of some of the, for lack of a better term, punk rock looking folks.

Alternative?

Alternative, you know all dressed black, with the earrings and the chains...

The gothic...

Yeah, the gothic look and all that kind of thing. Now that's a little spooky, because you don't know where those guys are coming from.

...it kind of looks strange?

Well its looks strange, but then their behavior is sort of, you know... sort of added to that, to that aura, because they would be the ones with the windows all open and the music blaring and people sitting on the porch, on the roof, on the window ways, you know with the beer, with the bicycles you know, late hours at night. You just trade one form of destruction for another [black homeowner 24].

...now its like, when we were down here in the neighborhood, there were pigs swimming around like beezus, okay? But now that they're out there they can be on the corner, a bunch of them all in black, black hair, punk rock looking and everything like that and they'll [police] just go right on by. But let us be out there... [black homeowner 11 years].

These narratives of black homeowners' perceptions of the bohemian population are insightful. Blazak (1991) mentions that bohemians signify their social position as 'voluntarily poor' taking up residence alongside the 'compulsory poor.' This depiction is useful, but merits some discussion. While the class background of

bohemians is unknown, and indeed may vary, the class situation of long-time black residents interviewed varies as well – in fact the above depictions were made by residents that would likely be considered middle-class. However, effects of class and race can merge in how groups perceive of their lifestyle options, perhaps particularly for middle-class blacks in neighborhoods that were previously divested. If colored hair, tattoos, and nose-rings indicate a lifestyle choice among bohemians, that they can choose to be downwardly mobile or otherwise non-conforming, this might not make much sense to long-time blacks where poverty has been an institutional feature of the neighborhood. Furthermore, their choice to live that lifestyle can represent to blacks a privileged status of being white, whereas such privilege, in terms of socially accepted behavior, would not be extended to blacks if they were to display such conscious downward mobility.

These examples of differentiation among long-time blacks and newer residents shows that boundaries can emerge that may be moral, socioeconomic, and cultural. In each of the above examples, real and perceived racial boundaries begin to emerge as elements of the different aspects of newcomers. Although many long-time blacks recognize many of the changes that are taking place as positive – indeed, most black residents have said that the neighborhood has ‘gotten better’ over the last five years – the changes are clearly differentiating nonetheless. That new residents are coming in, whether they are punks or homeowners, friendly or classist, they are often identified as predominantly white, which for many long-time blacks can also signal a privileged status that is not afforded to the black community. This finding is clearly in line with the findings of Freeman (2003) who suggests that the presence of whites

are not only a symbol of the changes taking place, they are a symbol of long-standing racial inequalities as well. If the neighborhood has indeed ‘gotten better,’ and that change coincides with the influx of wealthier and perhaps snobbier whites, the changes can affect a real sense of racial differentiation among long-time blacks in the neighborhood as well.

The notion of the black community is constructed in unison with the apparent ‘loss’ of the black community. The loss of the black community may be perceived as economically driven displacement, it may be perceived as blacks moving out voluntarily while leaving their cultural and social bases behind, or it may be perceived as a planned reclamation among whites. Many stories were told by black residents of how older black residents were swindled to sell their properties when the values were lower. In any case, many of the blacks interviewed here may understand their ‘fit’ in the neighborhood as part of a diminishing black community, one which can affect boundaries between newcomers, and belonging as long-timers – and more specifically, belonging as blacks in a black community that is being overtaken by whites.

How would you describe the mix of residents in the neighborhood?

People of color is moving out, whites are moving in. Lots of new faces.

How would you describe the mix?

I would say its about half and half. But I see there’s a couple of houses that just went up for sale, and we keep wondering who’s gonna be moving in, and we’re afraid that there’s just going to be more white people moving in, and I don’t want to, one of the issues I have is with the gentrification of this neighborhood, and the reason it’s a concern to me is because there’s a shift where there’s a lot of African Americans and people of color are moving out to East County and other areas but their support system is still here, you know the churches, the schools that they grew up in, or the schools that their kids were in, or the support services that was available to their families and friends, you know, the cultural groups is still in this area, so that move, that

transition is to me, is hurting our community, because once you take away the homes of a people what do you have left? [black homeowner 8 years].

Evident in this description is a distinct 'we' feeling of unison among black residents in the neighborhood, constructed around the threat of displacement or loss of community. Indeed, this unfolding narrative is common among many of the black homeowners and renters that were interviewed. In some cases, distinct racial boundaries are formulated as well, whether perceived or real. Racial boundaries can be economic, they can be based on discrimination, and they can also amount to essentialist constructions of who blacks and whites are. Economically, blacks may be perceived to be poorer than whites, and unable to afford the rising costs of living in the neighborhood, or they may be perceived as differentiated by significant amounts of wealth, as the following narratives indicate:

... I couldn't buy another house here... There's no way. There's no way too many African Americans are going to be able to move into this neighborhood ever again. And that's the truth. So, those that are left here are going to have to stay [black homeowner 9 years].

...and my problem with it is, [how] is these people paying for these houses because [I've] seen the Caucasian families not to work, they're always at home in the daytime, and I ask myself, well how can they afford those houses, unless they parents pay for it, or they do a lot of their work from home [black homeowner 5 years].

During the next 5 years, how do you think this neighborhood will change?

I don't know but I know its going to get bigger, okay, because these houses and the costs and the people from out of town, they were paying big prices in California, and here its nothing its chump change, and so they're jacking prices up and they're loving it, and it's a whites man's world, and now all of a sudden they're here, and now that they're paying, that money is nothing to them to buy a house here for \$400,000 and to us its like, 'wow, ridiculous,' they're doing it because people are coming here [black homeowner 11 years].

In summary, Alberta is a source of black community for many long-time residents. The threat of its demise is for many of these residents both a means of belonging in the neighborhood and a means of drawing boundaries around those moving in. On the other hand, if changes are perceived as positive then boundaries with newcomers might range from ambivalent to actual active participation and belonging. However, although many black residents maintain a positive account of the changes taking place, when asked what changes they would like to see in an ideal world, one common answer is 'I would like to see more black folks moving in.' The meaning of race is very real and significant for long-time black residents, and the loss of the black community is likely the most prominent aspect of neighborhood change that differentiates long-time from incoming residents.¹⁴

Black renters do not differ much from black homeowners in their perceptions of newcomers as a source of change. Homeownership is discussed by both black homeowners and renters as a positive aspect of change. However, it is rarely constructed as an overriding source of neighborhood belonging for black homeowners themselves. For example, the merits of taking care of one's property is not a unique narrative found among black owners. Black renters are also concerned with taking care of their environment. Many black renters interviewed had grown up in the neighborhood and were renting after moving out of their parents' homes nearby. Others were renters who have also lived in and around the neighborhood for

¹⁴ On a positive note, survey data indicates that blacks are moving in, homeowners among them. However, their numbers are dwarfed by the amount of whites moving into the neighborhood (see table 4.2). On the other hand, there are examples among interviewees that have lived in other areas of the city, other areas of the country even, and have decided to move back to Alberta to live in a diverse community or a black community.

many years in other apartments or rental houses. Despite the ownership difference, black renters may have strong ties to the neighborhood that place them as belonging in the community just the same. Although some of these long-time black renters may be characterized as more mobile, a sense of belonging to the neighborhood can still be constructed around being part of a black community.

White Homeowners

Long-time white homeowners are most likely to perceive the changes in general as positive, but newcomers themselves may be perceived in a positive or negative light. Like black homeowners, moral and socioeconomic boundaries can be constructed that separate newcomers from long-time residents. However, whites' narratives of change do not evoke feelings of belonging based on racial differences with residents moving in. Race is an important issue though, and the diminishing population of blacks is cause for some sadness. Many long-time whites use living in a racially diverse neighborhood as a source of distinction. However, racial diversity may be offset by the perception of increasing diversity of other groups, and demographic changes are often seen as mere cultural differences or as the natural results of neighborhood evolution. Instead, belonging is constructed as being involved in positive changes, changes that are opposite the neighborhood's crime soaked past. These positive changes hinge on both homeownership and length of residence. Interestingly, the meaning of length of residence for white homeowners may be tied to a particular status that involves living in a multi-cultural neighborhood or having moved into a ghetto, while the meaning of homeownership is constructed

around the notion of property investment as a force of positive changes. Together, these two traits place long-time homeowners as the ‘foundation’ of the community.

Long-time white residents may view newcomers in a negative light, despite the feeling that most changes to the neighborhood are positive. Similar to perceptions of long-time blacks, long-time whites may perceive newcomers as standoffish and interacting much less than long-time residents. Newcomers may complain too much, and bring social differences to the neighborhood as well. Moral boundaries can place newcomers as having concerns that are anti-community. This boundary can be constructed in terms of generational differences or socioeconomic differences, as the following accounts demonstrate:

Are there any changes you haven’t liked?

The entitlement attitude. It seems like a lot of people have a lot of money, either that or they’re in debt up to their ears. They come in, doesn’t seem like money is an object [white homeowner 22 years].

Do you think the type of residents who move in will change much?

I think they have, I think they’ve started, if you’re from the old school like I am, I’m an old lady now, we were brought up in a certain state of manners and decorum, rules to associate with other people and I think we’re losing that as a society. I think younger people are more into themselves and they don’t look as global, you know, as a neighborhood. They look more into what their needs are, their needs for a neighborhood [white homeowner 16 years].

...like a lot of people are coming here like I was saying about the people who are moving in and buying up these houses, some people cant afford to live there anymore, and then putting huge ‘beware of dog’ signs all around their house, but they don’t even have a dog. They’re not even interacting with the people in their immediate community, like the people that walk. Having these signs in your window says you’re scared to be living in this neighborhood and you just paid how much for this house?... that put somebody out [white homeowner 7 years].

In the final example, a boundary between newer residents is constructed around an apparent anti-social attitude, but there is also an evident subtext involving

newcomers as being fearful of the neighborhood they are living in. Although, racial stereotypes are not overtly stated as a cause of fear, they may be implied. In this example, belonging is constructed as being open to living in a diverse neighborhood, with boundaries drawn around those who are not. This theme is similar to the narratives of long-time blacks who perceive fear among newcomers around racial stereotypes.

Newcomers may be associated with positive changes as well. Many long-time whites describe newcomers as friendlier than long-time residents. The arrival of young families can signify positive changes, meaning that new families will be active stewards of their environment if they are to raise children in the neighborhood. Perceptions of decreases in crime may be seen as a function of an influx of residents as well. On the other hand, particular boundaries emerge between long-time residents and new residents that place long-time residents as the foundation of the community and new residents as welcome, but on a lower status. Length of residence is thus established as a status marker for long-time whites that establishes their belonging as having lived through tougher times, as the following examples demonstrate:

Would you say you tend to socialize more with those who are newer or longer time residents?

... it doesn't matter, whether they've been here the longest or the newest, the older neighbors, we coddle the new neighbors, you know, tell them about the way it used to be, the way we want our neighborhood to work. I mean, we're the ones, we're the foundation here, and so, they're very receptive of that... if you don't want us knowing your business, etc, etc, then you don't want to move in next door to us... because this is what we're going to be doing, and we've all got along, what we hope to see changes of people getting along and the neighborhood safe. So again, it's the older residents coddle the new residents [white homeowner 25 years].

...you know, this is the hood, you moved into the hood, you moved into an area that nobody else was going to move into. So, and you bought, so you actually got to think that something's okay about where you're moving into and us, so we're going to treat you, you bought, we're going to treat you okay. The house next door sold two months in front of mine, so I consider them my senior...

Your cohort?

No they're senior to me, because they've got [coup] on me, you know, they're older, two months, don't make a difference... [white homeowner 20 years].

While length of residence may give long-time homeowners a source of status, it also draws a boundary around new residents who are unable to claim that they had once lived in the ghetto. Having lived in Alberta through its past era also affords long-time white homeowners a certain distinction with residents in other areas as well. Many long-time whites told the story of how friends and family had warned them against moving to Alberta in the past, but now are quite amazed with the changes.

Homeownership also affords long-time whites a considerable status in the neighborhood that is undergoing positive changes brought about by those invested in their property. As homeowners, residents are perceived to realize the potential for the neighborhood as a community by being active stewards of it. Renters are the other hand, may be regarded as a transient population, not concerned about the community, and even as a source of past problems. Clear boundaries are drawn between renters that separates them as outsiders, and homeowners as belonging to the neighborhood.

...And that's what its about, being neighbors. Before most of the houses were just absentee landlord housing authorities, section 8, and you never saw the people, they didn't do chores in their yard, they didn't care much, or they got free rides [white homeowner [22 years]].

Would you say that you tend to socialize more with those who are renters or homeowners?

Yeah, generally speaking we don't get very close to renters. They're more I think by nature transient, and they're not really investing much in trying to make contact with the neighbors [white homeowner 26 years].

Do you know any renters who have moved out because they couldn't afford to stay?

I know of renters in the immediate proximity here who have been asked to leave because of their behavior, inconsideration in terms of the noise levels and things, but not because they couldn't afford to stay no.

Thinking of all the changes that have taken place in the neighborhood, what do you think is causing these changes?

I think the fact that people have the faith to move in here and start to create it as a neighborhood, have contributed to caring for it, and upgrading and raising families here. I think that makes a huge difference [white homeowner 15 years].

In the final example, a narrative of 'pioneer ideology' is being expressed (Smith 1996). The difference in neighborhood change has been the fact that people, particularly homeowners, are taking care of it, as opposed to having renters with bad behavior. The changes are positive and they are the result of homeownership.

Long-time white homeowners are not ambivalent about the apparent decline of black residents in the neighborhood. The demographic change may indeed be a source of sadness. Many long-time whites interviewed discussed the positive aspects of living in a diverse neighborhood, and many described positive interracial experiences and friendships with other long-time residents. Others claimed that their children growing up were fortunate to experience living and being educated in a diverse environment. On the other hand, the decline of the black population may be seen as the natural result of neighborhood evolution. Some long-time whites perceive that although Alberta had long-been considered a black neighborhood, it was really always a mixed neighborhood, as the following narratives demonstrate:

Do you know of any homeowners who have had to move out of the neighborhood because they couldn't afford to stay?

...It kind of sounds like you're going towards the gentrification thing there, and I am a little concerned about the gentrification thing, but to me the neighborhoods are always in flux, they're always changing, and when I moved in it was almost like I felt like I was moving... I was kind of like, part of that, gentrification I suppose because I wanted it to be better, and I wanted to move in here cause it was mostly a mixed neighborhood at the time, but you know and I hear some people say, this was a black neighborhood before, and now its kind of turned into a white neighborhood. And I don't know that that is, it wasn't always a black neighborhood either [white homeowner 26 years].

... has never been an all black neighborhood, it's a cultural thing again. Most blacks like to, what I've found is they like to walk up and down the street, and be demonstrative, whites don't do that.

So it might appear all black, but...

It never has been. That is a misconception, its just that you see the [way] now white people are walking up and down the streets [and blacks] get in their cars and drive somewhere... [white homeowner 22 years].

Long-time whites' constructions of the meaning of race in their neighborhood can be quite varied and even confusing. Length of residence and homeownership may both override the significance of a declining black population. Given the stigma of Alberta's past as a scary, crime-soaked neighborhood – that also happened to be black – many of the residents who moved into the neighborhood before the changes were taking place could use their decision to move in as a source of status, either as breaking racial barriers or as differentiating themselves from friends in the suburbs who warned them against their move to Alberta. On the other hand, a narrative of belonging emerges as being involved in a community undergoing positive changes, changes that involve plenty of personal martyrdom in the overcoming of gang and crime issues:

How would you describe the level of safety or amount of crime in the neighborhood?

Well, like I said, you have to keep the kids in after dark. Its imperative for their safety, and even that didn't guarantee their safety because one baby was killed two blocks over from a gun-shot that went stray through a window. So I go out and fight with the gang guys and the drug dealers. My kids, I'd come back in and my kids would say, "Do you know what you're doing? Do you know who you're talking to? What are you thinking?" But I wasn't really worried... [white homeowner 16 years].

... as soon as we'd have an altercation in the afternoon, the neighbors would all run in their house and hide and leave me standing out there in the middle of it, so I told them, "if we'd all get together, something could be done," but no, "we don't want to get involved because it'll come back at us, and people will see us and they'll shoot at us." And I say, "okay fine." So hey I'm up at one/two a.m. and everybody is all safe and secure in their house because you know, they know [I'm] out there, 'she's not going to let anything happen,' so what am I going to do? Hell I'm going to mow the lawn... I've been shot at, I've had the windows broke, and everything, and its like, "hey get your shit and get, I own this house" [white homeowner 25 years].

Gangs and crime are never presented in racial terms, although renters and section 8 households are blamed for much of the previous disorder, and long-time residents and blacks are often perceived to be renters as well. White homeowners will often express belonging that involves interracial friendships and sadness over loss of the black community, but when it comes to discussing crime and displacement, long-time whites are a bit more aversive to racial issues. Instead, white homeowners, for the most part, tend to construct belonging in the neighborhood as being part of positive changes.

On the other hand, some long-time white homeowners are decidedly working class or even poor and on fixed incomes. These residents may draw socioeconomic and moral boundaries around newcomers and espouse a greater empathy for those being displaced. However, even given that empathy, the changes are lauded as a triumph over drugs and gangs. Although moving into the ghetto may have been a

source of distinction for some long-time white residents, they are likely to forgo that in lieu of the positive changes that have taken place.

White Renters

While long-time black homeowners and renters do not differ much in their perceptions of incoming residents as a source of change, white renters differ sharply from white homeowners in their perceptions of newcomers and change. Even for long-time white renters, who may be the most mobile population of interviewees, they construct a strong sense of belonging in Alberta that distinguishes them from newcomers and from the changes taking place. Although fewer white renters were interviewed than other groups, sharp boundaries emerge around newcomers socioeconomically, morally, and even racially. This population of white renters might adequately be characterized as first-wave bohemians, artists and activists that have been drawn to Alberta during the last ten years along with the development of the neighborhood as one with a distinct bohemian culture and character. Whether or not they were in the neighborhood before much of the character change in Alberta, their constructions of belonging sharply identify them with the neighborhood before the changes. The meaning of race for this group is highly significant. Incoming white residents are at once perceived as bringing an element of suburban homogeneity to the neighborhood that destroys that aesthetic quality of the neighborhood's past, and at the same time as a population that is only consuming diversity because they think it is trendy. Newcomers can be perceived as anti-social because they're white, they can also be seen as wealthy because they're white. Ultimately, long-time white renters

construct belonging in the neighborhood by identifying with a population that they perceive is being displaced, and construct boundaries around those who are threatening that diversity, and threatening bohemian aesthetics.

Boundaries are drawn between newcomers as homeowners, as less social, and as very white. These boundaries can be socioeconomically and morally driven, and very often are constructed all together at once. The following are rare examples of a more positive or objective depiction of newcomers:

How would you describe the mix of residents in the neighborhood?

...I think it's a mix of families, like hodge-podge families, like grandmothers raising 7 kids kind of families, there's a mixture of poverty and money, big money. A couple moves in, buys a huge house, and they spend hundreds of thousands of dollars fixing it up and they have nice cars. And they're living right next to a family that has 7 kids and nothing. So its definitely affordable, a lot of families with money did move in and now its got that dichotomy where its rich and poor, and definitely different cultures.

Have the types of residents changed since you've lived here?

Well, when I first moved here it seemed like there were a lot more renters like me, like artist people. Now it seems like there's more yuppie families, definitely yeah. But nice people, people that would take a chance and live in this neighborhood. I guess they can afford it... [white renter 3.5 years].

Are there any changes you haven't liked? I guess you said Alberta Street and the businesses are a little strange.

It just feels so distanced from you know, what got the spirit of people wanting to know each other... Its so hard to describe because I don't have personal grudges against people when I meet them because of whatever social class they come from. I don't have that. And when people move into my neighborhood, we just get to know each other and its okay. But definitely there's a feeling of...

A social feeling?

A social feeling and it's the feeling of people from outside wanting something that they can buy, and its not something you can buy, its something you have to be actively participating in. Its like that you know, and I could put a face on it and I could put a race on it, but its not that simple. That's the feeling, its just like people are hungry for something that sometimes a lot of folks don't know how to get for themselves, and so now you can come down here and just you know, kind of absorb it [white renter 10 years].

In the above examples, newcomers may be perceived as friendly, but they are nonetheless cast as a higher socioeconomic group of ‘yuppies’ in contrast with the population of less fortunate long-time residents. Furthermore, they can be perceived to be motivated by their capacity to spend money, or absorb a more authentic community. If they are not just simply white, they are separated at once socioeconomically and morally by trying but not being able to buy what long-time residents in the neighborhood have. The socioeconomic and moral differentiation evident here is more often associated with less friendliness, and less friendliness often also has to do with being white and raising a family. Ultimately, moral boundaries can be drawn around issues of new homeowners only being concerned with economic gain, as the following narratives demonstrate:

Are newer residents different from long-time residents?

Oh god, like on a classist issue?

However you want to...

Pretty much everyone on our block around us has been evicted from their house... like four houses around were evicted and their houses were sold to people who have, who look like they have a lot of money. A really different class... and they just sort of work, and don't come out in the daytime, and don't talk, they don't have that kind of... [white renter 7.5 years].

Would you say your neighbors now are more or less friendly than neighbors in the past?

... there's still houses on the street that have always had issues with me. Not even look, not even, its just always, never contact, never, you know... And I've never really thought about it, but its mainly because they're white families, that's the only thing I can, but everybody else on the street has been great, but it's the husband-wife-and-a-kid, like they always stay away from the whole block.

...Are these people who have moved in since you've moved in, or?

Yeah, they've boughten the houses within the last two years [white renter 5 years].

Thinking about the changes that have taken place in the neighborhood, what do you think is causing these changes?

A combination of powerful lobbyists and people with more money than [they need], raising property values for their benefit. I mean its like the big investment deal these days right, everyone's doing it. Buy another house, and fix it up and sell it, make money and all your American dreams [will come true]. That's the actual thought process that tantalizes them and they can't resist it [white renter 7.5 years].

The apparent animosity towards newcomers in these narratives represents an aversion to the changes taking place, changes that juxtapose wealthy whites alongside less fortunate blacks, ultimately threatening their displacement. Diversity and race hold a particular meaning for long-time white renters constructing belonging in the neighborhood. As such, boundaries are drawn around anything that threatens that. Incoming whites are perceived as less friendly, and only motivated by money. At the same time, long-time white renters construct their belonging in the neighborhood with the groups that are perceived to be opposite incoming whites. While incoming whites are lacking in friendliness, long-time blacks are often demonstrated to be the more friendly group in the neighborhood, and racial diversity is perhaps a source of authentic community. Ultimately these narratives can be constructed around other whites as racist as well.

In an ideal world, what changes would you like to see happen, and what would you like to stay the same as now?

It seems like everybody moving in here is White. I would be nice to see young African Americans, young Spanish families move here... I was really excited a couple of years ago, African American family with a kid moved down here, and then they left and I don't know why they left, you know I think they had family from out of state, but the diversity, I think what makes this area special is the diversity... And I think everybody moving in is changing that, its making it the same as anything else [white renter 5 years].

Would you say you tend to socialize with those who are from the same race or ethnicity?

No, I don't socialize with anybody who's white on my street, none of them. I don't know, same as before, you know, they're all fairly new, and they all

stick to themselves, but all the black families on the street, I get along with every one of em. Always hanging out on the front porches, I don't know... I don't think anyone interacts on this street. I mean its old versus new, and no one wants in that way. Because everyone who's lived there a long-time is outside.

Right.

And the people that are fairly new, if they're outside, they're building new additions, you know, and they stay in their yards, you know, nobody even goes on the sidewalk and says, "hey how you doing?" that doesn't happen [white renter 5 years].

...I think there is some like, could be, blatant racism too. You know, but a lot of that, like not dealing, you know, not acknowledging someone because you don't understand them, and I see that [white renter 7.5 years].

Finally, drawing boundaries around incoming whites and constructing belonging by relating to long-time blacks in a racially changing neighborhood can be tricky. Many long-time white renters also stated that they feel personally responsible for Alberta's gentrification because they are white. This perceived contradiction may be met by feelings of empathy for long-time black residents, even regarding one's own behavior.

Would you characterize [interactions between newer and long-time residents] as friendly, or is there tension?

...There's probably some tension, I think some people probably resent, I mean, like the whole thing with the dog, most of the people that are coming out and yelling at me are African American who I think have lived here for a while. They're thinking dumb white girl with her dumb dog running around and they're sick of it, and then when they see I'm doing the right thing they always apologize but I think long-term residents are sick of the new people coming in, and I don't really blame them [white renter 5 years].

In summary, long-time white renters' narratives of incoming residents and the changes they bring about are perhaps more negatively constructed than that of all other groups. Long-time white renters develop a sense of belonging by relating to and empathizing with other long-time residents while drawing boundaries around the

perceived qualities of newcomers. Race and diversity play a significant role as long-time white renters also perceive that this once racially diverse neighborhood is being taken over by whites. Boundaries are drawn around newcomers as money-driven whites.

This establishment of 'fit' by long-time white renters appears contradictory but ultimately makes sense. First, this group may be characterized as a bohemian population that was drawn to the neighborhood for its diversity, cheapness, and freedom to live expressive lifestyles. While an influx of wealth is in general a positive change for most residents, long-time white renters are likely to perceive this change as a threat to the community which they find an authentic alternative to hegemonic mainstream culture. Secondly, long-time white renters are in a situation where they could be displaced by the trends of rising rents. While none of these residents stated that they felt personally vulnerable, they are very aware that people in the neighborhood are looking to make more money from renters. This tenuous position unites them with other residents who they perceive to be in the same situation. Whether or not they are socially close with long-time black residents, the perception of racial turnover develops for white renters – who have been in the neighborhood long enough to witness many of the changes – a particular story of injustice. This injustice both affects them as renters, and affects the community that they draw belonging too.

Summary

This chapter finds racial differences in the way blacks and whites perceive of new residents. Among whites, there are further differences between homeowners and renters. Not only are there racial differences, but racial change itself is a major aspect of the changes in the neighborhood. All groups use the idea of the black community in some way to construct their 'fit' in the neighborhood. A significant portion of black residents, renters and owners, construct belonging in the neighborhood in terms of it being a black community. The threat of its demise can mean the construction of boundaries around new residents as whites. For white homeowners, however, the loss of the black community may be received sadly but figures into the scheme of change to a much lesser degree than for other groups. Long-time white renters, on the other hand, can establish their fit in the neighborhood by establishing belonging with regard to long-time black residents through socialization or empathy with this group. Black renters and owners, and white renters tend to perceive incoming whites as a source of change, and racial boundaries can be drawn around them to that extent. What separates long-time white homeowners from other groups could be that they are not threatened by displacement, nor loss of community.

That racial boundaries are more evident among long-time blacks may appear to be an obvious result given that long-time whites are in no position to differentiate themselves racially from those moving in. However, this finding may deserve some added discussion. The degree to which boundaries are drawn varies by individual, with sharply racialized 'us' and 'them' distinctions developing regularly enough among black residents interviewed, but not among the majority. Many long-time

black residents drew no racial boundaries. Even if whiteness was identified as a defining aspect of residents moving in by some blacks interviewed, and even if moral and cultural boundaries that are drawn specifically target whites as newcomers, many blacks did not isolate whiteness as a cause of change or construct boundaries in that regard. Nonetheless, whiteness may represent for many long-time black residents a distinct symbol of change that recalls more deep seeded social differences between whites and blacks, thus supporting the conclusions of Freeman (2003).

That improvements are made in the neighborhood that conspicuously coincide with an influx of whites can indeed serve to unite blacks around feelings of inequality, can contribute to the drawing of socioeconomic boundaries between themselves and newer residents, and may even harden within that population a sense of neighborhood belonging that places blacks as 'us' against 'them.' Furthermore, interview questions were not asked with specific regard to the race of newcomers. Black and white residents both very often drew class, moral, or cultural boundaries in many cases where race was not explicitly discussed. Talking openly about racial issues may not be comfortable for many long-time residents, and thus many feelings that emerge as boundaries among long-time residents may simply not have been discussed in racial terms.

Also, many long-time whites interviewed are also very aware of the fact that the overwhelming trend among newcomers is that they are largely white and of a higher economic class. The apparent loss of the black community is not unique to long-time black residents. Whites who recognize this also evoke racial issues as a concern of social injustice that is an unfortunate aspect of gentrification. White

renters in particular use this idea to identify as long-time residents and separate themselves from newcomers, even though they also perceive their own whiteness as a cause of gentrification. In short, no long-time residents are excited or even ambivalent about the fact that the black population is diminishing, and this particular feature of change is perhaps the major drawback to other changes which may be seen as more positive. For most blacks, this distinction tends to be much more meaningful.

That black homeowners and renters do not differ heavily in their perceptions of new residents may indicate further that race is a more salient identifier than homeownership in terms of a neighborhood that is quickly becoming whiter. Many long-time black homeowners are indeed excited about their property values, but this excitement in many cases could best be described as 'bittersweet.' Although property values have increased tremendously, they have not significantly surpassed values of Portland's other neighborhoods. If the increased property values are to be realized, residents would have to move out of the black community.

Statistically, black homeowners and renters are demonstrated to rate the changes and the neighborhoods differently. This difference in surveyed opinions may hinge on property values, but when long-time black residents are asked to describe the changes, differences between homeowners and renters are difficult to scrutinize. This is likely because race is a more salient factor of belonging among long-time blacks. When asked to give general opinions of the changes in the neighborhood, long-time black homeowners are more likely than long-time black renters to perceive the changes positively. However, when asked to describe the changes taking place, long-time blacks in general may draw on race as a symbol and source of change.

Chapter VII – The meaning of New Local Businesses

This chapter examines the meaning of new businesses along Alberta Street as a distinct aspect of change. Having discussed the changes in terms of a cultural transition, both theoretically (Chapter Two) and in actuality (Chapter Three), new businesses are established on Alberta as part of a local market economy that is distinctly cultural in character. Many businesses have operated on Alberta for decades including automotive, plumbing, appliance maintenance, and furniture repair. Newly established cultural amenities include art galleries, bars, cafes, restaurants, and clothing boutiques. New grocery stores also The capacity for residents living in the area to participate in this changing local economy therefore revolves around the extent to which they participate in the neighborhood's cultural amenities including art, clothing, and food.

Grocery stores are among the new businesses along Alberta. Food provisioning has been theorized as a sacrificial ritual in which the most basic and profound human capacities for production and consumption are met in the market place (Miller 1998). Grocery shopping can be ordinary, but perhaps no more basic a necessity than social belonging. Group differences may emerge in terms of where residents choose to shop, especially to the extent that different stores have different prices or carry specific food items. Indeed, this chapter finds social differences in grocery consumption and socioeconomic and cultural boundaries constructed around the use of particular grocery stores.

Statistical analyses regarding the use of new local grocery stores, New Seasons and the Alberta Street Co-op, indicate group differences in casual and regular shopping by level of education and by race. The starkest differences may be seen regarding shopping at New Seasons in which holding a college degree accounts for much of the casual shoppers, whites tend to shop at New Seasons most frequently. Secondly, the meaning of local businesses is considered among long-time residents in their own words. At the level of meaning making, the idea of having businesses in the neighborhood may be a universal positive among blacks and whites that has nothing to do with whether or not one participates in them. However, clear racial differences emerge among long-time residents regarding their actual use of local businesses and what they mean to residents. Particularly, many long-time black residents interviewed draw socioeconomic and cultural boundaries around new businesses and their clientele. Interestingly, white renters in the neighborhood also draw socioeconomic and cultural boundaries. Long-time white homeowners may or may not use these businesses, but boundaries among this group are less prevalent and when they do exist are more ambivalent than divisive. However, among long-time black homeowners and renters, these boundaries can culminate in racial differentiations as well. Although some blacks actively consume and participate in the new businesses, there is an evident narrative of discomfort expressed by some black residents.

Grocery Stores

Since 1999 a large grocery store 'New Seasons' has opened on one end of the Alberta and a smaller grocery 'Co-op' on the other end. Prior to the opening of these

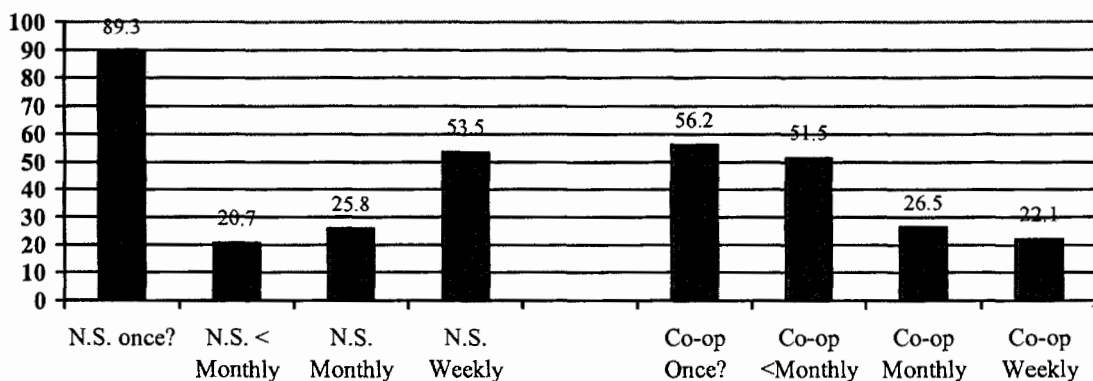
stores, Alberta residents' grocery options included a Safeway and a Wild Oats, both of which are slightly outside the neighborhood and are considerably larger chain stores. Although many residents are likely to use these other stores regularly, this chapter only analyzes stores that are located within the neighborhood in question. New Seasons is a newly established, Portland-based, chain grocery store that specializes in healthy, organic, and local food items. Its arrival in 2002 on an empty lot that formerly hosted a Thriftway grocery store has been a welcome effort to revitalize the neighborhood for many, while for others this grocery store only represents gentrification, conspicuously aligning with the interests of newcomers. The Co-op is a smaller store that also specializes in healthy, local, and organic foods. The Co-op is less frequented and maintains a much quieter profile than does New Seasons. Frequent shoppers there may be limited to those who are Co-op members and thereby receive shopping benefits.

Figure 7.1 demonstrates the distribution of Alberta Street grocery shoppers among residents in the neighborhood. Nine out of ten survey respondents said that they had shopped at New Seasons in the past twelve months and 53.5% of those who do shop there continue weekly. Over half of the survey respondents shopped at the Alberta Street Co-op in the last twelve months and 48.6% of those residents continue weekly or monthly.¹⁵ This section will analyze the characteristics of residents who have gone to these stores and the residents who shop at these stores regularly.¹⁶

¹⁵ Because the distribution of shopping at the Co-op is considerably less than New Seasons, regular shopping is here conceptualized as weekly or monthly – [see graph 7.1?]

¹⁶ Regular shopping is always calculated as a percentage of those having gone at least once. Those who have not gone to these stores at least once in the last 12 months are excluded from analyses of 'regular' shoppers. See Chapter 4 – *Data and Operations*.

Figure 7.1: Percent Shopping New Grocery Stores



With regard to New Seasons, findings indicate those most likely to shop there are white, college educated, and homeowners. Table 7.1 presents demographic patterns of use of New Seasons casually and regularly.

Table 7.1 Percent Shopping New Seasons

	New Seasons last 12 months?	Chi-Square	Continues New Seasons weekly?	Chi-Square
Overall Sample	89.3		53.5	
Tenure Status				
Owner	95.0		54.9	
Renter	81.5	11.23***	51.2	0.28
Length of Residence				
Less than 5 Years	87.6		62.5	
5 – 9.9 Years	95.3		55.0	
10 years or more	89.1	1.97	33.3	13.26***
Educational Attainment				
College Degree	98.3		64.9	
No College Degree	81.1	18.71***	40.8	12.67***
Race				
White	94.9		64.1	
Black	77.5	12.90**	19.4	21.34***
Other				

*p<.10, **p<.05, ***p<.01

n = 243

n = 217

While almost all residents have gone at least once in the last year, significant group differences emerge. When comparing those that shop there regularly (weekly), these group differences are accentuated. Nearly all, 98.3% of those with a college degree or higher have shopped at New Seasons in the past year compared to 81.1% of residents without a four-year degree. Sixty-five percent of those with a college degree or higher continue to shop at New Seasons weekly, compared to only 40.8% of those without a degree. Almost all whites, 94.9% shopped New Seasons while only 77.5% of blacks had gone. When comparing those who shop weekly, fully 64.1% of whites and only 19.4% of blacks shop weekly if they had been there at least once.

Homeowners have a greater likelihood than renters of going to New Seasons at least once, but not for continued shopping. Length of residence is not significant among those going to New Seasons at least once, but those living in Alberta less than 10 years tend to shop there more regularly than long-time residents.

Regression Table 7.2 demonstrates the relative effect of each variable on casual and frequent New Seasons shopping. Concerning casual shopping – whether or not a resident has shopped at New Seasons at least once in the last 12 months – this analysis demonstrates that most of the racial differences observed can be accounted for by level of education and homeownership. Highly educated residents and homeowners shop more at New Seasons more than other groups. Whites also shop at New Seasons more often, but this difference is not significant when accounting for homeownership and level of education.

Table 7.2 Determinants of Shopping at New Seasons

	<u>Last 12 months?</u>		<u>Weekly?</u>	
	<u>B</u>	<u>Wald</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>Wald</u>
<i>Constant</i>	1.221	7.564	.333	.827
Race (Black)	-.978	2.633	-1.934***	12.481
College (4 yrs)	1.781**	4.584	.301	.712
Homeowner	1.009	1.865	.023	.004
Length of res.	-.001	.002	-.021	.913
'gotten better'	1.111*	3.150	.312	.749
<i>n</i>	212		194	
<i>Nagelkerke r</i>	.283		.178	

* p<.10, ** p<.05, *** p<.01

The second model demonstrates relative differences among those who continue to shop at New Seasons among those having gone at least once. Interestingly, the significant variables change. While most New Seasons shoppers tend to be highly educated and white, the effect of race completely washes out all other factors in determining who shops frequently. Other variables cannot determine what residents will continue shopping weekly.

This striking finding demonstrates that although having gone to New Seasons at least once in the last 12 months can be explained by an individual's level of education or the fact that one owns their home, race is the only explanation for non-frequent shopping. That is, even among black homeowners and blacks with a high level of education who have gone to New Seasons once in the last year, the difference between frequent shopping versus non-frequency can only be accounted for by the difference between black and white. Although homeowners go more than renters, once having gone, renters are just as likely to shop continuously as homeowners. Likewise, while those with higher levels of education are more likely to go than those without, those without four years of college are just as likely to continue weekly after

at least one visit as those with college degrees. But while race does not significantly determine who will go to the co-op at least once, it is the only variable that explains who will continue to shop at New Seasons weekly.

Regarding the Alberta Street Co-op, findings tend to follow a slightly different course of logic. Table 7.3 presents demographic characteristics for Co-op and monthly Co-op shopping.

Table 7.3 Percent Shopping Alberta St. Co-op

	Alberta St. Co-op last 12 months?	Chi- Square	Continues Co- op monthly?	Chi- Square
<i>Overall Sample</i>	56.0		48.6	
Tenure Status				
Owner	57.6		41.3	
Renter	54.4	0.24	58.9	4.12**
Length of Residence				
Less than 5 Years	62.8		55.8	
5 – 9.9 Years	65.9		37.0	
10 Years or more	35.9	16.58***	34.8	5.00*
Educational Attainment				
College Degree	69.0		46.3	
No College Degree	44.4	14.75***	51.8	0.40
Race				
White	64.6		51.3	
Black	25.0	20.83***	20.0	3.61*
*p<.10, **p<.05, ***p<.01		<i>n = 243</i>		<i>n = 136</i>

Like those shopping at New Seasons, highly educated whites shop most often at the Co-op. Sixty-four percent of whites in Alberta have gone to the co-op at least once in the last year, as compared to only 25% of blacks in Alberta. Furthermore, of those having gone at least once in the last twelve months, 51.3% of whites continue to shop there at least once a month, whereas only 20% of blacks continue at the Co-op frequently. Most residents who go to the Co-op are also highly educated. Sixty-

nine percent of residents with a four-year college degree shopped at the Co-op as compared to only 44.1% of residents without a degree. Level of education, however, does not predict continued shopping at the Co-op. Those who have lived in the neighborhood for less than ten years tend to go and continue to shop at the Co-op more often than those living in the neighborhood for more than ten years. Sixty-three percent of residents moving in within the last ten years shop at the Co-op as compared to 35.9% of long-time residents. Curiously, while there are no differences between homeowners and renters going to the Co-op at least once in the last year, renters are significantly more likely than homeowners to continue shopping there if they had already shopped there once.

Although blacks shop at the Co-op considerably less than whites, having a college degree, being a homeowner, or living in the neighborhood for more than ten years may significantly increase the likelihood among blacks of shopping at the Co-op at least once in the last year. Compared to the 25% of blacks in general who have been to the Co-op at least once, 38.9% of long-time blacks, 36.8% of black homeowners, and 66.7% of blacks with a college degree have shopped there. Race also continues to affect desistance, but becomes less significant in terms of regular Co-op shopping.

Table 7.4 demonstrates the relative affects of each variable when holding others constant. When controlling for all variables at once, blacks are demonstrated to shop at the Co-op less than any other group. On the other hand, when considering those who continue to shop at the Co-op at least once a month, the effect of race

diminishes considerably. Much of the infrequency among black residents is explained by rentership. Renters are the group most likely to continue at the Co-op.

Table 7.4: Determinants of shopping at Alberta Street Co-op.

	<u>Last 12 months?</u>		<u>Monthly?</u>	
	<u>B</u>	<u>Wald</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>Wald</u>
<i>Constant</i>	.384	1.543	.912	4.708
Race (Black)	-1.261***	8.285	-1.370	2.316
College (4 yrs)	.284	.699	-.397	.855
Homeowner	.569*	2.774	-.732*	2.895
Length of res.	-.048**	5.105	-.030	.663
<i>n</i>	215		123	
<i>Nagelkerke r</i>	.179		.113	

*p<.10, **p<.05, ***p<.01

These analyses demonstrate many important differences in shopping for groceries in Alberta. More residents than not have shopped at New Seasons and many have shopped at the Co-op as well. For those having gone to these stores at least once in twelve months, this analysis finds common trends among those who are highly educated and who are white. More homeowners also go to New Seasons, but don't continue to shop there more than renters do. Renters on the other hand, tend to continue to shop at the Co-op more than homeowners. Long-time residents tend to shop less at both New Seasons and the Co-op. Blacks tend to shop less, and shop less regularly than whites at both grocery stores.

Black residents in Alberta represent a particularly interesting group. Although racial differences in shopping at New Seasons at least once are largely accounted for by level of education, differences in frequent shopping at New Seasons are attributed solely to race. That is, when accounting for homeownership and level of education, blacks who have been to New Seasons at least once during the course of a year are

less likely than whites to return on a regular basis. Furthermore, regarding shopping at the Co-op, racial differences cannot be accounted for by level of education, length of residence, nor homeownership. When extended to continued shopping at the Co-op, renters tend to washout the effect of race, although very few blacks continue shopping at the Co-op regularly.

This analysis shows that race effects are real with regard to shopping for groceries at new stores on Alberta. Many residents shop at New Seasons and the Alberta Street Co-op. Black residents, however, shop there significantly less. Once they do shop at New Seasons or the Co-op, they are less likely to return on a regular basis. Residents that do not use new grocery stores with frequency are likely to shop at other grocery stores located outside the neighborhood. The Wild Oats grocery store, however, offers the same healthy, organic, 'upscale' scheme of food choices that are available at both New Seasons and the Co-op. It is also a relatively new mark of 'revitalization' itself, only a few years older than the Co-op. Safeway, on the other hand, although being remodeled (or revitalized) in 2004, is the staple grocery store of the neighborhood's past (although located several blocks to the West). Although there may be nothing distinctive about Safeway, simple observations reveal that this is indeed the store that most black residents in the area use. Reasons for this may be economic, but they may also be cultural; Safeway is the only grocery store in the area that does not represent change.

Statistical analyses have only measured grocery store shopping. There are of course many other new businesses on Alberta Street in the last ten years. Many of them are art galleries, restaurants, clothing boutiques, and other cultural amenities. Of

these new businesses, grocery stores may represent the most basic of necessities and therefore represent a basic demand from every resident in the neighborhood.

However, social differences are found here shopping for groceries on Alberta. If grocery stores represent a basic necessity, and if there are social differences in the use of grocery stores, then we may expect to find those same differences extended to other cultural amenities that may represent group belonging rather than basic necessities.

The Meaning of New Businesses

This section turns to address the meaning of new local businesses for long-time residents. Racial differences in grocery store shopping are extended here to businesses in general as long-time black and white residents discuss this aspect of change. The emergence of new businesses along Alberta Street has positive connotations for both blacks and whites. The simple fact that businesses and commerce exist and bring vitality to Alberta is one source of positive change that is perceived by most residents in general. However, black residents, both renters and homeowners, construct a narrative of mixed feelings regarding this aspect of change, largely because of the distinct racial differences in business opportunities on the street. These feelings can turn negative as well as long-time black residents describe feelings of discomfort at new businesses that may be perceived as socioeconomically, culturally, or racially exclusive. White homeowners, on the other hand, are likely to perceive this aspect of change positively, and if boundaries are drawn they are drawn ambivalently. That is, if white homeowners perceive that businesses do not cater to

them, this does not signal a feeling of alienation as it often does for long-time black residents. White renters on the other hand, draw boundaries with new businesses socioeconomically and aesthetically.

New businesses bring a general level of positivity to the neighborhood for almost all long-time residents. Having been redlined for decades, very few businesses that catered to area residents had operated on Alberta for a long period of time. Alberta became a boarded up place where many folks within and outside the neighborhood would not venture. Now new local businesses attract people, locals and outsiders. For residents living in the area, these new businesses can represent a feeling of safety when walking down the street. Residents who use them do not have to go to another area to shop for basic things like groceries. They also bring a level of aesthetic appeal back to a street that had for a long been forgotten. These positive perceptions are shared by most residents, regardless of race or ownership, as the following depictions demonstrate:

In an ideal world, what would you like to see stay the same as now?

...Continue to revitalize, not only Alberta, but begin to do some work on Killingsworth. And just in these areas where we have these old dilapidated buildings that could be turned into office buildings with some kind of business establishments, keep that stuff going. Bring money back into the community, don't take the money out of the community, bring money back to the community... [black homeowner 11 years].

Has the physical appearance of the neighborhood changed much?

Yes it has. There's lots, there's like studios, art studios, I've never seen when I lived here [before]. And my daughter and I will walk up and down the street and go to the art studios and go to the plant shop, they have all different kinds of plants and herbs and stuff...

How would you describe Alberta Street to someone who wasn't familiar with it?

Really nice buildings, some buildings have their own type of appearance, which make their restaurants stand out, like they have an open bar, that is

really nice, but it was an old garage, and they opened it up, its like still a garage but it comes all the way up, and when its warm outside you can play pool [black renter 10 years].

Has Alberta street changed much?

You know 10 years ago there was nothing down there. It was pretty much desolate. The neighborhood has totally improved, you got businesses down there, you know, eateries and stuff like that. Its really good to see. All these businesses, gives people jobs and stuff like that you know.

Which of the changes have you liked?

Alberta Street and the housing improvements both really. I really like how Alberta Street has gotten cleaned up and businesses moved in and took over so its not like there's nothing there. It's a little more happening. People congregate down there [white homeowner 21 years].

These narratives depict new businesses as a welcome aspect of change after living through a period of divestment and decay. While the establishment of business tends to be a positive trend across racial groups and for renters as well, white renters in particular are perhaps a bit more reserved, but in some circumstances new businesses can be positive. The following example depicts the positive aspects of what might be considered bohemian support businesses:

Do you have a lot of neighbors that come from blocks around and hang out at the café?

Yeah.

Do you meet people that way?

Mm-hm, And also people that are coming through town, it seems like.

Is that kind of a known café?

I don't know, I have no idea, its more like my living room.

I've noticed it can also be a camping spot for some people.

That too, I think it's also a unique place in that things aren't really restrictive, you know? A lot of kids can hang out there, and we don't have to buy stuff, and [the owner] doesn't care you know, because we're always, business is always there for her, everybody needs coffee at some point, she just lets us all be there. We can sit there without buying stuff. She likes it, so you know its not that, sometimes businesses aren't like that at all [white renter 10 years].

In this example, cafes serve as meeting grounds where people can meet without feeling obligated to spend money. This depiction also presents an ideal-

typical account of what Lloyd (2004) describes as bohemian support networks.

Young artists and activists expressing leisure time and cheap lifestyles can use establishments like this for social and cultural purposes and develop a sense of group belonging or a 'we' feeling as residents of the neighborhood. A café can in effect serve as a 'living-room' for certain groups.

Although all groups share in positive perceptions of businesses on Alberta Street, racial differences can emerge as well. While many black residents make positive accounts of the new businesses, others maintain mixed feelings about it, often despite the general feelings of positivity, as the following narratives show:

Which of these changes have you liked?

The only thing that I really like about the changes in the neighborhood is that there aren't so many abandoned buildings, there aren't so many people hanging out just doing nothing, you know the younger generation just looking for trouble, and just the fact that there's business in the area. Specifically on Alberta Street, I like that aspect, that there is something on Alberta Street. I don't like the fact that it's not catered to the people that have been in the community for a long-time [black renter 18 years].

Which of these changes have you liked?

... I do like the business that they've given Alberta, I just don't like how it came about, you know what I mean? The people that are from this neighborhood aren't the one's who've bettered the neighborhood, you know what I'm saying? [black renter 33 years].

Which of these changes have you liked?

I like that Alberta has created much business, you know, it's a shame that it had to take for them to come here and fix up the streets and stuff, property, because the streets were just torn out, and when they came in they started fixing them up [black homeowner 11 years].

The above examples all answer the same interview question – which of these changes have you liked? The emergence of businesses on Alberta is often the first thing that comes to mind. However, this is often followed by the corollary that

although new businesses bring appeal and reduce crime, they also represent a story of inequalities. These accounts that businesses do not cater to the ‘people that have been in the community for a long-time,’ or that the ‘people that are in this neighborhood’ are not represented by the changes, can develop into a sense of unity against ‘them’ or ‘they.’ In the following examples, a similar narrative is expressed in more objective terms that involve explicitly stated racial inequalities:

How would you describe the neighborhood to someone who’s not familiar with it?

I would describe it as a once multi-racial, multi-cultural neighborhood in decline, in terms of its original multi-racial, multi-cultural qualities. I’m saddened by it...

Has the physical appearance of the neighborhood changed much?

Well certainly there’s a lot more renovation being done to the old buildings and new buildings being built, I would say there’s a much stronger business infrastructure being established along Alberta. There’s certainly development investment going on. That’s very visible, yet most of that investment, yet not all, are not by people of color... The one’s that come to mind are not the people of color, they’re white people. So, that influence definitely changes the face of the physical appearance of the street... but I suppose some would think that it’s getting better, I’m kind of on the fence post about that. Who’s it better for? – is the question I would ask. Okay, its getting better, but for whom?... And I think it depends on what color your skin is, in terms of what your opinions are going to be about questions like that... [person of color homeowner 18 years].

Has the physical appearance of the neighborhood changed much?

... And I mean Alberta Street, there’s been huge changes. New Seasons, and Walgreen’s and that, its kind of a bittersweet thing, I mean every time something new goes up its like great bring in on, because its making my property value go up, but also at the same time I know that’s what’s making it less and less affordable to those who, often times African American, it makes it harder [to stay], especially if they’re renting [black homeowner 4 years].

These mixed feelings described above begin to tell the story of racial differences in perceptions of change. Despite the fact that businesses are coming in and contributing to positive changes, mixed feelings are constructed around racial

differences. That those who are benefiting are for the most part white businesses, blacks may perceive the new businesses to also symbolize long-standing racial inequalities. Although the neighborhood was dilapidated in the past, if the positive changes only represent whites and not blacks, those positive changes can unfold into narratives of racial inequality. Besides these mixed feelings regarding new businesses, boundaries can be constructed around new businesses. Many long-time blacks perceive socioeconomic differences, cultural differences, and ultimately racial boundaries to participating in new local businesses. The following narratives draw socioeconomic and cultural boundaries around new businesses that involve racial differences as well:

Do you think Alberta Street is going to change much?

I think so. It's the culture of people that have changed already.

So its just going to expand more to keep up?

Oh yeah, its already changed. There's no place on Alberta for black people to hang out in other than Joe's Place. Where? There's no where. And Joe's is gone...

So the places that are there...

Quality shops.

These are places that are culturally, more catering to...

Yuppies

Yuppies?

People who want to go sit down and drink coffee and eat donuts and eat, whatever it is that they eat, you know [black renter 33 years].

In an ideal world, what changes would you like to see happen?

I would like to see like what Alberta is right now, but with a lot of, I'd like to see blacks in, blacks there... and like going to New Seasons store is so high right now, and the corner of 15th and Alberta [Co-op], they don't want you to go in there and still feel comfortable, and not have people to be seeming like they're out of place, being around there [black homeowner 11 years].

You mentioned that you don't shop much on the street. Is there any reason?

They're I don't think they're billed to long-time residents, the new businesses, so for example when I say I don't think they're appealing, there's Joe's Place

and there's a couple clothing stores, and Earl' barber shop, couple other places that are pretty much ma and pa stores, but a lot of the new businesses are art galleries that sell you know, art pieces for two and three thousand dollars, and its like, you're in a low income neighborhood.

Oh, I've never looked at the price tags.

Who can even buy these art works? you know, and its like coffee shops and, its like 6 or 7 coffee shops and its like, people in this neighborhood don't just sit around chillin on the corner of the street... you know there are great restaurants and there are some Mexican restaurants that have been around for a couple of years, but the newer art galleries, coffee shops, and clothing stores, you know... the records, its like hippy stuff, its not like what people in this community would wear, you know its not the typical jeans and t-shirts, its more of the big clogs, shoes, and longer boots, and I don't know who's buying this stuff up, but I don't know anybody that's wearing it.

... because you know the younger generation of the white hippies might fit in and they are their own little...

Subculture?

They're their own little subculture, you know, and then once they moved in and got comfortable, you know the long boot shops, the crazy paint shops and you know, you don't even know what's going on and you're just having a good time, but then you see, you know the big-time people come in and buy the rest of the buildings and put in five coffee shops on one corner, and the art galleries where you can walk around on Last Thursdays and buy up the million dollar art pieces... [black renter 18 years].

These above narratives demonstrate that socioeconomic and cultural differences are both constructed around the new businesses. These differences can lead to strong racialized boundaries as well. Whites and blacks are perceived to eat certain types of foods and have certain amounts of money, and perhaps behave in certain ways. In a few cases, racial boundaries can be experienced as discrimination.

... I've been in two restaurants on this street and both of them, I just felt uncomfortable, the one pizza place, everybody standing around and people coming in, and then they all go, "um who was next?" and its like... don't you see, that I was here before all these people right here. They just like, simple stuff, or I went to the other restaurant and its like, people came in after us, they got their food before us, they got their water put on the table before us, it was just like, almost just like this straight out racism, like, 'we don't want you hear.'

You feel uncomfortable?

Yeah, so I just don't go back, cause they gonna make it either with me or without me so I'm not going to, you know? [black homeowner 9 years].

Finally, long-time black residents may perceive that the standards of alcohol consumption differ for whites and blacks. New businesses that serve alcohol represent racial differences in the types of businesses that are allowed, or more specifically, the type of social behavior that is allowed regarding new businesses that serve alcohol. These differences can result in a perception of racial inequalities or the construction of racial boundaries; as the following narratives demonstrate:

... I still think the level of crime and activity is probably the same.

Its just the visibility of it?

Its just the visibility of it has changed, because when I, I would say five years ago, see this was predominantly African American community, we only had one tavern on Alberta, and now you have every business has a, you know they have like a liquor license where they sell wine and beer and stuff like that, and when we had it they only had one.

The transition went from the, okay you had the taverns, now its more upscale?

Its upscale, you don't have the fights after at night, but when it was predominantly black there was no, there was only one establishment that had a liquor license.

That was Joe's?

Joe's tavern had it, and they fought then, they tried to take away their license, they were not successful, but not that they didn't try [black homeowner 5 years].

So the taverns have been taken over, except that one?

I think all of them are gone except for Joe's. Now on the other hand, I think all they've done, to some extent, is just kind of dressed them up. Cause I think there's a place down there called Binks or something like that, they've got a pool table. Its nothing but a nice little tavern that has a good look to it. I mean you drive by it and everybody's sitting outside around tables, and they got their beer glasses right in front of them. So it's a tavern but its dressed up. Or you take the shops that's not an artsy shop and it's a wine shop, there's a whole shop that has nothing but wine in it.

From a liquor store to a wine store?

They took a liquor store and made it a wine store in a mix of other shops, and it's dressed up, but they're still peddling the same kind of drink. So if it's not

a 40, it's a 5th of something nice, \$200, \$300 bottle of wine that produces the same result [black homeowner 24 years].

Long-time black residents, both renters and homeowners, largely react to the new businesses in similar ways. Both groups perceive positive and negative aspects. Generally, long-time blacks maintain mixed feelings about the new local businesses. The fact that there is actually businesses in what used to be a run down and dilapidated area of town is almost like a breath of fresh air, until that breath is quickly realized to be another taste of racial inequality. As one resident put it, it is a 'bittersweet' transition. This should not overshadow the fact that many long-time black homeowners and renters tend to come out with positive perceptions across the board. However, negative perceptions emerge too. The experience of racial discrimination is a very real racial difference, and racial boundaries can result in much less frequent shopping by blacks.

Among long-time white residents, homeowners and renters differ in their perceptions of new businesses. White homeowners generally perceive the changes as mostly positive. A thorough description of their perceptions would only reify the narratives demonstrated at the beginning of this section. That is, long-time white homeowners vary in their participation from going to Alberta all the time for the shops, food, or groceries, to never going to shop on Alberta. Often, long-time whites will state that they do not go to the new shops because there is nothing there that they like or need. However, if these new shops do not represent long-time whites culturally, cultural boundaries are not drawn. In some instances of critical thought racial differences may be evoked, but can also be easily overlooked. Socioeconomic

differences can be evoked as well but usually do not culminate in boundaries between new businesses as being too expensive.

So was there ever a time when gentrification really became an issue in the neighborhood?

I don't hear much about it, other than... like I've heard the guy from Earl's Barber Shop down there on KBOO talking about, somebody brought in saying, it's the only black owned store on that part of Alberta anymore, and that's kind of a shame, but you know, they weren't doing anything with it, it was all boarded up, and so its, I don't think its that much of an issue... [white homeowner 26 years].

How would you describe the neighborhood to someone who was not familiar with it?

I would say its an urban neighborhood that's relatively racially mixed, for Portland at least. There are historic black residents there. It's a neighborhood that's rapidly gentrifying. Often when I talk about Alberta I sort of joke that there's a new place to go every week. So, can't keep up with the new places that have opened up. So, sometimes you look at that with excitement because new things are fun, but also a little bit of regret because the old flavor of the neighborhood is going away.

How would you describe Alberta Street to someone who was not familiar with it?

Overpriced. Increasingly upscale. There's still plenty of cheap places to eat, like um... The Mexican Place... You can still go a long way for three dollars at La Sirenita, but I think that the classic example is Ciao Vita that replaced Chez What, which is two blocks from my house and I used to eat at Chez What every week. I've only been to Ciao Vita twice because its out of my price range. So there's an increasing upscale-ness. Although there's still great places, there's a lot of diversity, that's the good thing, there's a lot of variety. So there's lots of cheap places for people like me, and people that want to come into the neighborhood and spend money [white homeowner 5 years].

These above examples of white homeowners' perceptions of new businesses represent the only examples of questioning their value or accessibility. Racial and socioeconomic differences can be drawn, but boundaries are not constructed in those regards, and if they are, they are more ambivalent than divisive.

White renters differ sharply from white homeowners in their perceptions of new local businesses. White renters interviewed draw socioeconomic boundaries with

restaurants and their clientele for being upscale and useless. Issues with the reconstructed built environment are also developed as white renters confirm their identity in the neighborhood in terms of its off-beat past. Finally, new businesses are seen as a product of outside investors exploiting the land values for their personal benefit. These new businesses are perceived as ‘yuppie’ establishments that are not useful, and those who do use them, are seen as outsiders who lack an understanding of what they are doing.

...but Chez What I could go there all the time, it was not big deal, everybody was really nice, it was a bar a block away from our house, but the new place is, I don't think I look like a yuppie, and we were like sitting outside on like a summer day drinking like a gin and tonic, and I could tell that people were driving around that weren't from the neighborhood, cause they drive around in their big old SUVs and then park and you know after they've found it, because I think it was in the A&E or something, and then they would walk up and they would glare at us, like, you know because my boyfriend's hair is all fucked up and my hair probably was too... and its people looking at you like, what are you doing here. I definitely don't like that [white renter 5 years].

In the above example, sharp socioeconomic and moral boundaries are drawn around businesses and the people coming from outside the neighborhood to shop or eat on Alberta. These boundaries are continuously drawn by white renters, whom in this study tend to conspicuously ideal-typify bohemian culture. The off-beat character of the old neighborhood is held onto dearly. When the neighborhood's ‘creative stimulus’ (Bain 2003) is threatened by new businesses and their clientele, boundaries can emerge that place these bohemian creators as belonging in this neighborhood that is transitioning away from the off-beat neighborhood that their own social belonging depends on. Part of this identity can be tied to the aesthetic quality of the old buildings in the neighborhood. Perceptions of new businesses and buildings on

Alberta as taking away from the character of the old built environment are also evident among white renters.

In your opinion, has this neighborhood changed much since you've moved in?

Well it seems like, well definitely Killingsworth and Alberta were, there was a lot of really old, neat, run-down buildings, there was more green space, there was one including like on 12th Street where that dog washing place is. And there were all these trees and the neighbor kids had forts in them and there were fruits in them and you could eat the apples off of the trees in the summer time. And that was really hard to see go, and like the priority of a dog washing place on Alberta, over you know, fruit trees and the kids... [white renter 7.5 years].

Are there any changes you haven't liked?

Yeah, I don't really like the shi-shi factor that's happened... its sort of gone from zero to sixty. Its gonna be a little of the Northwest and that's what its beginning to feel like. And I don't think that that is the true character of the street.

What do you mean true character?

... like mural on a wall, it used to be a fire house or something, now it's a mural, now its an art gallery, and then an artist collective with a really cool window display in an old building, that people live upstairs... and it just looks like it belongs here. Those buildings down there were built recently and they were built in a certain style. Instead of taking over what already existed and making it better they were ripping down what used to exist and then put in something that looks like the Pearl district you know. We don't want condos here. I mean not 'we' but there's been condos being built recently going for \$1400 a month, its ridiculous [white renter 3.5 years].

Finally, white renters draw moral boundaries around business developers as greedy and only making negative changes to the neighborhood for their own self interest. These negative changes can also be constructed around the threat of displacing other long-time residents and around mainstream culture as a system of inequality as well, as the following examples demonstrate:

...You know, that's developers coming in here, those are the people coming in here and making money, the developers. And they don't care. They don't care about any of it, only to their benefit. So I've seen anyways [white renter 10 years].

Which of these changes have you liked?

Its such a hard question... I think that things always have to change, but I just think they could have taken a really different direction. But it's a part of like our whole culture, and you can't separate it from that either, everything's money motivated and business motivated, and just the status of what looks good. And so to me, in my personal life, I want to separate from that, you know. And I want to be, live amongst you know, people that are like, about loving people and not about money, I mean, I heard this conversation on the train I was taking up to Seattle, There was this business prospector man, he had come here to look at a building that he wanted to develop, and he was telling some man about it, and he was talking about, 'the gamble of it was whether or not the undesirables move or not,' and how, I was really affected by that. Really upsetting. Like who is he to call somebody an undesirable, and so that mentality is really bad, and I, but I also feel like in general, a lot of the people who open up businesses in this town are just not, like they have good intentions but I think a lot of the time they're not, they feel like they're different than everyone else and that they're not a problem and that they're not, you know, they don't feel like they're influencing other people in like an interactive way, that makes it feel like you have to be of a certain class to be able to live here... [white renter 7.5 years].

White renters' narratives of new local businesses are more similar to long-time black residents' narratives than long-time white homeowners. Although racial boundaries are not drawn, the implications of greedy developers may evoke a subtext of inequality and displacement that places this group as belonging with long-time residents and draws boundaries around businesses that drive up property values. As in Chapter Six, white renters are again seen in a more tenuous position with regards to constructing belonging in the neighborhood. To the extent that this sample of white renters interviewed represents bohemian culture in an almost theoretical way, this group maintains belonging in the neighborhood by relating to the off-beat character, cheapness, and spaces of freedom that new businesses threaten to destroy. Their depictions are not contradictory, but are rather eloquently constructed around the private market as a destroyer of expressive freedom, the very element of creative

repression that they attempt to escape by living in off-beat neighborhoods in the first place.

Summary

This chapter finds that there are racial differences in perceptions of new local businesses. Also, there are further differences between renters and homeowners but only among whites. The chapter begins by demonstrating racial differences in the actual use of new grocery stores on Alberta Street. Blacks shop less and less regularly than whites at New Seasons and the Alberta Street Co-op. Of particular interest is the process of meaning making that occurs that differentiates those who have shopped for groceries at least once in the last twelve months and those that continue to shop frequently. Black renters and homeowners alike may perceive the changes in new businesses to be positive, but boundaries can be drawn around new businesses culturally and socioeconomically such that these boundaries also involve racial differentiations. Many black homeowners and renters describe feelings of uncomfortability in these new establishments that involve perceived racial differences, sometimes in the form of discriminatory behavior among restaurant and shop workers. It is likely this narrative of differentiation and uncomfortability accounts for the pattern of infrequent in grocery shopping. To the extent that other new local businesses are even more 'cultural' than grocery stores, it is likely that the same patterns would emerge with regard to other businesses as well, and these patterns are probably more pronounced when such basic necessities as food provisioning are not at stake.

Different groups construct boundaries and belonging around new local businesses in different ways. For many long-time residents, the perception of new businesses as bringing vitality to the neighborhood can develop in a sense of positivity around the changes taking place, such that long-time residents, black and white, homeowners and renters, can feel at home or even more comfortable in their new environment. For many long-time black homeowners and renters, however, that positivity is also taken with the contradictory observation that racial differences are structured into this new business resurgence. These differences can lead to a homogenizing feeling of racial inequality that is, for the most part, not felt or not understood by long-time whites.

Long-time white homeowners are very aware of the changes, but generally only use them to establish feelings of positivity towards the neighborhood. If boundaries are constructed, they are ambivalently drawn and do not result in negative perceptions of change, and thus whites in general may be more likely to continue shopping at local businesses if they have already.

White renters on the other hand draw boundaries too, but these boundaries do not explicitly evoke racial differences. Rather, white renters construct the meaning of new businesses as part of an attempt among wealthy developers and entrepreneurs to exploit the character of the environment that draws them there. Again, white renters in this analysis represent bohemian culture in a very theoretical way. Belonging is constructed around the value of the neighborhood as a site of diversity, cheapness, open space, and expressive freedom. Boundaries are constructed around anything that might threaten that vision, particularly developers and upscale businesses.

Chapter VIII – Art and Last Thursday Art Walks

This chapter analyzes resident perceptions of the neighborhood's new arts identity and considers Last Thursdays as a means of participation in the changing cultural character of the neighborhood. As discussed in Chapter Three, Last Thursdays and the billing of the neighborhood as the "Alberta Arts District" have collectively been the most relevant internal influences of change in the Alberta neighborhood. At least, to the extent that changes along Alberta Street have been cultural, and incoming residents are motivated to live in a hip bohemian neighborhood, the new character of the neighborhood is decidedly arts-oriented, and Last Thursday Art Walks are the defining feature of this arts resurgence.

Drawing from DiMaggio's (1987, 1990) theory of cultural participation, *neighborhood* cultural participation in this case may be viewed as the consumption of art (in this case Last Thursday Art Walks as a cultural *and* social event) as a means of 'establishing social membership' or constructing belonging that is specific to the changing neighborhood as a place to live. Artistic taste and consumption have been demonstrated as a means of establishing in-group membership and exclusion of out-group 'others' (Bryson 1996; DiMaggio 1987; DiMaggio & Ostrower 1990). On the other hand, when arts production and consumption can have specific influence on a particular neighborhood and can drive cultural and market changes, participation in the neighborhood art scene may be a clear means of establishing neighborhood belonging in the context of cultural changes.

Participation in Last Thursdays

In this chapter only, additional independent variables are considered that may affect one's level of participation in Last Thursdays as a neighborhood cultural event. Church attendance, 'neighboring,' and the opinion that the neighborhood has 'gotten better' over the last five years may effect the extent to which one decides to participate in Last Thursday or continue to participate.¹⁷

Figure 8.1: Last Thursday Attendance

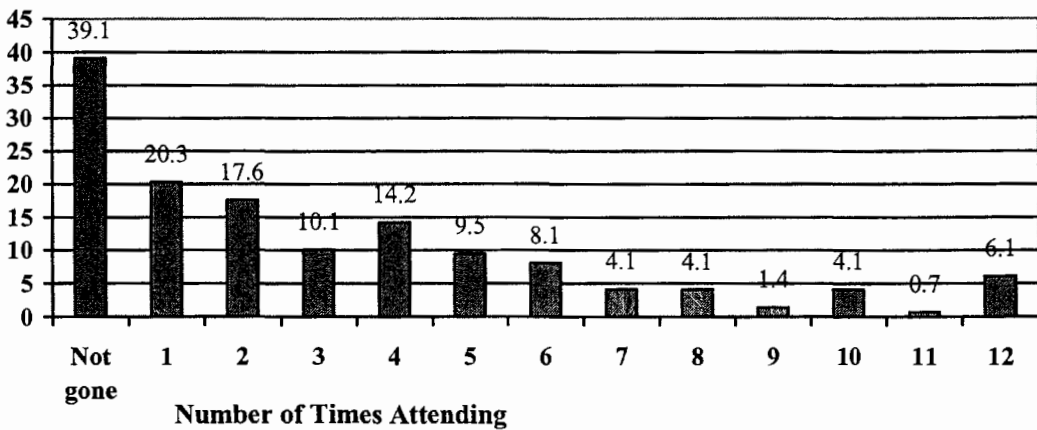


Figure 8.1 demonstrates that many residents who have gone to Last Thursday have gone once or twice out of a possible twelve months in the year. As in Chapter Seven, this analysis seeks to compare those who have gone at least once with those who go frequently. Conceptually, frequent participation in Last Thursday Art Walks is viewed as going and then going again at least once during the course of a year, as opposed to going and deciding not to go back after the first visit. Sixty percent of all respondents report having attended Last Thursday at least once in the last twelve

¹⁷ For discussion of rationale and operationalization of these variables, refer to Chapter Four

months. Of those residents, eighty percent have continued to participate after a first attendance. The following analyses indicate a familiar relationship regarding race and participation in Last Thursday Art Walks among those who continue frequently.

Table 8.1 demonstrates the demographic characteristics of those attending Last Thursdays and those going more than once.

Table 8.1 Percent attending Last Thursday

	Last Thursday in last 12 months?	Chi-Square	Continued after first attendance?	Chi-Square
<i>Overall Sample</i>	60.9		79.7	
Tenure Status				
Owner	62.9		80.7	
Renter	58.3	0.53	78.3	0.12
Length of Residence				
Less than 5 Years	71.5		80.6	
5 to 10 Years	54.8		87.0	
More than 10 Years	42.2	16.58***	70.4	2.25
Educational Attainment				
College Degree	75.9		84.1	
No College Degree	47.2	20.85***	73.3	2.56*
Race				
White	66.5		84.6	
Black	45.0	6.42**	55.6	8.47***
*p<.10, **p<.05, ***p<.01	<i>n</i> = 243		<i>n</i> = 148	

When observing which groups have attended at least once in twelve months, a familiar pattern emerges. Whites, those with higher levels of education, and newer residents (of less than ten years) participate much more than their counterparts. Two out of three whites attended Last Thursday in the last twelve months compared to 45% of blacks. Among those with a college degree or more, 75.9% attended the Art Walk, as opposed to only 47.2% of residents without a college degree. Two of three residents of less than ten years participate in Last Thursday, while only 42.2% of

long-time residents participate. Homeowners and renters tend to participate equally. Whites and highly educated residents seem to account for much of what is interpreted here as neighborhood cultural participation. That these residents are also typically younger and have recently moved in is evidence to support the idea that Last Thursdays represent the cultural changes taking place, and that young whites with higher levels of education tend to be drawn to bohemian neighborhoods and participate in that type of cultural event.

Extending the analysis to those who continue to attend Last Thursdays after a first visit, the patterns that emerge with regard to attending at least once dissolve, and a similar pattern of desistance by blacks and continuation by whites emerges. Among blacks who have gone once, 55.6% have gone back, while 84.6% of whites who attend at least once have gone back at least one more time.¹⁸ The effect of level of education, however, diminishes among those going regularly. After a first visit, those with a college degree or higher continue to attend more than those without four years of college, but the difference is much less than between those who attend at least once. Eighty-four percent of college educated residents are likely to go back after a first visit, but 73.3% of less educated residents continue as well.¹⁹ Although newer residents tend to go more than long-time residents, length of residency has no effect on continued participation. Renters are just as likely to continue participating in Last Thursday as are homeowners.

¹⁸ Further analysis shows further significant racial differences in Last Thursday participation among those who continue to go more than twice.

¹⁹ Further analysis shows an insignificant difference regarding level of education among those who continue more than twice

Regression table 8.2 demonstrates the relative effects of each variable when holding other variables constant.

Regression Table 8.2 Determinants of Last Thursday Participation

	Model I		Model II		Model III		Model IV	
	<u>B</u>	<u>Wald</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>Wald</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>Wald</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>Wald</u>
<i>Constant</i>	.665	7.654	.081	0.107	.184	0.373	-.877	3.558
Race (black)	-.494	1.648			-.149	0.134	-.467	1.009
College (4 yr)			1.029***	11.413	.880***	6.640	1.002***	7.457
Length of res.	-.058***	8.916	-.033*	3.718	-.043	4.515	-.041*	3.477
Homeowner	.638*	3.790	.293	.856	.426	1.555	.265	.433
Attends church							1.002*	3.248
'Gotten better'							-.158	0.170
Neighboring							.236***	10.426
<i>n</i>	216		243		216		208	
<i>Nagelkerke r</i>	.104		.134		.142		.236	

*p<.10, **p<.05, ***p<.01

Models I and II observe the differentiating effects of race and level of education on those who attend. When excluding level of education from the analysis, the largest difference among participants is between long-time residents and those who moved in most recently. Homeowners also attend more than renters. When excluding race from the analysis however, the effect of having a college degree greatly reduces the effect of homeownership and length of residence. Although incoming residents tend to have high levels of education, most of the difference in attending Last Thursday can be attributed to level of education rather than being relatively new to the neighborhood. Also, comparison of models I and II reveals that more difference in attendance can be explained by observing level of education as opposed to observing race. Model III represents the full model of demographic characteristics. Here, the added consideration of race slightly reduces the effect of

education, although race has an insignificant effect and education remains the only significant variable explaining who attends Art Walks at least once.

Model IV considers the added effects of church attendance, the opinion of the neighborhood as having ‘gotten better,’ and the degree to which an individual is socially active with their neighbors. The effect of level of education remains a highly significant variable explaining much of the difference between those who attend and those who do not. Race remains an insignificant predictor. Length of residence again becomes significant, with those who have moved in relatively recently attending Last Thursday at higher rates.

Additional variables explain much of the difference as well. Those who go to church in the neighborhood are significantly more likely to attend Last Thursdays, net of all other variables. Church attendance is conceptualized here as another form of neighborhood cultural participation, one that is perhaps unique to blacks in black neighborhoods (Pattillo-McCoy 1998). Although this effect is minor it is positive. This may suggest that neighborhood cultural participation is indeed a means of establishing belonging in the neighborhood by participating in its cultural events. That is, those that participate culturally may be motivated to participate in multiple cultural events, simply for the sake of neighborhood participation.

The most significant effect on Last Thursday attendance is the variable ‘neighboring.’ Neighboring is conceptualized as the extent to which residents are sociable with their neighbors.²⁰ The most social neighbors here are demonstrated to account for most of the difference among respondents attending Last Thursday at

²⁰ For rationale and construction of this variable, refer to Chapter Four.

least once. That is, the more social one is with their neighbors, the more likely they are to go out and experience Last Thursday. Because of the effect of neighboring, model IV explains much more of the variance in Last Thursday attendance as well.

The added independent variables in this model demonstrate that demographic variables are not the only influences on participating in the Art Walks. The extent to which one participates in other forms of cultural events in the neighborhood, in this case meaning attending church, the more likely one is to participate in the neighborhood's art scene. Also, the extent to which one socializes with neighbors may indicate that participation in neighborhood cultural events simply requires a sociable personality. The opinion that the neighborhood has gotten better does not effect participation in Last Thursdays.

Regression table 8.3 considers the relative effect of each variable for residents continuing to attend Last Thursdays after a first visit.

Regression Table 8.3 Determinants of Frequent Last Thursday Participation

	Model I		Model II		Model III		Model IV	
	<u>B</u>	<u>Wald</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>Wald</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>Wald</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>Wald</u>
<i>Constant</i>	1.797	20.185	1.105	7.610	1.500	8.742	.897	1.399
Race (black)	-1.458**	6.139			-1.253**	4.033	-1.196*	3.008
College (4 yr)			.498	1.171	.487	.820	.488	.775
Length of res.	-.006	.035	-.021	0.611	.003	.007	-.014	.153
Homeowner	-.097	.036	.228	.229	-.215	.164	-.336	.367
Attends church							.086	.014
'gotten better'							.280	.311
Neighboring							.104	.946
<i>n</i>	135		148		135		133	
<i>Nagelkerke r</i>	.083		.033		.092		.117	

*p<.10, **p<.05, ***p<.01

This analysis finds that the only significant variable predicting frequent Last Thursday attendance is race. This may be read in two ways. On the one hand, the

only significant variable that accounts for positive continued participation in Last Thursday Art Walks is being white. On the other hand, the only significant variable that explains desistance after a first attendance is being black. Even when controlling for level of education, church attendance, length of residence, and the potential ‘personality’ effect of being highly sociable with neighbors, race is the only significant influence on continued or discontinued participation in Last Thursday Art Walks.

These analyses of participation in Last Thursdays demonstrate that although differences in casual attendance may be accounted for by level of education, once having participated, there is something racially differentiating about this event that determines that whites attend more frequently while black residents tend to go back less. Previous chapters discover that long-time black residents in Alberta may draw boundaries around the changes that can culminate in racial differentiation. These differences may account for much of the observed non-frequency among black residents.

The meaning of Art and Last Thursday

This section demonstrates that all groups – whites and blacks, homeowners and renters – can range from positive perceptions and active participation to ambivalence to outright aversion of Last Thursdays. Many residents participate regularly without holding a particularly strong opinion about it. Others tend to really like the event but for some reason or another do not attend very often if at all.

Cultural boundaries can be drawn by all groups, and constructions of belonging can

also be drawn around this event by all groups. Racial differences do emerge however, with many long-time black residents drawing racial boundaries as well. One common theme among all groups is that participants in Last Thursday are outsiders, which can be a negative perception – representing the idea that neighborhood changes are coming from outside the community. The added observation that most of these outsiders are white develops among every group as well, but can hold a particular significance for long-time black residents. However, the narratives constructed by long-time black residents regarding Last Thursdays and the art scene are perhaps more complicated than simple racial differences. Although racial boundaries emerge, the distinct presence of art in the neighborhood may signal a positive change, even if blacks are considerably less represented.

Active Last Thursday participants are evident among every group. For many, Last Thursdays represent positive changes to the neighborhood. Art Walks can be perceived as the defining influence that brings positive people and business from outside the neighborhood. Art can be interesting and inspiring, and Last Thursdays can be a positive social event for residents and their neighbors to meet each other and socialize with others. Finally, for those actually participating in the arts, being involved in Last Thursdays can mean being a part of something positive that stands by itself, despite the changes that it brings. The following examples demonstrate positive perceptions of Last Thursday and the neighborhood's new arts character from members of all groups:

Are you familiar with Last Thursday on Alberta Street? Do you ever go to it?

Oh yeah, when there's room. There's literally five people wide on the sidewalk, and the variety of fair up there is unbelievable, and then all the restaurants and shops open up. And so they park from in front of my house all the way up, to just about every street that parallels Alberta or intersects Alberta is full, and we're talking people with money.

From the fact that on Last Thursday the streets get so crowded, its not just individuals in the neighborhood at Last Thursday, its...?

Right its everybody from the outlying areas, they all come in here. It's a big thing. And everybody's real friendly; "oh hi." And that really stimulates the growth in this area, people visiting here, its like they look at opportunities to move in where there is vibrancy [black homeowner 12 years].

Do you think that Last Thursday and the art galleries on Alberta Street have affected the neighborhood in a significant way?

I think its drawn a lot of people over this way, since they put them in. As a matter of fact, last year, my husband, and some people that had parked up this way, and they took a big interest in our home, and my husband, my husband took them in the back and showed them the back yard. You know we have the lights and things like that, and they stood out there for about a half an hour talking, and then... you meet people, you meet a lot of people [black homeowner 34 years].

Are you familiar with Last Thursday on Alberta Street?

Yes, I am, I love that.

What is your general opinion of Last Thursday?

It's a good thing, I really like it, I like the different culture, I like the different shops that come out, you don't even know what they're selling, sometimes they put their stuff out on the sidewalk, and you're like, "oh my gosh, I never knew you had that"... and you know its weird to me, because you know... there's a house on Alberta that is so weird on Alberta, I forget what its called. **[the one with all the bikes?]**

The different kinds of bikes, yeah. And its different kinds of people that walk down, and some of my friends we sit there and laugh and have a good old time **Some people call this neighborhood the "Alberta Arts District." Do you think this is an accurate term?**

Mm-hm. Yes, I really like the murals, they used to have... the one you tie knots on, its like a big old ribbon, its like a big old tree thing and you put, not ribbons but like cloth, and they have different kinds of art shops everywhere, I'm just so interested in it [black renter 15 years].

What is your general opinion of Last Thursday?

Its okay... you know people are coming in and recognizing the neighborhood. And that's important, and I think that's helped too. But mostly, they're coming and visiting the galleries when they normally wouldn't, and now they have food, beer, and wine, and 13th place all the way up to 30th, so its kind of

neat, mostly its all commercial anyways so it's a really positive note on the neighborhood [white homeowner 22 years].

You've talked a lot about Last Thursday, I'm wondering if there's anything more to say about it?

I think Last Thursday is, it's a party, and it's a participation party. Lots of people come here from outside and they just look around, its like they're just looking, and the people who are actually participating are having the most fun. That's why I like doing it. I do it as often as possible, even if I don't have anything to sell or whatever, I just go out.

Do you feel kind of bonded to them then? With the people who are out participating?

I feel the circus energy and the vibe of it. I don't necessarily know all the people I see doing stuff. I just tend to know core groups of people. And I recognize people. Its not about how good the art is here, because its not that good. But I think its more about the fact that people are celebrating. That's what I think about Last Thursday [white renter 3.5 years].

These examples demonstrate that Last Thursday Art Walks can mean a variety of different things for every group that all come across as positive. Last Thursdays can be seen as a positive source of neighborhood change. They can mean a chance to get out and be around people and possibly even to meet people. Last Thursdays are also a convenient means to consume art and culture. For artists who actually participate in it, Last Thursdays can represent a distinct moment of belonging when art production and consumption are realized in one event that involves the neighborhood as the space where it all happens. Others using Last Thursday for social or aesthetic reasons also use the Art Walk as a means of establishing neighborhood belonging, or at least as a means of constructing positive perceptions of change.

Residents from all groups can have negative perceptions of Last Thursday as well. These negative perceptions can involve the idea that Last Thursdays represent the interest of only a portion of residents in the neighborhoods, or that they only represent the market interests of businesses, galleries, and property developers, rather

than representing the ‘whole community.’ Negative perceptions can also include the understanding that Last Thursday participants are outsiders, and that changes made to the neighborhood are the result of these outsiders coming in and doing whatever they want. Again, these perceptions are evident across all groups, as the following narratives demonstrate:

What is your general opinion of Last Thursday?

Very crowded, unfriendly, disrespectful people, um, nothing to buy, no interest to do. It’s all geared toward a certain population, the stuff that they sell. Or I should say a certain culture, nothing I’m really interested in... It doesn’t really suit the neighborhood [black homeowner 9 years].

Some people call this neighborhood the “Alberta Arts District.” Do you think this is an accurate term?

No, I mean there are some art places, but I think the reason the art places are there is because the rent is cheap. I don’t think, I just don’t see it that way.

What do you think of this term?

I think it’s kind of a joke, I guess it isn’t a joke, but I feel like, there’s not that many artists around here. They make it sound like it’s a community of solely artists. There’s artists around, but there’s a lot of other people too [white homeowner 26 years].

What is your general opinion of Last Thursday?

I think it’s a kick-ass holiday for business men on the street. They make a lot of money. I mean I see a lot of people having fun though, which is cool as well. Which is great. And while they’re having fun, all these businesses which shouldn’t even be here are making tons of money [white renter 5 years].

Do you think Last Thursday and the art galleries on Alberta Street have affected the neighborhood in any significant way?

Yeah, and I would say that only because it’s almost as if they’re, they have a stake and it’s like they’re claiming it. Every time they have Last Thursday even more and more people come out and it’s like, well I don’t know where all these people come from. There’s no way that everybody walking up and down Alberta Street on Last Thursday could live in this neighborhood. There are so many people out there it’s like they have a stake, like claiming the neighborhood, like, “this is our neighborhood now.” And I think it has had a significant effect on the community because, you know at Sisters in Action, we think, “oh god it’s Last Thursday, come all the gentrifiers.”

Has it been positive or negative?

It hasn't been a negative effect. The changes are not negative, it's the effects of those changes that are negative [black renter 18 years].

These perceptions are drawn around Last Thursdays or the notion of the 'Alberta Arts District' as something that is out of place. Last Thursdays are seen to not represent residents personally, not represent the community, and rather represent those from outside the neighborhood coming in or staking out the neighborhood as if it was theirs. In the last example, if businesses, art, and Last Thursdays are not necessarily negative, they represent changes that have negative effects nonetheless. These negative effects juxtapose masses of newcomers or art-goers against the interests of the 'community.' If Last Thursdays don't represent the community and if they are culturally differentiating, they can appear to be a means of outsiders coming into the neighborhood and taking it over. These examples demonstrate that Last Thursdays, or the idea of the neighborhood as a realm of 'Art,' can be both positive and negative for each group.

Among long-time blacks in the neighborhood, negative perceptions can develop into racial boundaries as well. Racial boundaries can be drawn ambivalently, or they can signal a sense of alienation. The overwhelming presence of whites in the neighborhood on these evenings can represent that the changes are mostly made by whites and are for whites. The apparent lack of blacks attending the event can also signal that Last Thursdays do not represent the black community.

Is there any particular reason why you don't go [to Last Thursdays]?

Its just, its just really white. And I'm around white people all day you know, and then to come home and be around it a lot more, its, you know, it's the art that I see, I have gone once you know, when I had an art display at one of the buildings or one of the galleries, but... yeah, I can't say that I'm really interested, and it's a lot of the, I mean like square dancers and the stilt

walkers, and the people on bikes and stuff like that, that's just not, it doesn't represent our interest.

It kind of claims a [multi-cultural] identity that it wants to portray but, none of it represents you in a sense?

Right, you know like the art stuff that we see in the streets, that street vendors are selling necklaces and hemp stuff and it's just, I don't know it's just not us. That's the only way I can say it nicely [black homeowner 4 years].

[What is your general opinion of Last Thursday?]

No I don't think it caters to all the community, I mean I think it's just, one big day for them to, for all the new neighbors to come out and socialize with all the rest of the new neighbors, and shop and have a good time, and be happy for all the changes that they've made so far and for all the changes they're gonna continue to make [black renter 18 years].

These above descriptions characterize Last Thursdays as something that is only catered to new residents and to white art-goers in particular. These racial boundaries culminate in feelings of alienation from the event as one that distinctly represents whites and not blacks. However, it may be noted that Last Thursdays and the art scene are not necessarily seen in a negative light here, but the representation of Last Thursdays can be culturally or racially specific such that an overwhelming presence of whites and apparent lack of blacks can result in feelings of alienation.

The perceptions of racial differences in standards of alcohol consumption, evident in Chapter Seven between past and present businesses, are also evident during Last Thursdays. Art galleries open and serve wine to their guests, bars and restaurants are crowded with art-goers sipping cocktails, and people are drinking on the street. This behavior can signal group inequalities if it is also perceived that blacks would be heavily policed if they were to drink in public. Last Thursday can represent the idea that whites get to party, but blacks do not. If that observation is

coupled with the notion of the loss of the black community, Last Thursdays can be a particularly alienating experience:

Do you think Alberta Street is going to change much?

Yeah, I think it will probably change more to uh, Have you ever been to Hawthorne Street? Where they're hanging out all night, dancing, partying. One of the things that really bothered me, I remember when we was like, African American people were stopped for having a beer can or something, they walk down the street with glasses of wine, and its like no nothing.

It's a replacement of malt liquor with wine?

Yeah, wine is okay. Yeah, they can walk from 29th to 15th with a glass of wine. And don't nobody say nothing. They get up and down here, walk the strip, when they have the end of the month celebration, on Thursday, where I can't park in front of my own house, but I'm just saying they walk with wine glasses up and down the street and nobody says nothing, like I says if it's malt liquor or 8-ball, then you're in trouble, you have the police called.

That's worse than walking with an open container, that's a glass.

That's what I'm talking about, and even with that celebration thing they did, you just don't feel like going to it because its just so disrespectful, I mean, they walk over you, they don't say 'excuse me,' it's just like really weird [black homeowner 9 years].

Although racial boundaries can be constructed around Last Thursdays, they do not necessarily get extended to the presence of art as racially differentiating. Some long-time blacks note that the art itself does not represent blacks, or that there is a conspicuous lacking of ethnic or black artists on Alberta. This observation, however, does not extend to the understanding that the neighborhood as an 'Arts District' is a racially differentiating concept. Many Long-time residents do feel that art does not really belong, but these residents can be white and black. The following examples demonstrate that aversion to Last Thursday, or perceptions of lack of blacks involved at Last Thursday, does not necessarily limit one's participation in the new art scene.

In an ideal world, what changes would you like to see happen?

...You know people could at least give a smile or a hi or acknowledge that person... but if I could change it, there would be an even number of ethnic groups, you know what I mean?

So it would be split?

Yeah, not more blacks or more whites, it would be equal, that's my only... Oh and the other thing I wish is that, they do have different events on Alberta, there's not a lot of blacks that participate in the activities, but I wish that they would, you know... participate more...

What is your general opinion of Last Thursday?

... I like it, its fun, the people when they're out, you know at night, during that time, they think you're really friendly.

...because of the wine?

Yeah, exactly, maybe because of the alcohol. No, it's a comfortable feeling... [black renter 10 years].

Are you familiar with Last Thursday on Alberta Street?

Oh, I hate Last Thursday... Well, on this street we don't have driveways, so when I come home from work there's no place to park hardly, and then going up and down Alberta. I mean when you live here its not trendy, this is your neighborhood, there's nothing spectacular going on, its all old now...

Do you think Last Thursday and the art galleries on Alberta Street have affected the neighborhood in any significant way?

I think its good, I love art. I think that's the best part of what Alberta has is those art galleries, I just think Alberta is more than the art galleries [black homeowner 8 years].

In the first example, the perception of loss of black community does not necessarily deter an individual from participating in cultural events that signal neighborhood change, nor from feeling uncomfortable with Last Thursdays. In the second example, although Last Thursdays are seen as trendy or annoying, the presence of art is a welcome change.

Racial boundaries can also be evident even among those who hold a positive opinion of Last Thursdays and celebrate and attend often. The following are accounts from regular Last Thursday participants to try to overcome racial boundaries by bridging the apparent racial divide.

What is your general opinion of Last Thursday?

I think it's a good function. It certainly draws people to the street. I wish I saw more people of color on the street participating with that, and I wish there were more businesses of color that were participating, but you know, it is

what it is... I think people of color in general may feel a sense of alienation out of the very community they live in, just because the masses don't look like them. And many of them don't even live in the neighborhood, many of them are coming from outside this area, coming here to participate in the activity. And I think sometimes it may be that there's a sense of alienation from that participation, or isolation, and I will say again, in my space I try to have functions here, that open up interest for people across racial lines, across cultural lines... in my own effort to kind of extend a hand, a welcome, that this isn't just a white thing, that someone in the neighborhood is thinking about the rest of the neighborhood, and sometimes I get the sense that there isn't that element going on... [person of color homeowner/gallery-owner 18 years].

... I don't know the history of it, but I know there's been a lot of racism in the past, and segregation, and I think that still carries over, and there's a lot of anger because this area was probably ghettoized at one point and now the people with money are moving in. I mean, there is that tension. They call it "white people's night," Last Thursday. But I don't mean "they," that's stupid. I've just heard that from my friends, from my black friends... they come down here and we'll walk around and they're like, "This is white people's night," and I'm like, "Yeah it kind of is, but if you guys stick around we can make it into not that, you know." They have lived here their whole lives and they've seen this, this "thing we took over" and that's why I think stores like the high end, upscale stuff, shouldn't have happened so quickly, it didn't need to, start exploiting so fast. It doesn't give anything a chance to organically grow into a natural order. Anyways... [white renter 3.5 years].

In these accounts, although Last Thursday is a positive event, the lack of black participation is the major downside. Attempts can be made among active participants to extend an invitation and suggest that although blacks are not represented, it would be a better event if they were represented. Many who participate or attend Last Thursdays may use the Art Walk not only as a means of cultural consumption, but also as a means of consuming multi-cultural diversity. The idea that although the neighborhood is historically a black neighborhood, and that relatively fewer blacks participate in its dominant cultural events, can mean Art Walks are a

culturally homogenous event. Where bohemian creative production and consumption are involved, cultural homogeneity can be discouraging.

Summary

This chapter finds that those who are most likely to have attended Last Thursday within the last twelve months are newer residents who also tend to be white and highly educated. However, when controlling for all variables, most of the difference in attending Last Thursdays at least once in the last twelve months is accounted for by both level of education and one's level of sociability with their neighbors. Newer residents and those that attend church are also significantly more likely to attend Last Thursdays. This analysis demonstrates that besides being highly educated and new to the neighborhood, Last Thursday participation can also be explained by the extent to which residents are also socially and culturally involved in the neighborhood. Although whites tend to participate more than blacks, race is not a significant determinant of attending Last Thursdays at least once.

However, this chapter also finds that among those that attend Last Thursdays, race is the only significant variable predicting whether one will go back or not. Even accounting for the high levels of education and the high levels of sociability among those that have gone, these residents are not significantly more likely to go back to Last Thursday than their counterparts. White residents on the other hand, are much more likely than blacks to go back to Last Thursday. This finding suggests that there is something racially differentiating about Last Thursdays. Something occurs after one visit that determines whether a resident feels that the event is worth going back to

or not. Much of this continuation or desistance may be explained simply by an individuals' aesthetic disposition, or an individuals' aversion to large crowds, but it may also be explained by racial alienation experienced at the event.

Racial boundaries emerge in some of the narratives of long-time black residents. The perception that Last Thursdays lack African American representation and are events that cater to masses of whites can develop into feelings of alienation among long-time blacks. If the changes to the neighborhood may be positive, they contrast sharply with a perceived loss of the black community. This perception can culminate in the feeling that the changes are racially motivated. Thus, participation in the neighborhood's new cultural events may be limited if belonging is constructed around being black in a diminishing black community. On the other hand, many of the long-time black residents interviewed held positive perceptions of Last Thursdays and the new art scene and attended Art Walks regularly.

White homeowners and renters vary in their perceptions and uses of Last Thursdays with some participating regularly, some being actively involved as artists, and some despising the event. In some cases, racial differences are evoked, but these differences do not develop into feelings of alienation.

Given that all groups tend to differ in perceptions of Last Thursday, one's level of sociability may have a lot to do with whether or not one participates. However, the racial differences in continued participation are likely the result of racial differences in feelings of belonging, feelings which put race at the very center of belonging in the neighborhood in the context of change. On the other hand, this finding is countered by the observation that many long-time black residents tend to

consider the Last Thursday event and the arts as a positive change. This demonstrates that aesthetic taste may know no boundaries, but participation in the arts, as a means of drawing belonging to the neighborhood, is likely the result of perceived racial boundaries.

DiMaggio's theory of cultural participation suggests that aesthetic disposition and arts consumption are used as a means of establishing social belonging. Here social belonging can be constructed around racial similarities and differences. If the changes to the neighborhood represented by Last Thursdays and the "Arts District" also represent a loss of the black community, or perhaps a reclamation of the neighborhood by whites, then participation in that event among blacks would not be a socially useful behavior. On the other hand, if the changes are perceived as positive, if new residents are perceived as friendly, or if new businesses bring vitality and safety to the neighborhood, then long-time residents may view Last Thursday art walks as a positive experience. Finally, given that black residents generally construct a narrative of mixed feelings about the changes, that they bring certain benefits but at certain costs, attendance in Last Thursday may also be tempered by these mixed feelings, still resulting in long-time black residents participating much less than long-time whites.

Chapter IX – Summary and Conclusion

The “Alberta Arts District” is a neighborhood undergoing rapid gentrification in the last decade. Changes in this neighborhood during the last ten years include; rapidly appreciating property values; an influx of younger, highly educated, and white homeowners coupled with an exodus of older, black residents; a proliferation of new local businesses and cultural amenities including art galleries, cafes, and restaurants; and the development of an “Arts District” identity involving the neighborhood as a site of bohemian expression and creative cultural production and consumption. The first of these changes, the rising property values, can potentially negatively affect long-time residents, particularly if they are poorer and their reasons for living in the neighborhood before its changes involve the relative cheapness of the neighborhood. Renters and homeowners who have lived in the neighborhood for a long time might be financially impacted by the rising rents or property taxes. However, long-time homeowners also stand to gain financially from their increasing property values.

Besides economic changes, Alberta is also undergoing rapid demographic and cultural transformations. Racial differences are structured into the neighborhood through past practices of segregation. Where black residents were once concentrated into a devalued neighborhood where opportunity was institutionally limited, whites are now moving in at a time when business opportunities and cultural amenities are readily available. Black residents are also moving out faster than they are moving in.

New white residents also tend to be young and highly educated. Cultural changes taking place have given Alberta its new “Arts District” identity. Last Thursday Art Walks unite new businesses that include art galleries, cafes, and restaurants, in a local economy that is distinctly cultural and drives much of the other changes that are taking place. Residents living in the neighborhood before and during this period of gentrification may be significantly affected by rising land values, and these cultural changes as well. This study addressed the question of how long-time residents perceive changes that are uniquely cultural. Are there differences between black and white long-time residents in perceptions of neighborhood changes? Are there differences between long-time homeowners and long-time renters in perceptions of change? Specific changes addressed include the arrival of new residents, the emergence of new local businesses, and the new ‘Arts District’ identity including Last Thursday Art Walks as a major influence of cultural change.

Findings

In general, this study finds differences between blacks and whites and between homeowners and renters in perceptions of change. First, while all long-time residents can range from perceptions that are mostly positive to mostly negative, group differences emerge that tend to persist across research questions. Black homeowners and renters generally tend to espouse mixed feelings regarding the changes taking place. Long-time white homeowners generally tend to perceive the changes as ambivalent or positive, and long-time white renters generally tend to perceive the changes negatively. Secondly, race and homeownership are themselves

attributes that directly affect differences in how long-time residents establish belonging in the neighborhood. The declining black community is a major influence of perceptions of change among long-time black residents who may construct belonging in the neighborhood as being black in a declining black neighborhood. Long-time white residents may also perceive racial turnover as a negative aspect of change. However, white homeowners generally do not use the declining black population as a source of belonging, although white renters may use racial turnover as sufficient grounds to perceive the changes as unjust. Homeownership, on the other hand, can be a major source of belonging among long-time whites, but much less so among long-time blacks. Long-time white homeowners can use homeownership as a source of belonging in the context of changes that are generally positive. For long-time black residents, race trumps homeownership as a means of constructing belonging and as an influence on perceptions of change. Black renters and homeowners do not differ much from one another. Both range from positive to negative perceptions, often with mixed feelings, and both can use race as a source of neighborhood belonging. For white renters who have neither race nor homeownership to draw from, belonging may simply be constructed by drawing boundaries around changes in general. For each aspect of change, these general differences among blacks and whites and between renters and homeowners vary only slightly.

Perceptions of Newcomers

As discussed in Chapter Four, newcomers to Alberta are socially and demographically different from most long-time residents. Survey data indicates that

most residents living in Alberta now have moved in within the last five years. These residents tend to be young, white, and highly educated. Although this population of new residents might reflect mobility patterns among renters, there is also an evident trend in new homeownership. Theoretically, newcomers may be enticed to the neighborhood by the relative cheapness or appreciation of property values, and they may be motivated by the character changes that are distinctly cultural, including the identity of the neighborhood as a realm of creative production and consumption. At least, this new population at large is a representation of the changes taking place. Therefore, long-time residents' perceptions of newcomers involve perceived differences. Boundaries can be constructed around newcomers that ultimately place long-time residents in a position of belonging in the neighborhood.

Long-time black homeowners and renters both tend to construct similar narratives of newcomers that may involve positive or negative perceptions. If newcomers are perceived as friendly or bringing changes that are positive, then narratives of belonging may be constructed around newcomers that place both long-time and new residents as mutually working towards building a positive community. On the other hand, boundaries can be constructed that evoke socioeconomic, moral, or cultural differences between newcomers and long-time residents. Class differences are constructed that place newcomers as yuppies, or as simply having more money. Moral differences involve the perception that newcomers are only concerned with their property values and behave in ways that are anti-community-oriented. Differences in the way residents resolve property disputes or neighborhood issues may also be interpreted as moral boundaries. Cultural differences may also be evoked

that place newcomers as a particular group that simply has nothing to do with long-time residents. Among black homeowners in particular, strange appearances or behaviors of bohemian residents may evoke well defined cultural boundaries.

Ultimately, boundaries between long-time black residents and newcomers can involve racial distinctions as well. The perception that newcomers are mostly white also evokes racial differences as a distinct aspect of socioeconomic, moral, and cultural differences. For instance, If moral or cultural boundaries are constructed around new homeowners as being overly concerned about property values, and at the same time racially prejudiced, the distinction may not only be between new homeowners, but between new white homeowners. Finally, the mere coincidence of neighborhood revitalization coupled with the influx of white residents can suggest for many long-time blacks a deep-seeded story of racial inequality that can in some cases affect symbolic racial boundaries between new and long-time residents. This finding complements the findings of Freeman (2003).

However, this finding does not suggest that racial boundaries necessarily result in racial animosity. On the contrary, this study interprets racial boundaries as a necessary means of constructing belonging in the neighborhood. The perceived loss of the black community is for many long-time black residents a source of negative perceptions of change, but also a source of belonging. If the changes taking place in the neighborhood involve so many aspects that are differentiating – culturally, economically, demographically, business-wise, etc. – many long-time residents may use race as one means of establishing their fit in the community. The fact that this black population is declining may suggest for these residents a sense of sadness or

alienation. Nevertheless this perception does not imply negative social interaction, but might suggest that if belonging is constructed in regards to a diminishing population, then one's 'fit' in the neighborhood may also be fleeting. Alienation can ensue if belonging is constructed opposite the trends of change.

Finally, it must be stated that racial boundaries can vary among long-time black residents from non-existent, to ambivalently drawn, to sharply drawn 'us' versus 'them' distinctions. Many long-time blacks do not evoke boundaries with newcomers at all. Rather, these residents that perceive positive changes also see newcomers in a positive light. Residents that do draw boundaries between newcomers may stop short of constructing whiteness as a cause of change, although loss of the black community is still met with sadness. Rather than interpreting racial boundaries as a process unique to all blacks, racial boundaries are interpreted here as one possibility of group identity construction in the neighborhood. Nevertheless, the loss of the black community is a particularly meaningful change for long-time black residents, and racial boundary construction occurs among black homeowners and renters as well.

Long-time white residents may also perceive newcomers in a positive or negative light. Newcomers may be perceived as friendly and bringing positive changes to the community. Also, moral, cultural, and socioeconomic boundaries can be constructed around newcomers by long-time whites just as they are among long-time blacks. However, notable differences between whites and blacks include; differences in the uses (or non-uses) of race as a means of constructing belonging in the neighborhood; differences among whites between homeowners and renters in

their perceptions of newcomers; and the use of homeownership and length of residence as attributes of belonging among white homeowners.

For long-time white homeowners there may be implicit connections between race, length of residence, and homeownership as these residents establish their fit in the neighborhood. For some, having lived in the neighborhood when it was a high-crime ghetto could be a source of distinction that places long-time residents as simultaneously separate from other whites in other neighborhoods and as separate from new whites that are moving in. Homeownership can also be drawn as a source of belonging as white homeowners interpret this as a source of active stewardship over the neighborhood, implying that positive changes are the result of homeowners who are involved in the neighborhood. Positive changes are also constructed around the triumph over drugs and gangs, a particular narrative that tends to leave racial questions aside. Although boundaries can be constructed around newcomers, long-time white homeowners generally tend to perceive the changes as positive, and establish their 'fit' in the neighborhood in terms of positive changes.

For long-time white renters, belonging in the neighborhood cannot be constructed around racial belonging nor as homeowners. However, this group does tend to draw sharp socioeconomic, moral, and cultural boundaries around newcomers that may also evoke racial differences. Interestingly, white renters may perceive long-time black residents as much friendlier than incoming whites, a particular distinction that may imply whiteness as a negative aspect of change. For long-time white renters, belonging is constructed around an ideal formulation of the neighborhood as a source of alternative culture. Newcomers who represent suburban, middle-class, cultural

homogeneity threaten to upset this formulation, and boundaries are drawn around them in that respect. While differences between black renters and homeowners are difficult to detect, they are rather obvious among whites.

Perceptions and Uses of New Businesses

New businesses in Alberta are conceptualized as new cultural amenities that also reflect the changes taking place. Opportunities for new businesses have opened up within the last decade through infrastructural changes made by the city and lending institutions. The emergence of art galleries, bohemian support networks, and Last Thursdays as a mechanism of business support and advertisement has also contributed to the development of a particular niche for new businesses marketing cultural amenities. These businesses represent the changing character of the neighborhood and as such are met by long-time residents positively, negatively, or with mixed-feelings. These feelings in turn may affect actual uses and participation in this new cultural economy.

Statistical analyses of grocery store shopping on Alberta reveal that black residents tend to shop less at new grocery stores. For the New Season's grocery store, racial differences regarding who has gone shopping once are accounted for by homeownership and level of education. However, the only significant difference among those who shop frequently after having gone at least once is race. Whites continue at New Seasons more frequently and blacks tend to shop less frequently. For the Alberta Street Co-op, black residents shop significantly less, and continue significantly less than whites. These findings suggest that while particular groups use

these stores more than others, there may be some process of differentiation that occurs after having shopped at least once that determines that some groups are more likely to go back than others. The fact that blacks shop less and discontinue after having gone suggests that this differentiation involves race as a characteristic of belonging in new local businesses.

When asked to describe Alberta and the changes taking place in their own words, many residents spoke of new businesses as a defining feature of neighborhood change. In general, new businesses are perceived by most groups as a positive aspect of change. The simple change from dilapidated, boarded up buildings to actual reinvestment and business activity is a welcome development. However, there are some exceptions.

For long-time black residents, positive perceptions of new businesses may also be coupled with the feeling that new businesses do not cater to and do not benefit blacks. Furthermore, it may be perceived that the influx of new business and new investment is a direct cause of displacement. As neighborhood demand and property values increase, and as black residents are replaced by whites, new businesses are both a symbol and a source of racial differentiation and potential racial inequality. If new businesses are perceived to only cater to whites, and black residents have little or no cultural amenities of their 'own,' then the arrival of new businesses can evoke a sense of alienation as well. Moreover, if discrimination is experienced at new local businesses, long-time black residents may conclude that they are not wanted in the scheme of this new neighborhood. Black homeowners and renters both range from positive to negative perceptions to mixed feelings that can also involve racial

boundaries and feelings of alienation. It is the uniqueness of these racial boundaries to this group that are interpreted to be at the root of black residents' less frequent shopping at new local grocery stores.

Long-time whites are differentiated between homeowners and renters who tend to offer different interpretations of new local businesses. White homeowners range from positive to ambivalent in their perceptions of new businesses. Aside from viewing new businesses as a general positive, many long-time white homeowners feel that these businesses also do not have anything of interest for them. However, if cultural boundaries are constructed they are drawn ambivalently. Even in instances where socioeconomic, cultural, or racial differences are evoked, these differences may be countered by other considerations that generally result in positive perceptions of new businesses.

White renters on the other hand, tend to espouse negative perceptions of new businesses. Socioeconomic boundaries can be drawn around new businesses that involve a clientele of 'yuppies' and outsiders. Also, issues may be taken up with the built environment as old dilapidated buildings are either torn down or reconstructed. These narratives construct a character that once made the neighborhood unique as now being destroyed through commodification. Also, moral boundaries can be drawn around property developers or new businesses as only concerned with money, often at the cost of long-time residents. These negative perceptions construct boundaries around changes in general and place white renters in a scheme of belonging in the neighborhood before the changes. On the other hand, businesses that may be considered as bohemian support networks such as coffee shops may effectively serve

as meeting grounds or places to hang out. In this case, new businesses can be distinguished by white renters between those that are useful and those that are increasingly upscale.

The most interesting finding here, however, is that race tends to affect consistent differences in actual uses of new businesses, more so than does the homeownership effect among whites. Racial boundaries can be drawn that limit the extent to which black residents are likely to go or continue to shop at new grocery stores. It is likely that these boundaries extend to other new businesses as well that are perhaps more 'cultural' than grocery stores. While white renters and homeowners tend to differ in their perceptions of new businesses, the boundaries here may relate to certain types of businesses rather than all businesses in general. While blacks in general shop at local grocery stores less frequently, white homeowners shop more consistently at New Seasons, but white renters shop more consistently at the Alberta Street Co-op. Although boundaries can be drawn by all groups, they tend to affect real differences where racial boundaries are drawn.

Art and Last Thursdays as Cultural Change

The presence of art has been demonstrated to hold a particular relationship with the processes of change in the Alberta Arts District. Theoretically, the social value of art as creative cultural capital may be a draw to newcomers seeking to live in the neighborhood where art is actively produced and consumed. In Alberta, Last Thursday Art Walks draw considerable attention to the neighborhood from outside, linking the neighborhood as a realm of cultural production and new businesses that fit

the new “Arts District” niche. The new “Arts District” identity may thus adequately be interpreted as the dominant force of internal change, and Last Thursday Art Walks as the mechanism that supports this new concept. Art and Last Thursdays are therefore met by long-time residents as a distinct source of change in the neighborhood.

Statistical analyses of Last Thursday participation reveal a familiar pattern regarding what groups attend and what groups attend frequently. Whites and those with high levels of education – those very groups that represent the socio-demographic changes in the neighborhood – attend Last Thursdays more than blacks and those without college degrees. For those participating once, racial differences are accounted for by level of education. However, when observing those that go more than once, the only significant difference is race, with blacks tending to attend with less frequency than whites. Despite the difference in level of education among those having attended once, those without college degrees are almost just as likely as those with college degrees to continue regularly. Black residents, however, are much less likely to continue after having gone once. This is true even when accounting for residents who exhibit a high degree of sociability within the neighborhood. This is also true when accounting for residents who attend church in the neighborhood – which may be interpreted as another means of neighborhood cultural participation. This finding corresponds to differences found in participation in new grocery stores. In the case of Last Thursday Art Walk, blacks are less likely to go back than whites, suggesting that the experience of Last Thursdays may be alienating, or racially differentiating for this group.

Resident narratives of Last Thursdays and the new art scene vary slightly from other aspects of change. Regarding art and Art Walks, residents may vary more within each group from positive perceptions to outright aversion. However, racial boundaries can still be drawn by long-time blacks. Also, white renters are perhaps more polarized in their perceptions of art and Last Thursdays, with some adamantly staying away and others using it as a means of belonging.

Long-time black residents generally construct narratives of Last Thursdays and the new art scene similar to the narratives constructed around new people and new local businesses. Perceptions range from negative to positive to mixed feelings. Positive perceptions place the Art Walk events as a convenient opportunity to consume art, to socialize with neighbors, and even to meet people from elsewhere. However, racial boundaries can also emerge that place Last Thursdays and artists as representing whites and not blacks. These perceptions may develop as a sense of alienation from Last Thursday events if belonging is constructed in the neighborhood as part of a diminishing black community. These perceptions can be especially strong if Last Thursdays are also perceived as an attempt by whites to reclaim the neighborhood. Finally, participation in the arts may be more complicated than simple boundary drawing. The text demonstrates an example of a resident saddened by racial turnover yet uses Last Thursdays as a positive event. Also, even though a resident can be averse to Last Thursdays, this does not imply that they do not enjoy the presence of art in the neighborhood. However, if racial boundaries are evoked, they are likely the source of racial differences in frequent participation in Last Thursday events.

Long-time white homeowners generally tend to hold positive opinions of Last Thursdays. Like long-time blacks, these events can be an opportunity to socialize with neighbors, consume art, and watch people. Some white homeowners may be skeptical of the events. However, even if white homeowners do not attend the Art Walks, Last Thursdays and the new “Arts District” identity can still be seen as a source of positive changes in the neighborhood.

White renters represent an interesting group in this study. Of the five interviewed, three identified as artists, another as an activist, and the final interviewee is a musician. These five respondents may represent a particular piece of bohemian culture, a piece that for the most part moved into the neighborhood early in Alberta’s resurgence, before much of the businesses that are there now moved in. Although these residents may be artists and represent a theoretical link to the changes taking place, they do not attend Last Thursdays more than other groups. However, those that do attend also participate actively. On the other hand, most changes in general are perceived negatively from this group. Belonging is constructed as being part of the neighborhood before the changes. Although art may be the link that unites this group with the changes, boundaries may be constructed around Last Thursdays if these events represent change through commodification.

Assimilation and Resistance

This study has interpreted the cultural changes taking place as the new dominant culture in the neighborhood. Art is a symbol of expression that appears as the driving internal force of the gentrification of the “Alberta Arts District.” Other

changes including the influx of new residents and new businesses are linked culturally and contribute to the dominant vision of this new “Arts District” as well. How long-time residents respond to this cultural change may be the same as measuring the extent to which they either ‘assimilate’ or ‘resist’ (as in DiMaggio & Ostrower’s (1990) framework regarding racial differences in arts consumption). Positive versus negative perceptions of change may be a step towards assimilating or resisting, but more important may be the means by which long-time residents construct belonging in the neighborhood. Actual participation in neighborhood cultural events – in this case Last Thursday Art Walks – may be seen as a means of establishing neighborhood belonging in the context of cultural change.

This study demonstrates that long-time residents construct belonging in a number of ways which are directly linked to positive and negative perceptions of the neighborhood. For many residents, whites and blacks, belonging may simply be constructed around perceptions that changes made to the community are positive. In this case, boundaries need not be sharply drawn around newcomers, new businesses, or new cultural events. On the other hand, if belonging is constructed opposite the trends of change, which for many long-time black residents involves the loss of the black community, boundaries can be drawn around newcomers, new businesses, and new cultural events as representing that loss. In the latter case, cultural changes may in effect be resisted through racial boundaries.

Considering a theory of cultural participation that regards aesthetic taste and consumption of art as a ‘quasi-rational’ means of establishing social belonging, it may be possible to view participation in Last Thursdays or Alberta’s art scene as a

quasi-rational means of establishing belonging in the context of neighborhood changes. In terms of assimilation or resistance, two observations may be made regarding the perceptions of long-time black residents. First, many long-time black residents go and continue to participate in Last Thursdays regularly. In circumstances where racial turnover is met with some sadness, residents may still participate in Last Thursdays as a means of establishing connection in the changing neighborhood. Secondly, black residents may find that black participants are very few and that Last Thursday's rather only represent masses of whites. If racial boundaries are drawn, then Last Thursdays can be a means of racial differentiation. Thus, patterns of both assimilation and resistance may be observed here.

DiMaggio & Ostrower's notion of dual-engagement considers that blacks who are experiencing social mobility are likely to participate both in Euro-American and traditional Afro-American art forms as a means of constructing belonging in two separate cultural worlds. This study does not control for the extent to which traditional Black-American art forms are represented by the Alberta Arts District, nor does this study determine if long-time black residents are upwardly mobile or not. While this study does not find differences between long-time black renters and homeowners, it does find that all black residents range from positive to negative perceptions of change, from active participation in Last Thursdays to boundaries drawn around it, and from positive acceptance of newcomers to racial boundaries.

Race is itself not a sufficient cause of assimilating or resisting. Likewise, homeownership is not itself a sufficient cause of assimilating or resisting. Although long-time residents in general may be culturally different from residents moving in,

the residents that perceive the changes most positively may be the long-time residents that are most similar to new residents. Long-time white homeowners share attributes of race and homeownership that are consistent with the trends of change. For others, similarities may be constructed around positive changes made to the neighborhood. For others yet, the trends of change in the neighborhood may be differentiating enough to evoke resistance, boundaries around newcomers and changes in general, and possible alienation in the community where one lives.

Limitations and Future Research

This study has sought to understand long-time resident's perceptions of change using a cultural framework of symbolic boundaries. Portland, Oregon is unique in some respects. It is a large city with a small relatively small African American population, and neighborhoods that were previously segregated are now rapidly becoming integrated. This study has demonstrated some social effects in a neighborhood that has gone from mixed black and white to predominantly white. The dominant culture has been conceptualized as representing the cultural changes taking place. This does not preclude that long-time residents do not share distinct cultural practices of their own. Indeed, long-time black residents are often involved in churches, either in the immediate neighborhood, or just outside. This study has observed that church attendance may contribute to participation in new cultural activities, but this study does not offer an explanation to link neighborhood cultural practices with dominant and minority groups.

Newcomers in this neighborhood have not been studied, although there is a wealth of previous research that targets this group. These newcomers include predominantly white residents, but black residents as well. The long-time white renters in this study may be a relatively new group, but they also represent the longest of white renters living in the neighborhood. Also, this study has focused only on one neighborhood. Other gentrifying neighborhoods may also exist that do not involve the distinct presence of art as in the Alberta Arts District. For these neighborhoods, different meanings among long-time residents may be attached to the neighborhood as a space of belonging.

While inner-city neighborhoods are becoming more integrated, peripheral and suburban neighborhoods are perhaps becoming integrated as well. Future research should also seek to ask similar questions in predominantly white neighborhoods that are becoming racially diverse. Given that racial differences may be structured by segregation, it may be that racial boundaries emerge among long-time white residents in suburban areas if black residents are moving there.

Future research should also seek to ask similar questions in other cities where racial diversity is greater, where segregation is more pronounced, and where bohemian cultural expression may assume different characteristics. Methodologically, future research should seek to increase potential respondents for both quantitative and qualitative portions of research.

This study has potentially developed the beginnings for a new program of studying U.S. race relations in the neighborhood using a cultural framework of symbolic boundaries. Gentrification represents one possible scenario where

neighborhood demographics can change substantially. In a macro-sense, this type of neighborhood change may signal a social and demographic restructuring in general that may culminate in a new racial, class, or cultural basis for patterns of neighborhood belonging. Future research should follow these trends, making cultural differentiation a significant aspect of urban sociology and U.S. race relations in general.

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Appendix A: Survey Questions (2004)

1. How long have you lived in this house/apartment?
2. Is this the only place you have lived in the Alberta Neighborhood?
(If No)
 - 2a. Overall, how long have you lived in the neighborhood?
3. Do any of your relatives live in the neighborhood?
4. How many of your friends live in the neighborhood – all, most, some, a few, or none?
(If all, most, some, or a few)
 - 4a. Of your friends who live in the same neighborhood, about how many would you say are the same race as you – all, most, some, a few, or none?
 - 4b. How many would you say are college educated – all, most, some, a few, or none?

(During the last 12 months, or since you moved in...)

5. Have you watched a neighbor's home while they were away or had them watch your home?
6. Have you contributed to a neighborhood organization – (money, food, clothing, or volunteer labor)?
7. Have you received anything from a neighborhood organization – (money, food, clothing, or volunteer labor)?
8. How frequently have you borrowed something or loaned something to a neighbor – weekly, monthly, less than once a month, or never?
9. How frequently have you had a conversation with any of your neighbors (talking for at least a few minutes) – weekly, monthly, less than once a month or never?
10. How frequently have you visited or gotten together socially with any of your neighbors – weekly, monthly, less than once a month, or never?
11. Do you attend religious services in the neighborhood (not including weddings, funerals)?
(If yes)
 - 11a. About how many who attend would you say are the same race as you – all, most, some, a few, or none?
 - 11b. About how many of them would you say are college educated – all, most, some, a few, or none?
12. Have you gone to the Last Thursday Art Walk on Alberta Street?
 - 12a. (If yes) About how many times have you gone over the last 12 months?
13. Have you shopped at the New Seasons Market on 33rd and Killingsworth?
 - 13a. (If yes) How often do you shop there – weekly, monthly, or less than once a month?
14. Have you shopped at the Alberta Street Co-op on 15th and Alberta?

14a. (If yes) How often do you shop there – weekly, monthly, or less than once a month?

15. Have you taken part in any of the following groups in the neighborhood:

- Neighborhood Association meetings
- A neighborhood crime watch group
- An art or artist organization
- A religious organization
- An adult sports team or outdoor activity club
- A youth organization
- A parents' association
- An organization for senior citizens
- Another neighborhood group?

15a. (If yes to any) Which group is most important to you?

15a1. About how many members of this group are the same race as you – all, most, some, a few, or none?

15a2. About how many members would you say are college educated – all, most, some, a few, or none?

16. In your opinion, over the past 5 years (or since you moved in), has the neighborhood gotten better, worse, or stayed about the same?

17. In your opinion, over the next 5 years, will this neighborhood get better, worse, or stay about the same?

18. Do you expect to be living in this neighborhood 5 years from now?

18a. (If no, or don't know) Why not?

19. Overall, how would you rate this neighborhood as a place to live – excellent, good, fair, or poor?

(Please tell me whether the following (among a list of problems) is a serious, minor, or no problem at all in this neighborhood:

20. Loud music?

21. Other loud noises, like dogs barking, traffic, or lawn mowers?

22. Trash in the streets?

23. People not maintaining their lawn or property?

24. Vandalism and graffiti?

25. Burglaries and thefts?

26. Assaults and muggings?

27. Drug dealing?

28. Police not caring?

29. Poor quality schools?

30. Tension between different racial or ethnic groups?

31. Tension between different economic groups?

32. Organized gangs?

33. Not enough homeowners?

34. Not enough affordable housing?

35. Are you concerned that you might not be able to afford to stay in this home?
35a. (If yes) Would you say that you are 'very concerned' or 'somewhat concerned'?

(Considering your neighbors that live in about a block in all directions from here...)

36. How many of your neighbors do you know by sight or by name – all, most, some, a few, or none?
37. Generally speaking, how many of your neighbors do you trust – all, most, some, a few, or none?
38. Do you or your family own this place or do you rent?
39. Are you currently married, living with a partner, or single?
40. Do you have children living with you?
40a. (If yes) Are any of them in school? (elementary, junior high, or high school)
40a1. (If yes) Do they attend their local public school, another public school, or a private school?
40b. (If yes) Are any of them younger than school age?
41. In what year were you born?
42. What race do you consider yourself?
43. Do you consider yourself Hispanic/Latino?
44. What is your level of education?
45. What is your working status?

Appendix B – Interview Questions

I: BACKGROUND

How long have you lived at this house/apartment for?

Do you rent or own?

Have you lived anywhere else in this neighborhood?

(IF YES) For how long?

Do you have any children living with you?

(IF YES) How old are they?

(IF NO) Do you have any older children that used to live in this neighborhood?

Are there any adults living with you?

(IF YES) How many?

(IF YES) How are they related to you?

II. NEIGHBORHOOD OPINION

When people ask you what neighborhood you live in, what do you tell them?

How did you find out about this neighborhood before moving in?

a. Did you have friends or family already living in the neighborhood?

b. Did you spend time on Alberta Street before moving in?

c. Did you spend time doing anything else in the neighborhood before moving in?

What attracted you to the neighborhood initially?

Did you have any concerns about the neighborhood when you moved in?

(FOR HOMEOWNERS ONLY) When you bought this house, did you see it as a good financial investment?

How would you describe this neighborhood to someone who was not familiar with it?

In your opinion, has this neighborhood changed much in the last 10 years (or since you moved in)? How?

a. How would you describe the level of safety/amount of crime in the neighborhood?

- Has it changed much in the last 10 years?
- b. How would you describe the mix of residents in the neighborhood?
 - c. Has the physical appearance of the neighborhood changed much?
 - d. How would you describe Alberta Street to someone who wasn't familiar with it?
Has it changed much?
 - e. How would you describe the quality of the local schools?
Have they changed much?
 - f. How would you describe parks and other public spaces?
Have they changed?

Thinking about the changes you just mentioned [LIST THEM BRIEFLY] Which of these changes have you liked?

Are there any changes you haven't liked?

(FOR RENTERS ONLY)

- a. Has your rent changed in the last 5 years (or since you moved in)?
- b. Is it difficult for you to afford to stay in this home?

(FOR HOMEOWNERS ONLY)

- a. How has the value of your house changed in the last 10 years (or since you moved in)?
When you bought this house, did you think that the value would go up as much as it has?
- b. Have basic home repairs or property tax increases made it difficult for you to afford to stay in this house?

(FOR HOMEOWNERS and RENTERS)

- a. Do you know any renters who have moved out of the neighborhood because they couldn't afford to stay?
(IF YES) Have you known many?
- b. Do you know any homeowners who have moved out of the neighborhood because they couldn't afford to stay?
(IF YES) Have you known many?

Thinking about the changes that have taken place in the neighborhood, What do you think is causing these changes?

During the next 5 years, how do you think this neighborhood will change?

- a. Do you think Alberta St. is going to change much? How?
- b. Do you think the type of residents who move in will change much?
- c. Do you think the Level of Safety/crime will change much?
- d. Do you think the Quality of local schools will change much?

e. Do you think the Physical appearance of the neighborhood will change much?

In an ideal world, What changes would you like to see happen?

In an ideal world, what would you like to stay the same as now?

III. PARTICIPTION IN NEIGHBORHOOD ORGANIZATIONS

Do you participate in any neighborhood organizations now or in the past?
(IF YES), can you briefly describe your involvement in this organization?

Do you go to religious services in the neighborhood now or in the past?
(IF YES), can you briefly describe your involvement?

- How often do you go?
- For how many years?
- Do you socialize much with neighbors at church?

Do you belong to any community organizations in Portland that are outside the neighborhood or go to religious services outside the neighborhood?

(IF YES) Describe your involvement.

- How often do you go?

(IF HAVE CHILDREN LIVING AT HOME or OLDER CHILDREN WHO USED TO LIVE IN NEIGHBORHOOD)

- a. Do any of them go to school now or in the past?
 - a1. (IF YES) Do/Did they go to the local schools?
(IF LOCAL) Did you have any concerns about them going to the local schools?
(IF NONLOCAL) Why did you choose a school outside the area?
 - a2. (IF LOCAL or NONLOCAL) Are/Were you involved in any school-based programs?
 - a3. (IF LOCAL or NONLOCAL) Do/Did your kids do any after-school activities at school?
 - a4. (IF LOCAL or NONLOCAL) Do/Did your kids belong to any organizations or do any activities not associated with their school?
 - a5. (IF LOCAL or NONLOCAL) Do/Did your kids spend much time socializing with other kids in the neighborhood?

Do you feel that you have any influence over how the neighborhood is changing?

IV. RELATIONS WITH NEIGHBORS

First, I would like to get a sense about how much time you spend out and about in the neighborhood.

- a. Do you spend much time in your front yard or on your porch?
- b. Do you spend much time at a local park?
- c. Do you take walks in the neighborhood?
- d. Were you out and about more often or less often in the past than now, or about the same?
(IF MORE or LESS TIME IN THE PAST) Why do you think that is?

*Thinking about your neighbors that live within about one block from here:
Do you know many of your neighbors?*

How would you describe your relations with them?

- a. For example, Do you say 'Hi' to many of them?
- b. Do you socialize with many of them?
- c. Do you borrow things?
- d. Do you watch each others house?
- e. Are you more social or less social with your neighbors now than in the past, or is it about the same?
(IF MORE or LESS SOCIAL) Why do you think that is?

This is a slightly different question: Would you say that your neighbors now are more friendly or less friendly than neighbors in the past, or are they about the same?

Is there any tension between you and any neighbors?
(What about past neighbors?)

Do any of your neighbors annoy you in any way?
(What about past neighbors?)

Do you feel uncomfortable around any neighbors or avoid any of them?
(What about past neighbors?)

Given that this neighborhood is diverse in terms of different economic means, educational backgrounds, race and ethnicity, renters and homeowners,

Would you say that you tend to socialize more with those who...:

- a. are newer residents or long-time residents?
- b. are renters or homeowners?
- c. are from the same general social class (educational/economic group)?
- d. are from the same race/ethnicity?

We've talked about your relations with your neighbors. Now I would like to ask a slightly different question, asking more generally about relations between all people in the neighborhood, excluding yourself.

In general, how would you characterize the relations between newer and longer-time residents? Is their much interaction between them, or do they mostly ignore each other?

(IF ANY INTERACTION) Would you characterize the interaction as friendly?

- a. What about between owners and renters, Is their much interaction between them, or do they mostly ignore each other?
- b. What about between people from different social classes (educational/economic groups), Is their much interaction between them, or do they mostly ignore each other?
- c. What about between people of different racess and ethnicities, Is their much interaction between them, or do they mostly ignore each other?

V. ALBERTA STREET

Do you shop at all on Alberta Street?

(IF YES) What stores?

(IF YES) How frequently?

(IF YES) Do you shop there more or less often than you used to?

(IF NO) Is there any particular reason why not?

(IF NO) Did you shop there in the past?

Do you go to any restaurants, bars, or coffee shops on Alberta Street?

(IF YES) What stores?

(IF YES) How frequently?

(IF YES) Do you shop there more or less often than you used to?

(IF NO) Is there any particular reason why not?

(IF NO) Did you shop there in the past?

Are you familiar with *Last Thursday* on Alberta Street?

Do you go to it?

What is your general opinion of *Last Thursday*?

Some people call this neighborhood the "Alberta Arts District."

Do you think this is an accurate term?

Do you think *Last Thursday* and the art galleries on Alberta St. have affected the neighborhood in a significant way?

VI. FUTURE PLANS

Now I would like to ask you some questions about your future plans.

How long do you plan on staying in this neighborhood?

(IF NOT STAYING or UNSURE) Why are you planning on (or thinking about) moving?

- a. Does the quality of local schools have any influence?
- b. Does the level of safety/level of crime have any influence?
- c. Do changes on Alberta St. have any influence?
- d. Do your relations with your neighbors have any influence?

(IF ONLY HAVE CHILDREN LESS THAN SCHOOL AGE)

Do you plan on living in the neighborhood when they are school age?

(IF YES or MAYBE) Do you plan on sending them to the local public school?
(or to another public school or private school?)

Why or why not?

VII: DEMOGRAPHIC (If contacted by snowball)

In what year were you born?

What is your ethnic or racial background?

What is your level of education?

What is your working status?

Are there any final comments you would like to add?