American Sociological Association
Community & Urban Sociology Section

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CUSS Newsletter

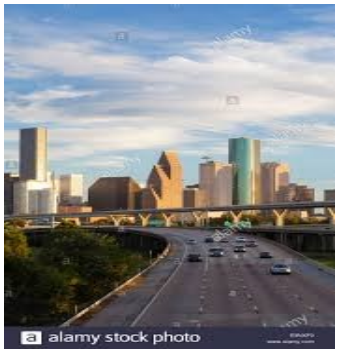
INSIDE THIS ISSUE:

Housing Developers and Racial Segregation

Elizabeth Korver-Glenn
University of New Mexico

In a 1976 *New York Times* op-ed, architect Ada Louise Huxtable wrote the following after a visit to Houston, now America's fourth-largest city: "Houston is a study in paradoxes…. It deals in extremes of wealth and culture… Houston is all process and no plan…. And Houston today is the American present and future. It is an exciting and disturbing place." These paradoxes were what drew me to study Houston during my graduate work at Rice University. In fact, I have been collecting, analyzing, and/or writing about Houston data without interruption since my second semester of graduate school, when I began an ethnographic study of development processes in Houston's Northside barrio. (My first ever peer-reviewed journal article emerged from this project and was published in City & Community!) So far, I have to say that I agree with Ms. Huxtable: Houston can provide us with many clues about America's urban present and future—that is, if we can piece the paradoxes together.

This may be especially true when we consider the case of Houston's housing market. Housing options in Houston are far more affordable than in Chicago, Los Angeles, or New York and Houston is second only to the Dallas/Fort Worth area in new-home starts across the U.S. Houston is also now the most racially and ethnically diverse large city in the U.S. At the same time, Houston is highly segregated by race and class. Indeed, racial segregation is on the rise for some groups and poverty has become increasingly concentrated (Korver-Glenn and Elliott 2016; O'Connell and Howell 2016). How can we make sense of some of these apparent housing paradoxes? What can the case of Houston teach us?



Houston, TX skyline downtown.

In this essay, I begin to unpack these questions by highlighting a set

Housing, p. 14

Chair's Message

Rachel Dwyer, Ohio State University

This spring has brought me occasions to reflect on mentoring and public engagement as a bedrock of our activities as scholars and, when done well, a source of great meaning, connection, and fulfillment. One of those occasions has been the energy around mentoring in the Section. I'm proud to be part of the Community and Urban Sociology tradition of strong mentoring. We have several initiatives this spring that reflect and build on this tradition. Recently, a call

Chair, p. 2

Chair's Message *from page 1*

went out to continue our highly successful mentoring meetings, initiated two years ago. We encourage senior volunteers to mentor junior scholars at the upcoming ASA meeting in New York, and we encourage all junior scholars interested in making mentoring connections to sign up to be matched with a more senior scholar (see p.9 for full details). We are planning mentoring activities at the preconference, with more information to come this summer.

We are also proposing an amendment to our by-laws to create a formal "Mentoring Committee," in order to further support and develop the work of the section. This proposal was developed under Chair Miriam Greenberg's term, and as a result of research done by the Membership committee and an ad hoc Mentorship committee. The proposal to put the by-laws on the ballot was approved by the 2017-2018 Section Council and at the 2018 section business meeting at the ASA. I encourage all members to vote yes to the by-law amendment to create a Mentoring Committee to continue to build on the energy and commitment to mentoring in our section. This initiative supports our current members, draws in new members as a major recognized benefit of this section, and builds community by connecting members to each other. (see p.6 for full details)

I received excellent mentorship from members of CUSS as a graduate student and junior faculty member. Some were eminences in the field who gave me feedback on my research and encouraged me to continue my work on the role of the segregation of the affluent in perpetuating inequality at a time when most research in urban sociology focused on poor and disadvantaged populations. A number of senior scholars gave me opportunities to participate in organizing sessions and making other types of connections. Other supportive mentors were peers at roughly similar stages or just a few years ahead of me. These friends and colleagues were invaluable in providing support, connection, feedback on research, and humor in the face of the challenges of setting off on a career in Sociology. One of the great strengths of our mentoring program is that we encourage meetings between a couple students or junior scholars and a couple mentors. Those connections between junior scholars likely turn out in many cases to be just as valuable as the connections with more senior scholars.

I've had the privilege to see my own students and other junior colleagues welcomed into CUSS and encouraged to develop their own research and connections. Indeed, Dr. Victoria Reyes, whose tireless efforts on behalf of membership and mentorship for our section as Chair of the Membership Committee have enriched our community in so many ways, was the first honor's thesis student that I worked with in my early years as an Assistant Professor at Ohio State University. I take credit only for recognizing early on that she would be a star! The energy and commitment of our volunteers, Council Members, and committee members are quite often focused on how we can encourage new members and develop mentoring supports, and these continuing efforts are reflected in the proposed new mentoring committee.

I have also struggled with a much sadder occasion for reflecting the power of mentoring with the passing of my own graduate mentor, Erik Olin Wright, on January 23rd of this year, ten months after his diagnosis with a particularly aggressive strain of acute myeloid leukemia. Even as he was a generational scholar of international renown, one of Erik's greatest life commitments was to teaching and, especially, mentoring. He chaired more than 60 dissertation committees, served as member on many additional committees, and provided countless scholars at various stages of their career with feedback on their research, at Wisconsin and during his numerous trips to talk about his research.

As he traveled to share his research and ideas, Erik tried to spend time on each trip talking with students about their research. In recent years, he would ask organizers to schedule a substantial chunk of time for him to meet with a group of students. He would run that meeting as a research workshop. Each student would present Erik with an active research problem drawn from their own work. Erik would then provide feedback, often starting with probing questions and moving towards an incisive assessment of the core conceptual or empirical issues in posing the research problem. He would conduct these conversations publically in a group, so that each student learned from his engagement with other people's research questions as well as from his individualized feedback on their own work. This structure developed out of what had long been his practice in more informal ways and many a scholar across the world has had the (highly stimulating!) experience of a conversation with Erik about their work, featuring a rather relentless series of questions pushing to the most challenging issues at the heart of their work. What's more, he often remembered the most energetic of these conversations and had an uncanny ability to pick up the conversation at any next encounters with fresh energy and insight.

These student feedback sessions illustrate the excitement of ideas that was a core feature of Erik's approach to

mentoring, and explains how it was that so many different students and scholars studying so many different questions were pulled in his gravitational field. Erik was simultaneously totally committed to emancipatory social science in his own work, and totally ecumenical in his mentoring and engagement with others. He advised students across a huge range of substantive fields and areas, contributing to conversations across sociology and into political science, history, philosophy, policy, and other fields. His approach was fundamentally specialty busting; no one ASA section could contain his influence, and many sections, including CUSS of course, contain scholars deeply influenced by him in one way or another. At the same time, Erik was a thorough community builder and supported the goals of engagement, mentoring and workshopping research that make up the core activities of CUSS as well as other sections and ASA more broadly. When Erik was President of ASA, he took the opportunity of visiting a large diversity of institutions, including traditionally minority-serving institutions, and found the experience deeply enriching in his own research on social inequality and egalitarian social structures. Over his whole career, he and his wife Marcia often hosted visiting scholars in their home, and invited further community with dinners and other gatherings. He was famous for cajoling large groups of more or less reluctant people into dancing the Virginia Reel, an American folk dance, while he fiddled on his violin, becoming a rite of passage for many of his students. No matter how reluctant at the beginning of the dance, by the end all would be laughing and celebrating their connections to each other through the solidarity of a folk dance. A Durkheimian collective

Chair, p. 4

The 2019 ASA Annual Meeting will be held August 10-13 in New York City

Editor's Note

William Holt, Birmingham-Southern College

The Spring 2019 *CUSS Newsletter* contains a lot of relevant information about changes to the section. On page 6 and 7 take a look at the two CUSS Section ballot proposals up for membership vote. The first establishes a new Publications Committee. The second would establish new biannual section awards for publically-engaged research and teaching excellence.

The *CUSS Newsletter* assistant editors developed new materials for this edition. Elizabeth Korver-Glenn, University of New Mexico, wrote this edition's feature article drawing on her work on Houston's housing market. Kyle Galindez, a graduate student at the University of California, Santa Cruz; and Steven Schmidt, a graduate student at the University of California, Irvine collaborated on an interview with Deidre Oakley on *City & Community's* new cover design. Also, Kyle and Steven interviewed faculty and graduate students involved in NYU's Urban Democracy Lab.

If your are interested in new research opportunities, please see page 4 for the Urban Climate Finance Database Project call.

See page 9 for more information about the CUSS mentoring program at the 2019 ASA Annual Meeting in New York.

There's a lot of new materials in our regular sections: New Books, New Publications, and New Dissertations. We continue to see growth in the number of publication announcements from CUSS members.

We are always looking for new materials . With the 2019 ASA Annual Meeting in New York, we will run features on the host city. If you have any proposals for these conference features, lets us know, As always, please contact me at wholt@bsc.edu with ideas for editions.

Chair's Message from page 3

effervescence choreographed by a stalwart neo-Marxian.

Erik's deep commitment to egalitarian social movements also drew him out into the broader world of activism and politics, where members of social movements and political innovators took direct inspiration from his work. He founded a conference which brought activists and scholars together even on Memorial Day in Wisconsin to strategize about creating what over time he came to call real utopias. Of course, his ASA Presidential Address was on this theme: http://www.asanet.org/2012-presidential-address-transforming-capitalism-through-real-utopias

Many CUSS members also foster deep connections to communities outside sociology and engaging in public Sociology, ranging from teaching diverse student populations to influencing policy to advocating on behalf of the most disadvantaged members of our communities. These motivations underlie our second proposed revision to our by-laws to establish two new awards, to be offered on a rotating basis in alternating years: one for Publically Engaged Research Award, and the second for an Excellence in Teaching Award (See p. 7 for full details). I encourage section members to vote yes to this amendment so that the section may offer broader recognition to the many contributions made by Community and Urban Sociologists to broader public conversations and debates. The scholars profiled in the pages o fthis newsletter reflect the very best of this tradition in our section.

With the examples provided by our mentors, students, and fellow members to inspire us, mentoring and public engagement are among our most serious responsibilities and privileges as scholars. We all learn and grow and think and teach and write and research better when we're embedded in strong and healthy communities that build connections to each other and to broader publics. Let us take up the challenge of our member committee to continue to build real utopias of mentorship and engagement in our community as we move towards our time together in New York this August.

Urban Climate Finance Database Project

The Urban Climate Finance Database Project is seeking urbanists for collaboration: Currently collaborating with the UN's Cities Climate Finance Leadership Alliance on constructing database of city-level allocations of climate finance, including direct urban climate mitigation lending, green bonds and more. We are looking for other climate-interested urban sociologists to work with me on this database project, and use data collected to create valuable new (coauthored) studies. Contact Ben Leffel, Department of Sociology, University of California, Irvine at bleffel@uci.edu if interested.

NEW COVER: *City & Community*

Kyle Galindez
University of California, Santa Cruz

Steven Schmidt
University of California, Irvine

Interview with Deirdre Oakley , Editor-in-Chief,
City & Community

-City & Community recently debuted a new cover for the March 2019 volume. What motivated the redesign?

When I became editor in 2018, the original cover design was 16 years old and I thought it was time for a new look. I also found out that Wiley, our publisher, would work with me and my on-site editorial staff on a new design free-of-charge. At the time, the Section's Chair (Miriam Greenberg) and Publication Committee's co-chairs (Heather MacIndoe and Japonica Brown-Saracino were supportive of the idea), as was ASA.

-Can you tell me about your editorial vision for the new cover?

There is a form of cityscape art called original line/pencil illustration or rendering. I was familiar with British Illustrator Abi Daker's work (http://www.abigaildaker.com) and found it inspiring. This is because, symbolically, the contributions to *City & Community* 'draw' cities and the communities within them (both past and present) to reveal unique visions of previously uncovered productions.

One of the urban themes I learned when I was pursuing my master's degree in geography in the early 1990s was that of the city as a palimpsest. This historic word originally referred to the reuse of parchment for the written word during the 1500s. Basically, with parchment, the previous text -- while erased – bled through the new text. We could liken this practice today to what happens with graffiti. But back to history, the term palimpsest began to be used more broadly in the realm of urbanism to illustrate the multiple layers of the city, whether it's about changes over time, the way different groups perceive their city, placemaking and de-placemaking, infrastructure, inequality (ethnic, racial or socioeconomic), as well as how such aspects of the urban environs are imagined. While it's virtually impossible to convey the city palimpsest surface in a static cover design, that's the foundational idea behind our new cover: a rendering of some generic city in line/pencil illustration form, which fades into the distance representing the present, past and future. Fortunately, we had the option for two colors to distinguish the journal title from the artwork.

The Wiley design team is confined to working with stock art (no this is not Daker's work!), so it took some back and forth to get the image in line with what I wanted it to convey. They did a great job, for which we are all very appreciative. I am also grateful for the quick turn-around time for cover redesign approval by our Section leadership as well as the ASA.

On behalf of the entire on-site GSU Editorial Team, I'll just say we hope you all like our new cover!

MEMBERSHIP DRIVE 620 for 2020

Calling all current and future members! We reached our goal of surpassing the 600 mark in time for ASA 2019, where we'll be allocated 4 sessions. Having four sessions during the ASA allows us even more chances to showcase the important work that our section members are doing. However, our work is not done. Current membership expires 12/31/2019. We encourage everyone to renew their membership, and encourage colleagues to join CUSS, early in 2020 to be able to enjoy all the benefits of membership throughout the year and particularly at ASA 2020 next August. Renewing or joining our section means you can be a part of our mentoring program, get a subscription to *City & Community*, connect with scholars doing similar work, volunteer with the section and more! See all the benefits of membership, how to join the section and how to sponsor a student at our newly redesigned website: https://comurb.org/become-a-member/

CUSS BALLOT QUESTIONS

Ballot Question #1

Do you approve the Bylaws Amendment creating the CUSS Mentorship Committee?

Yes – I approve the amendments
No – I do not approve the amendments

-Creation of a new standing committee devoted to mentorship activities, to be called the CUSS Mentorship Committee.

Description and Rationale

Over the course of the 2017-2018 year, CUSS leadership worked with the newly formed CUSS Membership Committee (Victoria Reyes (chair), Albert Fu, and Emily Molina) to solicit feedback from both section members and CUSS Council on the best ways to recruit and retain members. This was done as part of the committee's broader goal of "moving CUSS towards better reflecting the diversity of CUSS scholarship and membership." One of the key strategies identified for building such an inclusive and actively supportive section was to increase and improve the mentorship of junior scholars. Such mentorship, they argued, should build upon the successful efforts of mentorship sessions held at our last two annual meetings. These were coordinated by an ad-hoc Mentorship Committee (Chase Billingham, Prentiss Dantzler, Albert Fu, and Jonathan Wynn (chair)). There, a model was developed to pair more senior CUSS scholars with scholars at the earliest stages of their career. Pairings were made according to intellectual interest and field as well as questions of professional trajectory and life/work balance. In consultation with the ad-hoc mentorship coordinators, it was determined that institutionalizing their work through a standing committee would enable this effort to be sustainable and gain the recognition it merits within the section. In addition to this work, the new committee would identify opportunities for mentorship throughout the year, including a preconference, webinars, or workshops that support junior scholars. Thus CUSS leadership (CUSS Chair Greenberg, Chair-Elect Dwyer, CUSS Council, and the CUSS Membership Committee) elected to change the bylaws to create a new Mentorship Committee. This proposal was approved at the CUSS business meeting at the 2018 ASA annual meeting.

Proposed Amendment

"Committees: There shall be a Committee on Publications (formerly Journal Oversight Committee) to oversee the operation and functioning of the section journal, City and Community. (see Committee By-laws). The Committee will have six elected members, who serve staggered, 3-year terms. Except when an unexpected vacancy occurs, two will be elected by the section membership every year. The elected members may not concurrently serve as members of the section Council, nor be other officers of the section. (see Committee By-laws).

There shall be four award committees, consisting of three members each, appointed by the Chair and approved by the Council: (1) the Robert and Helen Lynd Award recognizing distinguished career achievement in community and urban sociology; (2) the Jane Addams Award (formerly the Park Article Award) given to authors of the best scholarly article in community and urban sociology published in the past two years; (3) the Park Award (formerly the Park Book Award) given to the author(s) of the best book published in the past two years; and (4) the CUSS Student Paper Award given to the student author of the paper the award committee regards as the best graduate student paper in community and urban sociology.

There shall be a Membership Committee to identify strategies to retain current members and recruit new members. The Membership Committee will have three members. The chair of the Membership Committee will be elected for a three-year term. The other two members will be appointed by the CUSS Section Chair with input from the CUSS Council and the chair of the Membership Committee. The two appointed members will serve a one-year term, renewable annually. The elected chair member may not concurrently serve as a member of the CUSS Council, nor be another officer of the section.

"There shall be a Mentorship Committee to promote and support fellow scholars working in areas of community and urban sociology. The Committee will primarily organize mentorship activities during the ASA's annual meeting, but also identify potential opportunities for mentorship throughout the year, which may include (but are not limited to) a preconference, webinars, or workshops that support junior scholars. The Committee will have one elected Chair, serving a three-year term. The Mentorship Committee will have a minimum of three and maximum of five members appointed by the CUSS Section Chair with input from the CUSS Council, the chair of the Mentorship Committee, and taking into account volunteers for the positions. The appointed members will serve a one-year term, renewable annually, for a maximum of three years."

If approved, effective date of the proposed amendments: September 1, 2019

Full Current Bylaws http://www.asanet.org/sites/default/files/sec_10_community_and_urban_sociology_bylaws.pdf

Ballot Question #2

Do you approve the Bylaws Amendment to enable the section to add two new awards?

Yes – I approve the amendments
No – I do not approve the amendments

Amending bylaws to enable the section to add two new awards, alternating bi-annually, bringing the total number of annual CUSS awards to five.

Description and Rationale

Given the crucial role of awards in recognizing and supporting the diversity of achievement in our field, the 2017-18 CUSS Membership Committee also proposed that the section add two new awards that extend beyond the current focus on scholarly writing, publication, and lifetime achievement. Chair Greenberg, Chair-Elect Dwyer, and the CUSS Council agreed this was an important goal and supported the proposal. Specifically, section leadership chose two new awards: one for publicly engaged scholarship and one for teaching. For the first award, it was thought this would help elevate the importance of publicly-engaged scholarship, which has long enabled community and urban sociology to reach and be informed by multiple publics, yet, as in other fields, can be hard to quantify in the merit review process and thus receives little reward. For the second, we wished to recognize the vital role of innovative and impactful pedagogy for the future of our field and wanted to be more inclusive of the contributions of those members based in colleges and universities with greater emphasis on and/or requirements for teaching. Given the ASA cap on the number of annual awards, we elected to alternate between these two awards every other year. This proposal was approved at the CUSS business meeting at the 2018 ASA annual meeting.

Proposed Amendment

There shall be four five annual award committees, consisting of three to five members each, to be appointed by the Chair and approved by the Council: (1) the Robert and Helen Lynd Award recognizing distinguished career achievement in community and urban sociology; (2) the Jane Addams Award (formerly the Park Article Award) given to authors of the best scholarly article in community and urban sociology published in the past two years; (3) the Park Award (formerly the Park Book Award) given to the author(s) of the best book published in the past two years; and (4) the CUSS Student Paper Award given to the student author of the paper the award committee regards as the best graduate student paper in community and urban sociology; and *(5) in alternating years, a) the CUSS Publicly Engaged Research Award recognizing community and urban sociologists who use their research to make significant and meaningful contributions to public debates, public policy, and/or communities, and b) an Excellence in Teaching in Community & Urban Sociology award that recognizes members who are outstanding teachers in the field.*

If approved, effective date of the proposed amendments: September 1, 2019

Full Current Bylaws http://www.asanet.org/sites/default/files/sec_10_community_and_urban_sociology_bylaws.pdf

New Publications

•**Katrin B. Anacker**, George Mason University, published 2019. "Analyzing Rates of Seriously Delinquent Mortgages in Asian Census Tracts in the United States." *Urban Affairs Review*. (2) 55. Pp. 616-638. Although race and ethnicity have been analyzed and discussed in the context of the national foreclosure crisis, there has been little work on neighborhoods in which different Asian subgroups reside, which is surprising given the relatively large demographic, economic, and social differences. Based on NSP 3 data, provided by the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD), and 2005/2009 American Community Survey (ACS) data, provided by the U.S. Bureau of the Census, this article utilizes descriptive statistics and weighted least squares (WLS) regressions to analyze rates of seriously delinquent mortgages for Census tracts in all Metropolitan Statistical Areas (MSAs), differentiating among different Asian subgroups. Findings show that neighborhoods with Hmong, Laotian, and Cambodian households had relatively high rates of seriously delinquent mortgages, whereas neighborhoods with Chinese, Japanese, and Pakistani households had relatively low rates of seriously delinquent mortgages.

•**Jan Doering**, McGill University, published: "Ethno-Racial Appeals and the Production of Political Capital: Evidence from Chicago and Toronto." *Urban Affairs Review*. Pre-published on March 6, 2019. https://doi.org/10.1177/1078087419833184. Ethno-racial appeals mobilize individuals through their social categories. Such appeals matter especially in municipal elections, where partisan cues are often absent and turnout is low. This article presents findings from an analysis of ethno-racial appeals in 914 campaign documents from the 2014 Toronto and 2015 Chicago municipal elections. It reveals that campaigns frequently target non-White and White ethnic voters through explicit appeals. These appeals do not fit into the existing framework of racial priming theory. Drawing instead on Bourdieu's theory of capital, the article conceptualizes ethno-racial appeals as attempts to produce or destroy a candidate's political capital among specific groups. Campaigns do this directly by making claims about the group's purported interests or indirectly by invoking candidates' relevant cultural or social capital. Analyzing ethno-racial appeals in this way helps to comprehend the mobilization of non-Whites, illuminates the production of ethno-racial voting, and contributes to the understanding of place-based culture.

•**James R.,Elliott**, Rice University, **Elizabeth Korver-Glenn**, University of New Mexico, and **Dan Bolger**, Rice University published: 2019. "The Successive Nature of City Parks: Making and Remaking Unequal Access Over Time." *City & Community* 18(1):109-127. This study examines the historical establishment and shifting residential access to city parks over time. It begins by engaging and extending a theory of urbanization as socioenvironmental succession. It then assembles and analyzes longitudinal data on city park creation and neighborhood change in Houston from 1947 to 2015. Results reveal how socially privileged residents have long enjoyed unequal access to city parks as well as strong influence over where new ones are established. At the same time, growing minority populations have managed to gain more equitable access not by having new parks come to them so much as by moving into neighborhoods where Whites once lived. These dynamics obscure past processes and patterns of inequality while allowing newer, unexpected ones to emerge. We conclude with a discussion of what these findings imply for understanding not just unequal access to city parks but broader processes of urbanization.

•**Amin Ghaziani**, University of British Columbia, authored the lead essay for a special symposium on "Queer Urbanisms" that was published in the new issue of *City & Community* (18:1). The symposium features replies by Theo Greene, Petra Doan, Japonica Brown-Saracino, and Héctor Carrillo. The entire symposium is available for free/open access here: https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/journal/15406040. Ghaziani, with **Deirdre Oakley**, Georgia State University, also produced a video to correspond to his lead essay on cultural archipelagos. The video is available on the journal's webpage and also on Vimeo here: https://vimeo.com/328053770.

•**Dana Kornberg**, University of Michigan, published 2019. "Garbage as fuel: pursuing incineration to counter stigma in postcolonial urban India." *Local Environment*, 24:1, 1-17, DOI: 10.1080/13549839.2018.1545752. This paper explains why local leaders may adopt and promote forms of urban environmentalism that privilege aesthetic and class-based concerns, displacing environmentalisms of the poor that promote more socially just and sustainable practices. Presenting a case study from Delhi, India, I ask why centralized and mechanized approaches to garbage services, which included incineration or "waste-to-energy," were promoted over manual recycling systems despite their

unproven efficacy and significant expense. I argue that Indian leaders saw incineration as a mechanism for decontaminating garbage, and by association, destigmatizing the city's reputation. Transforming a chaotic cluster of materials – garbage – into a singular object for incineration – fuel – allowed Indian urban bureaucrats and managers, who tend to be upper-caste men, to claim and profit from materials that are recycled by lower-caste and Muslim informal workers. I analyze ethnographic and documentary evidence and find that these motivations became particularly legible during the 2010 Commonwealth Games in Delhi, when postcolonial desires for international recognition were made explicit.

•**Rahim Kurwa**, University of Illinois, Chicago published 2019. "Building the Digitally Gated Community: The Case of Next-door." *Surveillance & Society* 17 (1/2): 111-17. https://ojs.library.queensu.ca / index.php/surveillance-and-society/index. The neighborhood is a historic and contemporary site of the assertion of white racial and economic domination, particularly over Black people. Although there is strong evidence that whites continue to prefer racially segregated neighborhoods, fifty years of fair housing jurisprudence has made it more difficult to openly bar non-white residents. Among the many strategies used to protect white domination of residential space is the coordinated surveil lance and policing of non -white people. In this paper, I show how Nextdoor, a neighborhood-based social network, has become an important platform for the surveillance and policing of race in residential space, enabling the creation of what I call digitally gated communities. After situating the application in its historical and theoretical context, I use examples drawn from public re

Publications, p.10

CUSS Mentorship Meetings at the 2019 ASA

For the 2019 ASA, CUSS will be hosting our third year of mentorship meetings. The ad hoc CUSS Mentorship Committee will organize small mentoring teams—matching grad students and junior scholars with more senior scholars around areas of interests. The teams will meet over coffee at ASA for informal, open-ended sessions to talk about a range of topics: the job market, publishing tips, career trajectories, etc. Our program in Montreal and Philadelphia was a great success, and we're happy to build on this in New York! (Remember you can vote to make the CUSS Mentorship Committee a formal elected part of our section governance by voting yes on the proposed bylaws amendment to create the committee. The ASA election runs until the end of May.)

If you would like to participate, please complete this brief form with your name, rank, email address, and areas of expertise by May 20th. The Mentorship Committee will play matchmaker and put mentors and mentees in contact with each other to arrange your meetings by July 1st. They'll recommend a nearby café or two. The coffee will be paid for by the section.

A final note: We recognize that section membership can be a financial burden for many. As such, we decided this year that graduate students and those in non-tenured and/or non-tenure track positions are not required to be section members to participate in the mentorship program. Of course non-section members are not on this listserv, so please spread the word, and encourage all graduate students and/or junior scholars you may know who might like to participate to sign up. For more information, please contact Albert Fu, Kutztown University, and Jonathan Wynn, University of Massachusetts at Amherst; Ad hoc CUSS Mentorship Committee.

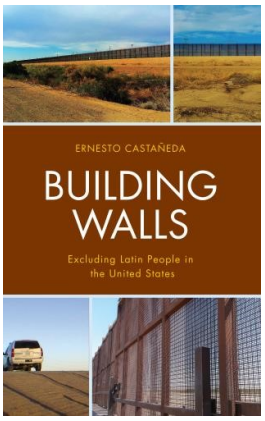
New Publications from page 9

ports about the site to illustrate how race is surveilled and policed in the contexts of gentrification and integration.

•**Robert Mark Silverman**, **Henry Louis Taylor, Jr.**, **Li Yin**, **Camden Miller**, and **Pascal Buggs**, University at Buffalo; published 2019. "Are We Still Going Through the Empty Ritual of Participation? Inner-City Residents' and Other Grassroots Stakeholders' Perceptions of Public Input and Neighborhood Revitalization." *Critical Sociology*. Pp.1-16. First published April 8.. This article revisits Arnstein's "ladder of citizen participation" focusing on inner-city residents' perceptions of public input in neighborhood revitalization projects. It draws from data collected in Buffalo, New York for a larger project that aimed to address negative externalities caused by neighborhood change. Data were collected using focus groups in neighborhoods in the early stages of revitalization. Nine focus groups took place across three neighborhoods experiencing encroachment from hospitals and universities. Data analysis was guided by standpoint theory, which focuses on amplifying the voices of groups traditionally disenfranchised from planning processes. The findings suggest that the shortcomings of public input identified by Arnstein a half century ago remain problematic. Residents continue to perceive limited access to urban planning processes and believe outcomes do not prioritize their interests. This is particularly problematic in minority, working-class neighborhoods when institutionally driven development occurs. Recommendations emphasize enhancing planners' fidelity to strategies that expand citizen control.

•**Stacy Torres**, University of California, San Francisco announces two new articles. The first is 2019. "On Elastic Ties: Distance and Intimacy in Social Relationships." *Sociological Science* 6: 235-263. DOI: 10.15195/v6.a10. https://www.sociologicalscience.com/articles-v6-10-235/. Drawing on five years of ethnographic fieldwork among older adults in New York City, I present empirical data that complement survey approaches to social isolation and push our understanding of social ties beyond weak and strong by analyzing relationships that defy binary classification. Usual survey items would describe these participants as isolated and without social support. When questioned, they minimize neighborhood relationships outside of close friends and family. But ethnographic observations of their social interactions with neighbors reveal the presence of "elastic ties." By elastic ties, I mean non-strong, nonweak relations between people who spend hours each day and share intimate details of their lives with those whom they do not consider "confidants." These findings show how people's accounts may not accurately reflect the character and structure of their social ties. Furthermore, they demonstrate how a single social tie can vary between strong and weak depending on the social situation. The second is 2018. "Aging Alone, Gossiping Together: Older Adults' Talk as Social Glue." *The Journals of Gerontology*: Series B, gby154, https://doi.org/10.1093/geronb/gby154. While older adults living alone face challenges to maintaining social ties, elders in urban areas also have unique opportunities to buffer against loneliness. Drawing on 5 years of ethnographic fieldwork among elders in New York City, this study presents empirical insights into the development of supplementary neighborhood-based support networks. This study finds that elders who lived alone, without close kin, engaged in daily gossip about others they encountered as regulars in local eateries. Despite its negative reputation, gossip helped them access social support close to home. The majority resisted formal organizations, such as churches or senior centers, and thus their interactions in public served as an important source of social involvement. In line with Gluckman's argument (1963), gossip betrayed emotional intimacy and caretaking that connected people vulnerable to isolation. My findings suggest that greater numbers of older adults will draw these alternate connections from unconventional venues such as public places.

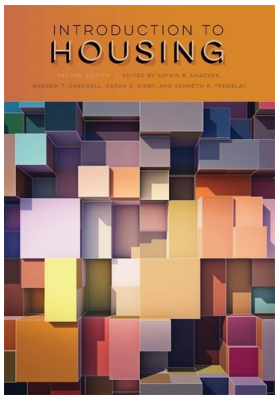
New Books



Building Walls: Excluding Latin People in the United States. 2019. Lanham, MD: Lexington.

-Ernesto Castañeda
American University

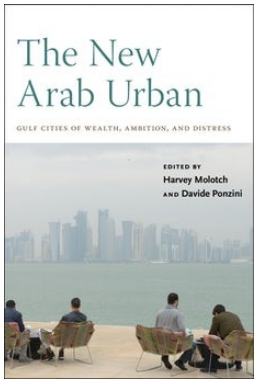
The election of Donald Trump has called attention to the border wall and anti-Mexican discourses and policies, yet these issues are not new. *Building Walls* puts the recent calls to build a border wall along the US -Mexico border into a larger social and historical context. This book describes the building of walls, symbolic and physical, between Americans and Mexicans, as well as the consequences that these walls have in the lives of immigrants and Latin communities in the United States. The book is divided into three parts: categorical thinking, anti-immigrant speech, and immigration as an experience. The sections discuss how the idea of the nation-state itself constructs borders, how political strategy and racist ideologies reinforce the idea of irreconcilable differences between whites and Latinos, and how immigrants and their families overcome their struggles to continue living in America. They analyze historical precedents, normative frameworks, divisive discourses, and contemporary daily interactions between whites and Latin individuals. It discusses the debates on how to name people of Latin American origin and the framing of immigrants as a threat and contrasts them to the experiences of migrants and border residents. *Building Walls* makes a theoretical contribution by showing how different dimensions work together to create durable inequalities between U.S. native whites, Latinos, and newcomers. It provides a sophisticated analysis and empirical description of racializing and exclusionary processes. Castañeda, Ernesto 2019. Building Walls: Excluding Latin People in the United States. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books. https://rowman.com/ISBN/9781498585651/?force=1#



Introduction to Housing. 2019. Athens: University of Georgia Press.

-Katrin B. Anacker, ed.
George Mason University
-Andrew T. Carswell
University of Georgia
-Sarah D. Kirby
North Carolina State University
-Kenneth R. Tremblay
Colorado State University

This foundational text for understanding housing, housing design, homeownership, housing policy, special topics in housing, and housing in a global context has been comprehensively revised to reflect the changed housing situation in the United States during and after the Great Recession and its subsequent movements toward recovery. The book focuses on the complexities of housing and housing-related issues, engendering an understanding of housing, its relationship to national economic factors, and housing policies. It comprises individual chapters written by housing experts who have specialization within the discipline or field, offering commentary on the physical, social, psychological, economic, and policy issues that affect the current housing landscape in the United States and abroad, while proposing solutions to its challenges.



The New Arab Urban: Gulf Cities of Wealth, Ambition, and Distress. 2019. New York: NYU Press.

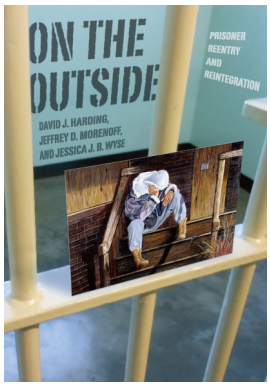
-Harvey Molotch
NYU/University of California, Santa Barbara
-Davide Ponzini
Politecnico di Milano

Thanks in part to their spectacle and authoritarian rule, cities of the Arabian Peninsula reveal contradictions of contemporary urbanization. When money is plentiful, regulation weak, and labor conditions severe, new paradigms of urbanism challenge our prior precepts of urban analysis. Somehow in the Gulf, cosmopolitan sensibilities are aligned with authoritarian rule as regimes import projects,

New Books, p.12

New Books *from page 11*

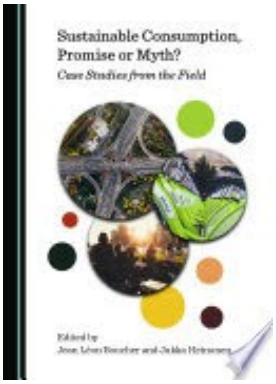
plans and virtually every segment of a human workforce. Conventional economic markets do not dominate, nor is there the kind of organic urbanism idealized by the likes of a Jane Jacobs or Henri Lefebvre. How do these elite custodians nevertheless arrange tactical alliances to protect privilege and political control? What sense can be made of their massive investment for environmental breakthrough in the midst of the world-class ecological mayhem? With five chapters written by the editors and ten others authored by informed contributors, *The New Arab Urban* expands our knowledge of what a city -- in design, regime, and quiescence -- can come to be.



On the Outside: Prisoner Reentry and Reintegration. 2019. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

-David J. Harding
University of California, Berkeley
-Jeffrey D. Morenoff
University of Michigan
-Jessica J.B. Wyse
Oregon Health Sciences University

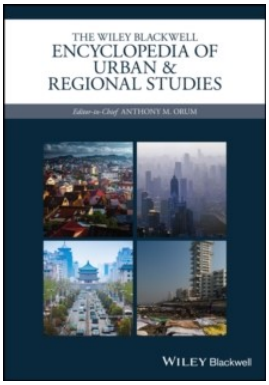
America's high incarceration rates are a well-known facet of contemporary political conversations. Mentioned far less often is what happens to the nearly 700,000 former prisoners who rejoin society each year. *On the Outside* examines the lives of 22 people—varied in race and gender but united by their time in the criminal justice system—as they pass out of the prison gates and back into society. The book takes a clear-eyed look at the challenges faced by former prisoners as they try to find work, housing, and stable communities. Standing alongside these individual portraits is a substantial quantitative study conducted by the authors that followed every state prisoner in Michigan who was released on parole in 2003 (roughly 11,000 individuals) for the next seven years, providing a comprehensive view of their post-prison education, neighborhoods, families, employment, and contact with the parole system. On the Outside delivers a powerful combination of hard data and personal narrative that shows why our country continues to struggle with the social and economic reintegration of the formerly incarcerated.



Sustainable Consumption, Promise or Myth: Case Studies from the Field. 2019. Newcastle upon Tyne, UK: Cambridge Scholars.

-Jean Léon Boucher
-Jukka Heinonen

This book brings together a number of recent case studies from the broad field of sustainable consumption. As they evaluate the promises, myths, and critiques of sustainable consumption, these essays can also be categorized into a range of different societal perspectives, from the individual to collectivities. The first chapters explore the personal consumer, discussing how individual consumptive choices relate to lifestyle and culture, and how choices are reflected in the carbon footprints of consumers and vehicles like the automobile. The ongoing phenomenon of outsourcing production and thus the emissions of cities—in more affluent countries—and the resulting "low-carbon illusion" of cities is analyzed, as is the inefficiency of density policies to mitigate these emissions. The volume then moves on to consider community-based resource sharing, environmental entrepreneurs, spillover effects and learning possibilities. Also investigated are intentional communities born of alternative economic thought, suburban neighborhoods, and questions of whether cultural activities can be considered within the field of sustainability in lower-income city outskirts. The third part of the book analyzes different social movements in sustainability, as well as the limits of policy, government regulation, and the potential for mainstreaming sustainable consumption. In each chapter, scholars explore sustainability, from the individual to the collective, in order to improve understandings of consumer lifestyles and provide critiques of the processes of societal transition toward more sustainable human-environmental life.



Wiley-Blackwell Encyclopedia of Urban and Regional Studies. 2019. Hoboken, NJ: Wiley-Blackwell.

-Anthony Orum, ed
University of Illinois, Chicago

Published in April 2019 the *Wiley Blackwell Encyclopedia of Urban and Regional Studies i*s available both in hardcopy as well as online. It consists of five volumes and approximately 3,000 pages. Over 500 scholars and authors, representing 45 different countries, contributed to the effort. It furnishes authoritative entries on the main conceptual tools used by anthropologists, sociologists, geographers, and political scientists in the study of cities and regions. Among the main concepts are those of place and space; geographical regions; the nature of power and politics in cities; urban cultures; and many others. It includes entries on the various major regions of the world, among them Europe, North America, Asia, Africa and Latin America. It also contains biographies of some of the leading urban scholars of our time, including Janet Abu-Lughod, Peter Hall, Henri Lefebvre, Doreen Massey, Neil Smith and many others. Anthony Orum served as the Editor-in-Chief of the project assisted by an editorial team of eighteen urban scholars.

CUSS will host four sessions at the 2019 ASA Annual Meeting

New Dissertation

Integration without Assimilation: Black Social Life in a Diverse Suburb. 2018

-Alan V. Grigsby
University of Cincinnati

Committee
Jeffrey Timberlake, chair
University of Cincinnati
-Erynn Masi de Casanova
University of Cincinnati
-Sarah Mayorga-Gallo
UMass, Boston

The face of cities and suburbs has changed. The majority of Americans now live in suburbs and today's suburbs are becoming more racially diverse than ever before. However, most research on this topic is limited to quantitative research designs that cannot fully ascertain the quality of race relations in this changing landscape. My research uses an ethnographic approach to investigate social life in one racially diverse suburb of Cleveland, OH: Shaker Heights. Specifically, I investigate how African Americans who occupy this space—as residents, employees, and visitors—think about, describe, and participate in social life in a diverse suburb.

After two years of ethnographic fieldwork, I conclude that, although Shaker Heights is statistically integrated, the residential spaces and social lives of black adults do not reflect this demographic reality. Moreover, black adults interpret the rare, discrete instances where racial diversity is promoted as inauthentic. Finally, my research explores connections and commonalities among the black adults living in the segregated sections of Shaker Heights. This information will help scholars better understand dynamics of race relations in a neighborhood context that is both seldom explored and growing in demographic importance.

Housing, *from page 1*

of understudied housing market stakeholders—housing developers—and their relationship to durable segregation in Houston, Texas. In particular, bracketing the top-down approach common to growth machine and urban regime theories, I prioritize a bottom-up approach, examining how everyday, small- to mid-size for-profit developers make decisions about where to develop land for residential use. I begin by situating my project within the landscape of past research on historical and contemporary housing development dynamics. Then, I provide a brief overview of recent patterns of residential development. Finally, I examine the process of development decision-making.

(g) Until July 1, 1981, this property shall not be conveyed to, owned, used or occupied by any person other than of the White or Caucasian race, except that owner's servant or servants other than of the White or Caucasian race may occupy servant houses, garage or outhouses, when residence is occupied by owner.

Figure 1. Excerpt of a racially exclusionary residential deed from the Heights neighborhood.

I find that developers evaluate prospective neighborhoods for development based on a neighborhood racial hierarchy that hinges on their perceptions of White housing consumers' racist prejudice or preferences. However, despite developers' sense that prioritizing White prejudices was the only profitable route, two developers pursued alternate strategies that emphasized alternate visions for communities of color. These alternate strategies illustrate that developers are not hamstrung by White racist prejudice but rather that they are actively creating a racially discriminatory market that has significant implications for (re)creating segregated American cities. I conclude the essay with a brief discussion of these implications.

THE (RACIST) HISTORY OF HOUSING DEVELOPMENT

Housing developers, in coordination with other elite stakeholders, municipal governments, and the federal government, have long shaped the direction of city development and growth in the U.S. through connecting investment capital to labor, raw materials, and land (Jackson 1985; Logan and Molotch 1987). Moreover, prior to the passage of fair housing legislation beginning in the late 1960s, homes and the broader development landscape were organized around explicitly racist ideas and goals that conformed to and shaped dominant ideas about the separation of and boundaries between races and classes. For example, prominent, wealthy White men such as Andrew Jackson Davis and Frederick Law Olmsted began developing the first planned communities in the 1850s. These communities were "blatantly elitist" (Jackson 1985:86) and intended only for affluent, White families. Robert Moses, the infamous "Master Builder" of New York City, combined his development goals with the power of appointed offices he held to ensure that overpasses leading to Long Island's public Jones Beach were low-hanging, thus prohibiting buses from accessing the public park (Schindler 2015). Moses's project of low-hanging overpasses was motivated by the goal of keeping poor people and people of color—disproportionate users of New York's bus transit systems—away from Jones Beach (Schindler 2015).

Besides these powerful individuals, city governments also underwrote explicitly racist housing development policies. Cities placed public housing developments in predominantly minority, inner-city neighborhoods, ensuring that neighborhoods of color were disproportionately poor (Massey and Denton 1993; Pattillo 2007). Cities also supported developers' construction of suburbs that were explicitly intended only for working- and middle-class White families. They did so by funding utility and transportation infrastructures, such as the provision of water, trash collection, sewage, roads, and highways, that made developers' racist plans and expansion possible (Jackson 1985; Logan and Molotch 1987). Further, federal policy allowed and encouraged developers to use racially restrictive covenants when developing these new subdivisions as a way to preserve the White racial homogeneity of these areas. The federal government reasoned that only homes in White areas could retain their economic value and thus protect the federal government from mortgage lending risk.

In Houston, take the case of the River Oaks neighborhood. As of this writing, River Oaks is Houston's most affluent area; homes are, in reality, mansions that often conform to colonial or Tudor architectural styles. Located on sweeping, large lots with large overhanging live oak and other mature trees and only about four miles west of downtown Houston, these homes are reserved for Houston's wealthiest residents. Indeed, Mike Hogg and Hugh Potter, two influential Houston business leaders, planned and developed the restricted River Oaks subdivision as an intentional contrast to the city's free-wheeling approach to planning, zoning, and housing development; as such, homeownership there was restricted not only in terms of land-use and architectural features but also in terms of who was allowed to purchase

homes: minorities were explicitly excluded and, by "gentlemen's agreement," so were Jews (Cook and Kaplan 1977:31). Multiple areas in Houston, including the Heights and Kashmere Gardens (see Figure 1), had similar such deed restrictions implemented by developers who built homes in White neighborhoods exclusively for White use. (see Figure 1).

Mike Hogg's elder and even more influential brother, William C. Hogg, worked behind the scenes on the River Oaks development and was deeply involved in swaying planning and civic investments in Houston. In fact, the elder Hogg proposed a racial residential zoning plan for Houston to maintain homogeneity within residential areas (Cook and Kaplan 1977; Feagin 1988). Again, such homogeneity was viewed as necessary for protecting White homeowners' economic investments: these developers and many White housing consumers (in tandem with federal policy) believed that racially mixed areas would inevitably bring about home value declines.

But in 1948, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that racially restrictive covenants and deed restrictions across the nation, including those in River Oaks, Heights, and Kashmere Gardens, were unconstitutional in its *Shelley v. Kraemer* ruling. No longer could the federal government explicitly encourage, nor could housing developers implement, racially restrictive covenants. Twenty years after *Shelley v. Kraemer*, fair housing legislation began to make its way through Congress, making housing market activity explicitly predicated on racial boundaries and racist ideas illegal.

CONTEMPORARY (RACIST?) HOUSING DEVELOPMENT DYNAMICS

Fast forward to the early years of the 21st Century. Official, governmental policies and nonprofit and for-profit development practices are no longer explicitly racist (at least not openly so); but this does not mean race is absent or unimportant. Indeed, there is a small body of research on nonprofit and community development that illustrates how structural and color-blind racism shape even these ostensibly well-intentioned development projects. For example, in his examination of the dynamics of redevelopment in New Orleans before and after Hurricane Katrina, sociologist John Arena (2012) found that Black tenant resistance to private redevelopment of St. Thomas-area public housing was quelled when tenant leaders were absorbed into the bureaucracy of a local, 'anti-racist' non-profit, which then paved the way for powerful development and business interests to demolish and rebuild the area for middle- and upper-class (White) consumption.

In my own previous research in Houston, I found that involvement in a local community development organization provided an arena for non-poor White and Latino residents and stakeholders to express ostensibly color-blind, culturally racist tropes about poor Latinos residing in the redeveloping area, providing cover and legitimacy for redevelopment goals that could harm or displace poor residents (Korver-Glenn 2014). Moreover, in a recent study of single-family housing development in Harris County (Houston), Texas, I found that there were dramatically higher numbers of new and recently majorly renovated homes in White neighborhoods relative to Black and Hispanic neighborhoods, net of neighborhood poverty and vacancy rates, housing tenure, and the total number of homes in the area. In fact, poverty interacted with local racial composition such that White neighborhoods with higher levels of poverty were more likely to have more new homes than their lower-poverty White or similar-poverty Black and Hispanic counterparts (Korver-Glenn 2019).

But despite the importance housing developers historically played in shaping key resources (homes) and the racial boundaries surrounding them and the ways racism appears to influence even non-profit development in contemporary American cities, little work has examined how for-profit housing developers make everyday decisions about where to build homes and how such development may be connected to race in contemporary urban milieus.

The stakes for answering this question are high: while most homes that are bought and sold each year were previously owned, for-profit housing developers do the work of converting land into residential use by deploying capital to fund labor and materials necessary for constructing new physical homes in which people live. And, in the post-Great Recession context, the housing development industry is booming. Across the U.S., new home construction, as measured by new single-family home starts, was up 31% over the most recent four-year period for which data are available, increasing from 648,000 new home starts in 2014 to 849,000 new home starts in 2017. During the same period, new single-family home completions were up 28%, from 620,000 (2014) to 795,000 (2017) (U.S. Census 2018). Indeed, analysts and policy makers view new home starts as a key indicator of economic health. And, since homes are the main wealth-building mechanism for Americans and newer homes have higher values than older homes (Howell and Korver-Glenn 2018), gaining access to (new) homes ensures home

Housing, p.16

Housing, *from page 15*

buyers access to economic stability and potential economic gain.
With this context in mind, I conducted a study of Houston's housing market (see Korver-Glenn 2018a, 2018b for more details on methods). In this essay, I focus specifically on the following research question: How do housing developers make their development decisions and how does decision-making contribute to a segregated urban landscape?

PLACING HOMES IN NEIGHBORHOODS

In my study, developers took one of two approaches when evaluating neighborhoods for their placement decisions. The dominant method developers used was to evaluate prospective neighborhoods through the lens of their understandings of White racial prejudice or preferences. This method meant developers chose to develop housing in White areas to satisfy prospective White consumers, or on the more rare occasions that they developed in minority areas, they did so in ways that still catered to White consumers. Making placement decisions in this White-oriented way reproduced existing neighborhood racial boundaries and hierarchy by ensuring that individual homes were concentrated within White or increasingly White areas. The second, less common, approach was to bracket such assumed White prejudices or preferences and instead to place more emphasis on alternate visions of communities that subverted neighborhood racial boundaries and hierarchy. This second approach was applied to both Black and Hispanic neighborhoods.

White-Oriented Placement Decision-Making

A White-oriented approach to development decision-making meant that developers generally assumed that Whites had money to spend on purchasing homes while minorities did not, and also assumed Whites did not want to live in minority communities (especially Black neighborhoods). They then tried to purchase land for (re) development in already-White areas or areas that they believed would eventually attract Whites, thus inscribing racism into urban space. In general, developers perceived no negative consequences, legal or otherwise, for using racial stereotypes to inform their neighborhood-oriented development decisions.

Brad, a White, middle-aged developer active in the White Heights neighborhood, provides a first illustration of how this happened among the developers in my study. He explained:

Brad: …[Northside]'s a working-class, Hispanic neighborhood—…You know, you can get a deal [on land]…. But, um, you know, the truth is… there's too much low-income to push out right now…. You can build pieces, you know? And parts. But you can't change the culture in the neighborhood, really, anymore—…I'm too conservative to build anything nice in there…. the White people will move into a Mexican neighborhood. They will not move into a Black neighborhood. Straight up, it never happens. Um, White people can assimilate with Mexicans because they generally are family-oriented—They generally are religious—…they're hard-working. …So you can relate to them. …you can generally get along with them….

EKG: …why won't White people move into a Black neighborhood?

Brad: *Because…it's too—too much of a cultural difference. Um, it's…not safe, generally. Um, they are generally, you know, single parents raising kids that are crazy—Because they're just wild animals. I'm just telling you what people—This is perception. Um, and Black people…culturally, they're really tight—And so, they're not gonna assimilate very well with… White people. White people…need to feel safe. Mexicans, on the other hand, they could move into a Black neighborhood, and…kind of stick with their own…and not really care*.

Brad and several other developers and builders made economic decisions about where to invest in land based not only on their own understandings of neighborhood racial reputation but also on their perceptions of others'—especially Whites'—understandings of neighborhood racial reputation. For them, the sure bet was to buy land and build in areas where Whites—those presumed to have the money to purchase homes—would demand: probably not in Black neighborhoods, possibly in Latino neighborhoods, and definitely in White neighborhoods. Another White developer, Jesse, explained his approach to development in Houston this way:

People don't care where they live. That's what's unique about it. People will buy anything anywhere. …They may complain about x, y and z, we're next to the train tracks; they're going to buy, build and buy next to the train tracks. Since we don't have zoning, buyers cannot be choosy. So it creates this whole different vibe, feel, whatever you want to call it, and it's like anything goes. … And when I say anything goes, there is no conscience. So that's another thing that's unique. It's oh, there's a plot of land, let me put six homes on it. We don't care about the traffic, we don't care about the sewer system, we don't care about the loss of trees, the quality of life. So yeah, anything goes. And it sucks. And you know, I'm here to make money or I'd live somewhere else.

But, later on in our interview, Jesse explained one way in which he believes his home-buying clients are 'choosy': who their neighbors will be (or, at least, who they think their neighbors will be). This particular aspect of home-buyer pickiness directly influenced Jesse's main strategy to (re)develop land: he avoided developing land in places where he believed his clients wouldn't buy specifically because of who their neighbors would be. When I asked Jesse, a White housing market professional with an all-White clientele, to describe his perceptions of Houston's Black Fifth Ward neighborhood, he replied:

I know that I would never purchase anything in Fifth Ward at this point, because I don't know it. I think it's Black. I think it's heavily populated with Hispanics and maybe some Blacks. And my clientele, the people that are going to buy my house, they're not Black or Hispanic. That's the reality. I'm not discriminating; that is the reality. People who are going to buy my house are typically White.

While Jesse said he did not "know" Fifth Ward, he did know one thing that was crucial to his development decision-making: that the neighborhood was predominantly Black and Hispanic. This detail was one that Jesse knew his all-White clientele would care about, even if it wasn't train tracks, sewers, or trees. In his view, White buyers would not purchase homes in areas they knew to be Black and/or Hispanic (though he later elaborated that a mostly Hispanic neighborhood like Northside had development potential). Thus, Jesse did not plan or attempt to develop land in Black neighborhoods such as Fifth Ward. Jesse self-identified as a leftist liberal and demonstrated awareness of and indignation towards racial inequality. Yet Jesse and Brad (who clearly situated himself on the conservative end of the political spectrum) both made placement decisions using their perceptions of White housing consumers' demand and neighborhood racial reputations as a guide (see Figure 2)

Alternate Visions of Neighborhoods and Development Placement Decision-Making

But this White-oriented approach to housing development was not inevitable. Instead, in my study, two developers—both of color—illustrated how alternate visions of race and community reputation that elevated the promise and potential of communities of color could be applied to development decisions in ways that did not prioritize White consumers' racist prejudices. Ramon and Pablo both actively developed homes in minority areas across Houston. Ramon, who began his career in the housing market as a real estate agent selling foreclosed properties in a White neighborhood, eventually became a developer as well. Pablo began his career as a structural engineer but then transitioned to managing a residential development company. Neither of these men oriented their placement decisions towards perceptions of White demand; rather, each of them emphasized minority community deservingness and profit potential when making decisions about where to build. Ramon, for example, became convinced that Latino renters, buyers, and sellers were underserviced. Unlike most other developers in my study, he rejected the White-oriented logic that neighborhood racial reputation would determine profit potential. Instead, believing that Latino communities deserved better service and that he could make more money by establishing a niche with Spanish-speaking Latino consumers, Ramon got into the development business. He began by scouring Latino communities for highly motivated home sellers—for example, those with a death in the family or who were getting a divorce—and offer them a guarantee to sell within 45 days, with no fee to be paid if he did not sell the home. Then, he began buying properties in these communities, renovating, and selling them. Eventually, he began buying land to develop in these areas, working with a local architect and real estate agent to plan, design, construct, and sell new homes. Over the years, Ramon had (re)developed and sold over 1,000 homes—almost all in Latino neighborhoods—by adopting this approach.

Figure 2. Under-Construction Homes in a predominantly White Houston Neighborhood, 2015. Photo by Elizabeth Korver-Glenn.

Pablo managed a development company somewhat larger than

Housing, p.18

Housing, *from page 17*

Ramon's outfit. Similar to Ramon, Pablo did not make placement decisions by using the White-oriented racial rubric. Rather, while aware of neighborhood racial reputations—and the negative interpretations the White-oriented racial rubric gave to Black and Hispanic communities—Pablo instead emphasized that such communities, especially those in urban Houston, were desirable for Black, Hispanic, and White first-time home buyers. During our first meeting in May 2015, in fact, as Pablo showed me around a couple of new homes he was building as part of a development in a Black Houston neighborhood, he described his approach to placing new home development:

Our strategy has always been where there's land, and strong community, and to work with the neighborhood. We buy empty land, and we don't knock on people's doors, because I think that's disrespectful. We noticed that between here and [Camden Street], it seemed like more of a neighborhood feel. And the neighborhood is welcoming.

When I asked him who was buying homes in his company's new developments, Pablo replied, "I'd say young, urban professionals, first time homebuyers, many of them moving to the neighborhood for the first time. Although I did have one couple, African American, they bought one, and they're moving back to the area." He then went on to describe the racial breakdown of the buyers who had purchased his most recently constructed homes in the area: "For these, we had an African American woman in one, then a Hispanic woman buy another, then three Hispanic men - two were from Columbia - and then one White male." Indeed, during my fieldwork, all but one of Pablo's newly constructed homes pre-sold prior to the completion of construction.

Ramon and Pablo's alternate visions of race and neighborhood reputation—that drew from uncommon understandings of Black and Hispanic individuals and neighborhoods as worthwhile, welcoming, and desirable—affected their development placement decisions. They planned and built homes in Black and Hispanic areas, contributing to local infrastructure (as when Pablo's company improved local drainage systems) and building up local housing stock at the same time they profited from these endeavors. These strategies were in contrast to the assumptions of White-oriented developers, who often believed risk overrode profit potential in minority areas.

CONCLUSION

In my study, developers made housing development decisions by reading neighborhoods through the lens of (perceived) White housing consumers. They adopted this approach because they believed that White buyers were the ones who would bring them the most profit and that these buyers would only purchase homes in (increasingly) White neighborhoods. Indeed, developers often believed that they were held captive by White prejudices and economic power and that they could not afford to transgress White expectations about homes and neighborhoods. Yet as the counter examples of Pablo and Ramon illustrate, developers do not have to conform to White-oriented expectations about housing, neighborhoods, and racial boundaries and hierarchy. Indeed, these counter-examples show how developers actively create the racist market they imagine by brokering resources that conform to White racist ideas and uphold the racial significance of neighborhood boundaries and hierarchy.

Evaluating neighborhoods and making development decisions through a White-oriented lens has obvious implications for the reproduction of racial segregation and other connected forms of inequality. First, developers make conscious decisions to cater to White buyers and choose to develop homes in White areas (or areas to which Whites are increasingly moving) because they believe White buyers view White neighborhoods as desirable and minority neighborhoods as undesirable. This decision-making process can contribute to the concentration of homes in White areas (Korver-Glenn 2019), from which buyers of color are often excluded (Korver-Glenn 2018a, 2018b). Second, concentrating homes in White areas can exacerbate the existing pattern of unequal infrastructure and amenities across White and minority communities (Bullard 1987; Emerson and Smiley 2018) by enhancing local infrastructures in White neighborhoods: in addition to building homes, developers often make improvements to existing sidewalks, drains, and streets. Third, White-oriented development decision-making can contribute to home value disparities across neighborhoods since areas with more new construction have higher home values on average than homes with less new construction (Howell and Korver-Glenn 2018).

All-in-all, these results suggest that one of the paradoxes of Houston—that of relatively affordable housing and racial diversity on the one hand and (increasing) race and class segregation on the other—is resolved in part when we consider the on-the-ground process of housing development. Houston's housing developers disproportionately concentrate new home construction in White neighborhoods (net of other potentially influential factors) and, when these placement decisions come together with other forms of racial discrimination at other stag-

es of the housing exchange process, we observe increases in urban inequality. As students of cities, let's continue to dig deeper into the paradoxes that cities like Houston present to better understand both the patterns and processes of contemporary urban transformation.

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Figure 3. Under-Construction Home in a Predominantly Black Houston Neighborhood, 2015. Photo by Elizabeth Korver-Glenn

Interviews: Activist Sociologists

Gianpaolo Baiocchi , NYU, Urban Democracy Lab

Interviewers
Kyle Galindez
University of California, Santa Cruz
Steven Schmidt
University of California, Irvine

1. *This year, ASA will be held in New York City. We're interested in hearing about how scholars in NYC are connecting their research to social justice issues. You manage NYU's Urban Democracy Lab. Could you tell us about the Lab and what kinds of work you do?*

New York City has historically been a hub of engaged scholarship, especially as it pertains to urban issues. A lot of important work has taken place at CUNY, for example, but important research and reflection has taken place at all of the New York schools. New York City feels like ground-zero for gentrification as well as ground-zero for critically understanding processes like gentrification and displacement. It is a city with a very rich history of social movements, activism, important municipal-level reforms, but also one with a very strong sense of itself as a democratic city in public discourse. Literally everyone you talk to will have an opinion on housing affordability, the Amazon deal, the state of parks facilities, the ultra-rich moving in, the funding of subways, the architecture of the new Hudson Yards development, and school admission criteria, among other things. And because this is New York, these wind up being marquee cases (Jane Jacobs v. Robert Moses, anyone?). My sense is that urban scholars in the city all wind up being quite engaged. When I was offered the possibility to come to NYU, one of the attractions was indeed to be able to be in the middle of all of this activity and leverage some of my own experience with engaged research, and engagement, more generally, to help build something interesting and worthwhile.

But to answer your question: The Urban Democracy Lab is a modest operation with big ambitions housed at the Gallatin School, an interdisciplinary school within NYU. We foster and support engaged research on urban issues within a social justice orientation, broadly construed. This means that everything we do – working groups, research, or research partnerships with community -based groups, convenings, events, all meets a sort of multiple bottom-line: it's got to be accountable to some group, it's got to be publicly meaningful, it's got to advance scholarship, and it's got to be pedagogically meaningful if there are students involved. We have a number of projects going, and at any one time, we may have postdoctoral and visiting scholars, doctoral fellows, undergraduate researchers, in residence as well as faculty from around NYU and the city in our orbit. And we have hosted a number of progressive local officials (and hopefuls) from around the world who have shared their experiences from places like Bogotá, Barcelona, Rio de Janeiro, and many others.

We have a very successful program with undergraduates, who work with social justice organizations both around the city and other locations in the US and internationally, in these limited-term research projects. We have now been running, for the third year, a year-long doctoral fellowship program for ABD students in the social sciences and humanities (at NYU) to spend a year participating in one of our projects as a sort of pre-professional experience.

Our list of partners and projects is actually quite extensive. A couple are worth mentioning. We have had a couple of on-going and very successful research partnerships with organizations like Right To The City, and Cooper Square Community Land Trust. Right To The City's last major report – Communities Over Commodities – owes to this work. Michelle O'Brien (see below), worked on this as a volunteer a couple of years back. Last year, we had a research project with Mothers On The Move and Crown Heights Tenants' Union on poor housing conditions, led by Sara Duvisac (see below), a doctoral fellow last year.

2. *How does your activist work with the UDL inform your scholarly research?*

I have, since my dissertation research in Porto Alegre, Brazil, had an engaged posture. And before that, even in undergrad at UC Berkeley, I was a campus activist.I always have a foot "out" of the academy. But my work, which is within a critical tradition, always tries to emphasize alternatives. I've worked on things like participatory budgeting, local governance reforms, and local visions of democracy. I am an alum of the Real Utopias Project of Erik Wright's, and he used to, rather schematically I suppose, divide critical scholarship that placed an emphasis on the diagnosis, understanding (and denouncement) of the world's inequalities, and scholarship that placed its emphasis on alternative arrangements and possibilities. The Urban Democracy Lab has a heavy emphasis on this

latter version, with the idea that "Lab" implies experimentation and provisional conclusions. My own experience has taught me the importance of being embedded within activist networks and establishing reflexive and democratic dialogue with those outside of the academy. I believe very firmly that there are important alternatives out there—new frameworks, policies, ideas, visions, imaginings – and that we, as scholars, should be in the business of critically dialoguing with them. We by ourselves, sequestered in our worlds, will never come up with new, emancipatory arrangements for society. But if our work and insights have any value, we should have something to contribute to those new visions.

I like to say that we are a post-Occupy institute operating in a post-Trump Era. We are in the business of working with new alternatives like those that emerged with Occupy. But our world is one of backlash and disenchantment with democracy, when naming and working with hopeful alternatives has become exceptionally important. Becky Amato, the associate director of the institute and myself are editing a book about these visions, provisionally entitled *The Cities That We Want.*

3. What sorts of things are planned for the future of the UDL?

We are very excited about a couple of new projects. First, we are investing in a new project, the Political Participation Project, or P 3 , with local activist groups on new repertoires and visions for organizing in this moment. We are working with a number of local organizations, led by immigrants and people of color, who are translating specific livelihood issues into broader political agendas that will among other things, involve the electoral process. Ned Crowley (see below) is one of the leaders of this project.

Another very exciting project we are launching intersects with the Green New Deal, bridging that set of policies into conversation with municipalist concerns and the role that unions and social movements can and should play. This is also in partnership with Daniel Aldana Cohen, and the Socio-Spatial Climate Collaborative, at UPenn. Finally, in line with environmental concerns, we are developing a partnership with the Center for a New Economy, in San Juan, Puerto Rico.

Graduate Student Activism: NYU, Urban Democracy Lab

•**Michelle Esther O'Brien**, Doctoral Candidate, NYU Department of Sociology

Having long been a social movement activist and organizer, I came to graduate school after the 2008 world financial crash. I had been an Executive Director of a coalition of New York City tenant rights organizations, after many years in HIV/AIDS and gay, lesbian, bisexual, transgender and queer (LGBTQ) organizing. The financial crisis led foundations to constrict their funding, and it became impossible to fundraise for class -contentious, non-profit staff-driven organizing. From this experience, I came into my doctoral studies to understand how capitalism and political economy shape social movement organizing, and am writing my dissertation specifically on the relationship between capitalism and NYC LGBTQ movements.

The Urban Democracy Lab has been invaluable for my research, maintaining my political integrity, and bridging the relevance of my work to ongoing social movement concerns. Community-based and movement-based research is remarkably rare at prestigious universities, and even the social movement scholarship I engage is rarely directly in any collaboration with movements.

Through the UDL, we are continually asking ourselves and each other about the questions of the political relevance of our work, our actual existing relationship to movements, how our work aids movement militants, and how our work relates to the political economy of urban life. Through collaborative research with the Right to the City Alliance, we've had concrete experience in direct movement-embedded research. I've brought the UDL's insights into my work with the NYC Trans Oral History Project, my dissertation research, and my relationship to my ongoing social movement organizing through the International Women's Strike.

Activism, p.22

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Activism, *from p. 19*

•**Sara Duvisac**, Doctoral Candidate, NYU Sociology

Since joining graduate school, I've been involved in an anti-gentrification tenants' rights group in my neighborhood, but had largely separated my activism from my academic research. For me, the challenges of bridging these two spheres is in thinking about how scholarly research can be both theoretically interesting and in conversation with the specific research needs and struggles of activists on the ground. Over the past year, I've been a part of a project at the UDL examining the politics of inadequate housing conditions in New York. Working on the project highlighted some core practices of community engaged research. First, the design of our research questions were not only informed by our scholarly interests, but also by our conversations with a number of tenant activists and practitioners. This meant that we did not just privilege academic knowledge production in the framing of our questions. Second, we integrated some of our data collection to work in tandem with the organizing needs of our partner tenant groups. In this way we tried to ensure that our research process could also have quick, tangible benefits for our partners and not just further our academic interests. Lastly, conducting community engaged research means also thinking about dissemination, and creating additional models of sharing knowledge outside of peer-review articles. Because of my involvement in tenant activism, I feel accountable to those spaces to both highlight the vast knowledge that activists produce and to ensure that our research products are useful to tenants' groups. Though my own dissertation research is in a different area, these lessons on engagement, framing, and dissemination are ones I try to bring to it.

• **Ned Crowley**
Graduate Student, New York University, Sociology

Before coming to graduate school, I had been an activist in the anti-war and justice system reform movements and worked as an organizer in the areas of labor and education. I hoped to continue to contribute to movements as a researcher but found little institutional support for politically engaged scholarship. Fortunately I encountered a community of like-minded students who shared a political analysis and commitment to engaged research and together initiated a number of collaborative projects on topics ranging from climate justice to housing equity.

The Urban Democracy Lab has been essential for providing an organizational home for these kinds of engaged research projects. For example, with Gianpaolo Baiocchi, I am a Principal Investigator for an innovative collaboration, the Political Participation Project (P3). This project aims to bring scholars and community organizers together to design research in support of movement building and civic engagement.

My dissertation research—on the macro-politics of fiscal policy—can often leave me feeling removed from the concrete problems of inequality and injustice that motivate our work in the first place. My participation in politically engaged research, especially when it "takes the lead" from activists and organizers on the front-lines, affords me a more immediate impact, a more critical and realistic view of conditions on the ground, and a richer and more diverse intellectual community. For scholars aiming to make their work more relevant, a good first step is to cultivate a community of researchers who share their political commitments and framework. From there, build bridges to activist networks and community-based organizations who can guide the development of research initiatives.