

FEAR OF BLACKNESS AND GENTRIFICATION OF BLACK AND BROWN
NEIGHBORHOODS IN CHICAGO

by

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THESIS

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Abstract

The gentrification of Black and Brown neighborhoods in Chicago is an ongoing process that deserves attention and analysis. The purpose of this scoping review was to determine the factors contributing to the gentrification of Chicago neighborhoods. The purpose included investigating if there is a fear of Blackness associated with the gentrification of Black and Brown neighborhoods. The methodology followed for the scoping review included the recommendations from Arskey & O'Malley's (1994) Scoping Studies: Towards a Methodological Framework. This methodology included using the research question to gather the relevant articles to chart, summarize, and analyze the results (Arskey & O'Malley 1994). Obtained from the results were the thematic schemes, which are space, place and location; neoliberalism; and poverty. The Implications for social workers, limitations, and recommendations are addressed and discussed.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Cities across the nation are changing to accommodate those who want to live closer to downtown neighborhoods in major cities. This process of moving to or near downtown areas is called gentrification. Gentrification, defined as “A process of neighborhood change that involves the influx of middle-class and upper-class residents into poor neighborhoods, with the accompanying renovation of the housing stock” (Calhoun, 2002 p. 35). Suburban residents’ relocation to the city does not initially appear to cause problems; however, the original urban residents are involuntarily forced to move due to varying factors that limit their ability to stay in their current neighborhood. Gentrification, on the surface, may appear to give older poverty-stricken neighborhoods a beautiful new aesthetic with new grocery stores, coffee shops, and dog parks. However, current residents do not profit from the new additions to their neighborhoods because those amenities come at a premium that current poverty-stricken Black and Brown communities cannot afford. Research shows that those impacted by gentrification are minorities, the elderly, and low-income residents (Garcia & Rúa, 2018). When gentrification occurs, displaced residents suddenly must move while watching their previous neighborhood finally flourish, without residents being able to experience the growth of their neighborhood. Gentrification is crucial to the city’s economic growth, but the current residents are left to deal with the disruption of their livelihood and neighborhoods.

Gentrification is a problem because it promotes segregation by classes, and it pushes current residents from their home communities where they have raised families and have friends. Gentrification changes nearly everything about the neighborhood for the better, but displaced residents are not able to experience what they have always wanted. Communities of color who

are displaced would benefit from the neighborhood additions such as grocery stores instead of convenience markets, new roads, beautiful parks, and boutiques. Many neighborhoods across the nation are currently experiencing gentrification. One major city that is enduring gentrification in several neighborhoods is Chicago. A Chicago Westside neighborhood, Humboldt Park, was historically a neighborhood made up of African Americans and Puerto Ricans, but now Humboldt Park is shifting towards White demographic and culture (Anderson, 2016). Another neighborhood in Chicago that is undergoing gentrification is Bronzeville. Bronzeville is a historic Black neighborhood on the south side of Chicago, but due to gentrification, the neighborhood is transitioning to resemble a neighborhood that has washed away the Black culture (Anderson, 2016). African Americans have lived on the south side of Chicago since the great migration, where southerners moved north to Chicago because Chicago had a growing Black population, jobs, sports teams, and Black businesses like the Chicago Defender (Grossman, 1989). The Chicago Defender is a newspaper, based in Chicago, which painted Chicago as a place of refuge for African Americans who were hoping to escape southern oppression (Grossman, 1989). The Chicago Defender gave hope to African Americans who were looking for opportunities to begin a new life without persecution because of their skin color. African Americans have endured a long journey of refuge in the United States and gentrification disrupts this solace. Gentrification not only displaces residents, but it also destroys the culture that Black and Brown communities have built for themselves.

The gentrification of neighborhoods that are primarily Black and Brown is crucial to investigate because gentrification is rooted in the disdain and fear of Blackness, which is cemented in the historical events of the United States. Fear does not only include the feelings of being physically frightened of a person, but can also include fearing the outcome of change,

confronting the unknown, or losing superior status in society. For example, during the Jim Crow era, segregation was maintained by racial zoning, which contributed to preserving White spaces (Godsil, 2006). Racial zoning was a way to preserve the authenticity of White spaces. Due to the preservation white spaces, Black Wallstreet was created. Therefore, African Americans in Tulsa, Oklahoma, overcame racial discrimination, slavery, and segregation to create their own success. For example, Black Wallstreet established a network of their own lawyers, surgeons, builders and a host of other professionals (Messer et al., 2018). Not only were African Americans successful entrepreneurs, but they were able to accrue wealth (Messer et al., 2018). However due to the ongoing fear of blackness, Black Wallstreet, a thriving community, was destroyed. Whites became intimidated by African Americans' economic success and their thriving community, which led to a violent disruption, which ultimately destroyed the thriving community, which African Americans had built for themselves (Messer et al., 2018). The attack on Black Wallstreet continued without any consequences or reprimands for the white community (Messer et al., 2018). The attack on this community was unwarranted and further explains the dominant groups feelings of inferiority. Therefore, "dominant groups seek to preserve their advantaged social position and view encroachments on their prerogatives by minority groups as disrupting to the existing social order" (King & Wheelock, 2007, p. 1255). For Whites to maintain their position, riots were fueled in the African American community. According to Brophy et al. (2002), the race riots were incited during the Tulsa Riots after there were accusations that an African American boy would be lynched for assaulting a White woman (Brophy et al. 2002, as cited in Messer et al., 2018). Brophy et al. (2002) states that despite dismissed charges, African Americans offered protection to the young man when gunshots were fired (Brophy et al. 2002, as cited in (Messer et al., 2018). These gunshots led to a White mob destroying over thirty blocks of

Black-owned businesses and homes (Messer et al., 2018). This intimidation and fear led to the physical and economic demise of the community. This destruction of a Black-owned community demonstrated that the fear of Blackness would continue to be a hindrance to communities of color.

Discourse about the results of gentrification is an ongoing conversation for many cities across the US. However, there is a lack of discourse about the role of fear of Blackness or antiblackness in gentrification. This study seeks to understand the role, if any, fear of Blackness has concerning gentrification in Chicago. Therefore this study will identify if the fear of Blackness is apparent in the gentrification in Chicago from 1960 to the present.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

Background

Gentrification and displacement are terms that are appearing more frequently to describe the trend that many cities in the United States are experiencing. Ruth Glass first coined the term gentrification (Glass, 1964, as cited in García & Rúa, 2018). Glass defines gentrification as the process of middle-class residents leaving their current neighborhood to move to lower class neighborhoods and upgrading the land so that the property values will rise (Glass, 1964, as cited in García & Rúa, 2018). Housing and Urban Development (HUD) define gentrification, similar to Glass. The US HUD (1979) says that the neighborhood experiences reinvestment alongside the influx of upper-class people (US HUD, 1979, as cited in Freeman, L. 2009). According to Ley, (1992); and Marcuse, (1985), direct displacement is the process of increasing rents or taxes that forces the residents to move (as cited in García & Rúa, 2018). These terms describe the phenomenon that many neighborhoods across the US are experiencing.

White Flight and Suburbanization

A term that is important and distinct from gentrification, but related, is suburbanization. The gentrification of inner cities does not describe how inner cities became densely populated with Black and Brown neighborhoods; White flight is owed that credit. White flight describes the phenomenon where Whites began to move to suburban neighborhoods due to primarily White neighborhoods being infiltrated by people of color after segregation (Crowder & South, 2008). In other words, after segregation, the country was moving in a direction where African Americans were beginning to have the same rights as Whites, which meant African Americans began moving into quality neighborhoods. However, this shift in neighborhood demographics

resulted in Whites departing from the neighborhood. Whites began to move from integrated neighborhoods due to the unstable economy, lack of community involvement, and impoverished residents (Crowder & South, 2008). For example, in the 1960s, Black people had gained ownership of the south side of Chicago because White people left the area (Abu-Lughod, 2007).

Nevertheless, this White flight from integrated neighborhoods demonstrates that there was a lack of tolerance of Black and Brown residents moving into their neighborhoods. Research shows that the more people of color groups in a neighborhood, the increased likelihood that White residents would move from the neighborhood due to an expected decrease in home values (Crowder & South, 2008). Unfortunately, Whites moving from diversified neighborhoods, due to the growing number of people of color, demonstrated that Blackness comes with an inherent fear of a decline in neighborhood aesthetics, a decline in economic growth, and the loss of community.

Communities of color have a thought-provoking history on the occupying of space in the United States as it relates to the suburbanization. By the end of World War II, there was an overwhelming number of people living in urban communities. The Housing Act of 1949, which promoted home builders to construct homes in the suburbs which in turn prompted suburbanization and a change in the inner-city neighborhoods (National Community Reinvestment Coalition, 2019). Once White people left the inner city to move to new construction homes in the suburbs, the downtown areas of major cities across the US became populated with impoverished people of color (National Community Reinvestment Coalition, 2019). In major cities around the US, there were plans to eradicate the areas that have become populated with impoverished people of color. Cities developed ousting programs such as the “Negro Removal” in Chicago, the “Mexican Removal” in Los Angeles, and the “Puerto Rican”

removal in New York City to create space in crowded and congested people of color filled areas across the nation with public housing (Abu-Lughod, 2007, p. 70). This process was titled the 1949 Urban Development Act (Abu-Lughod, 2007). When investors do not invest and empower impoverished neighborhoods, like the lender does when they want to gentrify, it further demonstrates that lack of value in the presence of Black and Brown communities. Not only is it a lack of value from real estate agents, but leaders in the community don't hold their neighborhoods in high esteem. When White people label African Americans as 'Negro,' while other people of color are addressed as the nation they arrived from, also demonstrates the lack of respect and value of African Americans and that they are a destitute financial and aesthetic hindrance to the community's ability to thrive. Huq & Harwood (2019), state that real investors are elaborate in their quest to obtain real estate in areas they want to gentrify by engaging in negotiations with neighborhood aldermen's and other key players in neighborhood development to sway their interests.

Community

After suburbanization African Americans established dynamic neighborhoods where they were able to create metropolitan areas throughout the US that catered to their political, economic, and cultural needs. These dynamic areas, specific to the African American culture, demonstrate their continued progress in the United States. African Americans began to exercise their voting privileges, which benefited their political stance and their ability to serve. According to Boyd (2015), African Americans began to encourage their community to vote, which, in turn, led to African Americans being able to gain political positions, which ultimately benefited their neighborhood. Economically, African Americans began to create services, products, and jobs that members of their community could benefit from (Boyd, 2015). Not only does this

entrepreneurship benefit the community, but it creates a sense of ownership that makes community members proud. Not only were African Americans able to create economic wealth and political power, but they were also able to create a host of entertainment venues, and numerous places of worship (Boyd, 2015). This creation of entertainment spaces made the neighborhood vibrant and contributed to the African American aesthetic. Therefore, when the dynamics of neighborhoods change, so does the progress and culture of that neighborhood. This change further taints the authenticity of the neighborhood.

Current Trends

The impact of gentrifying Black and Brown communities is not without notice. The National Committee Reinvestment Coalition reports nationally between the years 2000 and 2013, displacement of over 100,000 African Americans and a displacement of over 24,000 Hispanic populations (National Community Reinvestment Coalition, 2019). Cities with the highest number of African Americans that are displaced were Washington D.C. with over 22,000 African Americans displaced in 33 gentrified neighborhoods, New York City with over 14,000 displaced African Americans in 26 gentrified tracks, and Philadelphia with over 11,000 displaced African Americans in 16 gentrified tracks (National Community Reinvestment Coalition, 2019). The cities with the highest displacement of Hispanics are New York City with 4,500 displaced Hispanics in nine gentrified tracks, Los Angeles with over 3,800 displaced Hispanics in eight gentrified tracks, and Houston with over 2,000 Hispanics displaced in five gentrified tracks (National Community Reinvestment Coalition, 2019). The people who are displaced do not vanish. However, instead, they are forced to move outside of the city due to the lack of affordable housing and a lack of rapport with new business owners (Ramas, 2018). Lack of rapport from business owners can create an unwelcoming environment and a lack of connections

with residents. Not only do the demographics of the neighborhood change, but there is also a cultural shift. Communities that experience gentrification often become trendy neighborhoods with further marginalization and diminishment of people of color culture (Ramas, 2018). This oblivious diminishment further hegemonizes Black and Brown communities.

Outcomes of Gentrification

While residents can enjoy the new amenities of their neighborhood, gentrification can lead to a sterile community without any historic charm and a loss of residents. However, some cities have gentrified without the displacement of residents. According to Tol (2019), the 22 neighborhoods that experienced gentrification in Minneapolis, only one neighborhood experienced a loss of residents. On the other hand, in many neighborhoods that experience gentrification, the residents feel as if they do not belong. According to Garcia & Rúa (2018), after interviewing elderly residents in a recently gentrified neighborhood in Chicago, residents experience a loss of their community, which is composed of loss of local businesses and specific services that were for their community. As Tol (2019) pointed out, gentrification can occur without the loss of residents, however, just because residents have not left at the time of the study, does not mean that residents will not eventually leave if residents are not welcomed in their neighborhood or feel detached from the community. While gentrification can bring new amenities and new people to an area, developers should work towards catering to the current residents by including current residents' thoughts and ideas in the changes of their neighborhoods, so that their needs are validated. In a discourse analysis with seventh graders from a gentrifying Puerto Rican and African American neighborhood in Chicago, students do not believe the additions to their community are for current residents (Tucker-Raymond & Rosario, 2017). In the Tucker-Raymond & Rosario (2017) study, a student stated the following:

I think the Puerto Ricans are complaining because even though the Whites get to move wherever they want, I think they're complaining because they're doing um, what's that called when they're overpricing stuff and they put it in our neighborhoods so we can't afford it? Like the boutiques that they got and stuff and we can't afford some of that stuff? And they're putting the condos in our neighborhood, we know that's not for us, that's for the White people because we can't afford it. (p.52)

The student is saying that adding expensive things to the neighborhood is intentional since residents cannot afford the new amenities which are targeted towards whites. This is important because not only is the outcome of gentrification physical, but it is also mental. If a neighborhood is to be gentrified, current residents and business owners should have incentives to keep the local businesses open so that their customers can continue to serve establishments. Gentrification does not allow for Black and Brown communities to establish stability within their community. These same communities would benefit from housing, business, and education grants to make amends with the community.

Aside from residents feeling like a newcomer in their neighborhood, gentrification can lead to the diversity of communities. According to the study by Freeman (2009), gentrification, based on specific definitions of gentrification, does not decrease neighborhood diversity. However, this study found that diversity based on education increased in 1970, but began to decline after 1980 (Freeman, 2009). Pertaining to race, how does diversity compare? In the same study, racial diversity increased in neighborhoods that experienced gentrification (Freeman, 2009). This racial diversity that has occurred after gentrification does lead to less segregation of recently gentrified neighborhoods. However, this study does not explore how long diversity lasts and if displacement occurs at a later time. If current residents feel like strangers and unwelcome

in their neighborhood, how long would it take for these residents to leave, in turn, changing the neighborhood from diverse to uniform? If major companies and industries are going to come to historically Black and Brown neighborhoods, the African American and Latinos' culture, needs, and aesthetics must be implemented.

Economics

African Americans have experienced many economic shifts throughout their city living experience. During suburbanization, the economic wealth of the cities transitioned to the suburbs (National Community Reinvestment Coalition, 2019). This transition likely occurred because Whites moved to the suburbs, where they were able to distance themselves from the inner-city. In neighborhoods that are gentrifying, there is a different experience. As the neighborhood changes, boutiques and new service industries replace the neighborhoods' current local businesses (Gainza, 2017). The creation of these new service industries and boutiques prompts more opportunities for employment. However, considering current residents for opportunities to work at the new business that has moved to the neighborhood would be beneficial.

Disregard

Despite Black and Brown people being at the forefront of entertainment and news, this same community appears to be invisible and disrespected concerning their historical contributions, neighborhoods, and communities. In a study conducted by Tucker-Raymond & Rosario (2017), students of color feel that now with the addition of White people and the priority to make White people feel comfortable, the police begin to intimidate and torment the people of color. Sports venues take the place of Martin Luther King Jr.'s community in Atlanta, Georgia, and Black-owned businesses in historically Black neighborhoods like "Sweet Auburn"

are disappearing (Daniels, 2018). There is the possibility that there is a fear of advancement, which can lead to the erasure of primary historical monuments and neighborhoods.

The disregard experienced by Black and Brown communities further demonstrates the disregard towards people of color, ultimately saying that they are not valued due to the color of their skin. This lack of value is demonstrated towards people of color in many ways. For example, corporations prey on those with low-income and a lack of education to underhandedly get residents to move. For example, a Limited Liability Company (LLC) in a gentrifying neighborhood in Chicago sent notices to residents falsely claiming that the residents owed money or needed to evacuate the apartment to receive their security deposit (Huq & Harwood, 2019). This illegal tactic forced residents to move. There is a fear of the loss of economic investment that Whites will experience if there is an extensive amount of people of color living in the neighborhood. Therefore, “Whiteness then is not only a racial identity but a valuable property” (Denmead, 2019, p. 231). The value of people of color is unprofitable in relation to home values. This lack of value of people of color is known within the White population as well. Over 55% of White people in two gentrified neighborhoods believe that home prices went up because of the presence of White people (Mumm, 2017). The financial aspect of gentrification and the presence of Whiteness would explain the rise in rent. Mumm explains that “The racial fix relies on an overarching narrative of increasing value associated with White people, White space, White symbols, and White public consumption—framed against local Others” (Mumm, 2017, p. 108). People of color, especially Blacks, would benefit from collaboration with each other to create individual generational wealth within their community to build their value. If these same communities that did not have any value invested in themselves and their community, the ability for the upper-class or middle-class to gentrify would be nonexistent. Ultimately, the disregard

experienced by people of color is vital to consider because the implied lack of financial value of blacks directly relates to the ongoing gentrification of Black and Brown communities.

Fear of Blackness

White people demonstrate their fear of Blackness in many ways that further oppress and marginalize people of color, especially African Americans, which stems from the U.S unaddressed toxic relationship with African Americans. People of color have experienced sentiments of anti-black. Anti-black behavior or attitude is defined as “resistant or antagonistic to Black people or their values or objectives.” (Dictionary, n.d). Antiblackness has revealed itself in space, housing, education, and skin color. People of color experience the occupying of space intersecting with other experienced injustices such as housing discrimination and education discrimination.

Space

Space has become a special place where people feel comfortable. The current claiming of space has ultimately manifested by declaring ownership in spaces that are traditionally Black and Brown and removing people who are rightful in their actions but inadequate in their skin color. Space is also questioned when people of color are in spaces that are traditionally White. For example, at Yale, a prestigious university, a White student called the police on a sleeping Black student because she felt the young lady did not belong there (Griggs, 2018). In terms of the occupying of space, the student may have felt that the Black student did not belong because of the implied social economic status, education, and the look of Blackness. Calling the police on a sleeping African American student is a prime example of the fear of presumed owned space occupied by a Black body. The conflict with people of color being in spaces that are typically White, like higher institutions of learning, is that African Americans were not allowed to exist in

specific spaces due to slavery and Jim Crow laws. However, as the United States began to provide equal rights to African Americans, there was the incorporation of people of color into White spaces. Unfortunately, as previously demonstrated, the integration of races did not transition effectively, and the claiming of space has become complicated by the fear of blackness.

Education

Much like the occupation of space, people of color have experienced fear of Blackness in the education system, which attempted to limit opportunities. Narrowly experiencing freedom from slavery, African Americans began to pursue higher education. *Plessy v. Ferguson*, in 1896, privileged Whites and allowed for segregated African American schools to be under-supported and underfunded due to the diminishing or undervaluing of African American educational needs (Ramsey, n.d.). However, this segregation would not last. *Brown Vs. Board of Education* eliminated the unequal segregated schooling of African Americans (Ramsey, n.d.). After the *Brown Vs. Board of Education* decision, another change would further benefit African Americans which is the *Brown Vs. Board of Education* verdict. The verdict from *Brown Vs. Board of Education* enforced that Primarily White Institutions (PWI) begin admitting African Americans (Albritton, 2012). Allowing African Americans to attend PWIs would grant African Americans access to higher education that was adequately funded with adequate teachers and supplies. Granting African Americans the ability to attend PWIs, lead to a decrease in Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCU) enrollment from 90% to 70% (Albritton, 2012). The decision from *Brown Vs. Board of Education* allowed African Americans to begin to have the same opportunities as Whites. This step towards progress did not go without trials that African Americans had to overcome.

While there are additional educational opportunities for African Americans, there are many hardships that people of color experience. African American students face further implicit and explicit discrimination when attending PWIs, and they must maneuver through attending classes while being stereotyped and receiving microaggressions (Green, 2016). Pursuing higher education is hard independently of receiving hatred; however, students of color must deal with overt and covert hatred while excelling, pretending to be unbothered. Racism and discrimination are not easy to deal with as a college student. Students of color are less likely to address the collegiate issues with a psychological counselor (Green, 2016). Cognition is impacted when students are not able to exist in white spaces or speak about these issues.

Housing

Similar to space and education, there is a fear of blackness in the system of housing. For example, after Jim Crow laws, to maintain space, laws were created dedicated to various groups by creating zoning (Nichols, 2019). During the midcentury, African Americans lived in homes and apartments that today's standards would be condemned. Landlords did not make any repairs to homes of African Americans because there no financial reason to, but instead, the landlords would create more apartments within already declining apartments (Taylor, 2019). Once African Americans began to own their own homes, the values of these homes compared to Whites was significantly different. In urban communities during the 1960s, African American homes were valued at "\$3,400," while Whites homes valued for "8,400" (Taylor, 2019, p.31). Undervaluing the homes of African Americans further inhibits the societal success of African Americans since homeownership is thought to grant the opportunity to have political and financial power (Taylor, 2019). The United States continuously disrespected African Americans and feared for African Americans economic growth and success.

Despite the US government beginning to grant African Americans access to opportunities that will propel their living and begin to make up for the past government transgressions, the government still found ways to limit their access to housing in specific spaces. In the article, “Blacks Still Face a Red Line on Housing”, the Homeowners Loan Cooperation created redlining where African American communities were circled red to ensure that federal funding did not go to these African American communities (New York Times Editorial Board, 2008). Though the Housing Act made laws that prevented housing discrimination, these laws were not enforced, which allowed Whites to continue to be advantageous in the housing market (New York Times Editorial Board, 2008). This continued fear of Black skin further deepened African Americans’ inability to progress in society and to obtain the American dream. Despite society’s opportunities to change their anti-black response to and diminish their fear of Blackness, Whites continued to discriminate against African Americans.

Skin color

The most prevalent cause of White fear, which contributes to continued institutional racism, is skin color. In a study by Correll et al. (2011) it was found that Blacks were perceived as dangerous despite threatening cues being available (p.189). Therefore, if there are not any visible threats, the only remaining visible option is the persons’ skin color. Blackness is a weapon to those who are not Black, and people of color are being penalized for their biological composition. For example, in a study conducted by Mekawi et al. (2016) to determine if there is a fear of people of color, it was demonstrated that those who exhibit White fear are less likely to shoot those within their racial group. White fear is described as the fear of people of color (Mekawi et al. 2016). However, this can be explained as the favoritism of one’s race. Nevertheless, because White fear is coddled and protected, people of color continue to be

dismissed and demeaned because of the tint in their skin pigment (Mumm, 2017). Fear of Blackness is further promoted in the media. According to Ratliff (2018), when the media presents people of color negatively, it invokes fear which becomes cognitively engrained and causes people to display negative actions when encountering people of color. These fears, thoughts, and actions of the dominant group further stigmatize the experiences and livelihood of people of color and maintains and exuberates the fear of Blackness.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

Arskey & O'Malley's (1994) *Scoping Studies: Towards a Methodological Framework*, provides the guidelines to conduct a scoping review. A scoping review was selected for this study because it serves to answer the questions the author had about gentrification. The scoping review was selected instead of the systematic review because of the scoping review's ability to identify if there are any gaps in the literature relating to the topic of gentrification and skin color. The goal of the scoping review is to obtain a comprehensive outlook on the available literature on the selected topic (Arskey & O'Malley 1994). To obtain a comprehensive look at the existing literature, the author must follow five stages that the methodology will address to obtain a complete look at the literature. The five stages that Arskey & O'Malley (1994) utilizes for the methodology section are: 1. Research question 2. Identifying the applicable material, 3 Study Selection, 4. Charting the data, and 5. Collecting, summarizing, and reporting the results.

Research Question

The scoping review will address the below question;

- ❑ What factors are contributing to the ongoing gentrification of Black and Brown neighborhoods in Chicago?

Identifying Applicable Material

The selection of applicable material will follow the inclusion of specific terms and databases that are relevant to the research questions and will provide the literature that will address the research question. The electronic EBSCO databases that will be used are *Academic Search Complete*, *African American Historical Serials Collections*, *Age Line*, *America: History and Life with Full Text*, *Anthropology Plus*, *CINAHL (Cumulative Index of Nursing and Allied*

Health Literature) Complete, APA PsychINFO, Race Relations Abstracts, Social Work Abstracts, Education Abstracts (H.W. Wilson), ERIC, Family Studies Abstracts and Humanities Full Text (H.W. Wilson). The search databases will include articles dated from 1960-present. The author will also use ProQuest' Social Science Premium Collection. The terminology that will be used includes African Americans or Black Americans or Blacks and Gentrification and Chicago and/or Cook County and/or Chicagoland; African Americans or Black Americans or Blacks and Gentrification and Chicago and/or Cook County and/or Chicagoland African Americans or Black Americans or Black and Latinos or Hispanics or Chicanos or Latinas or Mexican and Gentrification and Chicago or Cook County or Chicagoland; anti-black or antiblackness and gentrification and Chicago or Cook County or Chicagoland; fear and gentrification and Chicago or Cook County or Chicagoland; revitalization and Black and Brown communities and Chicago or Cook County or Chicagoland. Other terminology the author will consider is Urban renewal and minority and Chicago or Cook County or Chicagoland; race and displacement and Chicago or Cook County or Chicagoland; underserved communities and eviction and Chicago or Cook County or Chicagoland; prejudice and displacement and Chicago or Cook County or Chicagoland. The types of studies included are qualitative, quantitative, reviews, and longitudinal. The author will meet with the librarian and the supervising committee to ensure the relevancy of the materials selected.

Study Selection

The scoping review is broad and will retain many articles that will need to be narrowed down based on its relevancy. The author will review all abstracts that meet the criteria. Systematic reviews have measures in place to ensure the articles selected meet the research requirements that address the research question (Arksey, & O'Malley, 2005). However, to ensure

that the scoping review meets the criteria, the author will consult with the committee members and the librarian to determine and ensure that the selected articles are in line with the criteria.

Inclusion Criteria

The author will select literature that must meet a basic criteria in order to be considered for the study. The filtered articles must be scholarly, peer reviewed, journal articles, and have the full text available. The study must be the city of Chicago or restricted to Illinois, utilize the English language, and the time frame must be from 1960-present. The articles must focus on African Americans and Latinos. Also, the articles must include the key words gentrification, displacement, revitalization, and/or urban renewal.

Charting the Data

There will be several categories that will be used to chart the findings. The information that will be documented from the articles will include the 1. Author (s), 2. Year of publication, 3. Title (remove study location), 4. Study demographics, and 5. Study type 6. Results The author will create an excel sheet to track charting data.

Collecting, Summarizing, and Reporting the Results

Based on the literature that the author found in the research, the author will construct the results section of the themes that emerged from the majority of the articles. Specific information from each individual article will also be presented in Table 1.

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS

The goal of this study was to determine if there is literature available that will answer the research question: What factors are contributing to the ongoing gentrification of Black and Brown neighborhoods in Chicago? The search criteria yielded a total of 1394 articles (See Figure 1). To examine the applicability of the articles, duplicates were removed, and abstracts were examined to narrow the search to 57 articles. Articles were narrowed depending on if the articles met the criteria and mentioned the fear of Blackness either directly or indirectly. This additional evaluation resulted in 13 articles for final inclusion in the scoping review (see Table 1). There were thirteen articles (see Table 1) related to fear of Blackness and the ongoing gentrification of Black and Brown communities in Chicago. Although all the articles did not explicitly state that there was an inherent fear of Blackness, some of the articles implied that there is a link between dark skin color and inferior expectations of worth. The search demonstrated that gentrification is an intersection of many principles, such as education, race, and class. However, the commonalities between these 13 articles related to fear of Blackness and gentrification in Chicago are space, place and location; neoliberalism; and poverty.

Space, Place, & Location

The first theme that relates to gentrification and fear of blackness in Chicago is space , place and location. The articles included in this scoping review collectively identify the importance of space, place, and location when understanding gentrification of Black and Brown neighborhoods in Chicago. As it pertains to space, place, and location, and their roles in gentrification, there are many things to consider, such as ownership, prime location, and social ties. Chicago has a history of segregated neighborhoods and the claiming of space. For example

in 1953, an African American man was physically targeted daily after neighbors realized he was an African American man living in a predominantly white area (Hirsch 1995). Physically targeting a man because of his lack of spatial ownership and belonging demonstrates the importance of space. The claiming of space has occurred throughout the years in Chicago. Currently, African Americans and Latino communities are not physically attacked; obtaining space in Chicago is calculated and claimed through outside forces. Space is obtained by advocating to local politicians and underhanded tactics to remove current residents (Betancur, 2002). This fear of Blackness is also apparent when considering the importance of location. Living in a prime location is for those of status and importance (Betancur, 2011). If communities of color live in prime locations, whites may lose their status in society. Demonstrated time and time again is the idea that people of color are not worthy and don't have the status and power to live in such desired areas such as those neighborhoods with direct proximity to Chicago's downtown. Those who benefit from gentrification gain prime location, increase in property values, and the elimination of crime (Betancur, 2011). While those who benefit from gentrification gain benefits of the location, prior residents lose their previous neighborhood where they have established relationships, cultural ties, and memories. It is implied that communities of color are not worthy of being in prime locations so they are often neglected and displaced which directly relates to gentrification.

Neoliberalism

Neoliberalism, a concept borne out in the articles including in this review, systemically contributes to gentrification of Black and Brown neighborhoods and further excludes people of color based on fear of the underhanded belief that Black skin is not fiscally worthy.

Neoliberalism "is the great unmooring of things, of long-held social relations, the disembedding

or ripping up of social bonds and social categories that we have used to apprehend modern life and modern institutions” (McCarthy & Sanya, 2014, p.982). Gentrification is related to neoliberalism because the gentrification of Black and Brown neighborhoods disturbs their social and familial ties. Modernization and privatization of prime real estate in Chicago does not include those who represent Blackness. The neoliberalism ideology favors private capitalism and globalization of major cities. According to Harris & White (2018) Neoliberalism can be defined as

An economic and political ideology at the centre of which are two propositions: that governments should not seek to intervene in the economy, because the market is an efficient and effective mechanism if left to its own devices; and that individuals should be responsible for themselves and run their own lives (p.1).

When using the above definition of neoliberalism, it is apparent that Blackness does not align with the neoliberalism aesthetic. Blackness is associated with the failures of public entities like public housing (Lipman, 2008). Public housing and other public entities do not align with the capitalist ideology of neoliberalism because of the association with the government. African Americans are excluded from the revitalization of their communities and are moved from the inner city to the outskirts and the inner city becomes marketed to the “middle income” population (Lipman, 2009). Reasons for the exclusion of people of color in revitalized communities is the minorities’ negative impact on property values and impact on education. Black and Brown communities are not financially marketable because of their limited career options which leads to the fear of declining property values (Betancur, 2002). Neoliberalism uses modernism and globalization of neighborhoods to justify the displacement that occurs in gentrifying neighborhoods.

Poverty

Within the final articles poverty appeared to be a driving factor in the gentrification and displacement of Black and Brown neighborhoods in Chicago because of the implied demographic associated with poverty. Several articles mention people of color, specifically Black and Brown communities, with poverty even after they have moved from Chicago. In a study of the stigma of race and place, it was determined that African Americans have become synonymous with poverty (Keene & Padilla, 2010). The assumption African Americans as poverty stricken, enforces stereotypes about African Americans and creates hardships for African American economic and social progression. The continuous association of Black and Brown communities with poverty fosters the idea that poverty is directly linked to Black and Brown communities, which is not always factual. The association of Black and Brown communities with poverty directly related to gentrification because when associated with poverty, it is implied that the presence of Blackness will decrease housing values. Therefore, if Black and Brown communities are impoverished, Whites will fear people of colors existence because of their financial implications. Ultimately, race and poverty are interconnected in gentrifying neighborhoods. The areas in Chicago that are gentrifying are Black and Brown communities in poverty. When considering gentrification, poverty and race have to be acknowledged because they often overlap (Betancur, 2002). For example, in Humboldt Park, which is a Puerto Rican neighborhood, white people believed that this area would be inhabited with Puerto Ricans, crime, poverty and endangerment (Mumm, 2016). This association of poverty and race suggest that there is a relationship between the two. Blackness is a demographic characteristic and what associated with Blackness determines whether whites want to live in those areas. Poverty is

related to the fear of blackness and gentrification because of the negative implied meanings associated with people of color.

Fear of Blackness

The fear of Blackness can reveal itself in several ways that encourage the gentrification and displacement of communities of color. First, America is a capitalist economy, where race and financial value are interconnected. Capitalism works best when the concept of white space, white aesthetics, and overall whiteness is directly linked to increased real estate values (Mumm, 2017). In turn, if whiteness is directly linked to financial value, then there will be the ingrained fear that Blackness is directly linked to worthlessness. If Black lives are worthless financially, whites and others who desire high real-estate values, will fear Blackness. Secondly, Blackness is often associated with negative characteristics. In their article Wilson et al. (2004), “Pilsen, a Mexican Neighborhood in Chicago”, was often associated with “crime,” “ghetto,” and “gritty.” Negative associations of these traits to communities of color further enforces the stereotypes and limits progression of the ideology of the worth of communities of color. Lastly, in reference to neoliberalism, privatizing space is highly related to whiteness and what is inherently “good” and public entities are related to Blackness being inherently “bad” (Lipman 2008; Haymes 1995, as cited in Lipman 2008). Privatizing Black spaces to make them “good” cements the ideas that Blackness is to be feared. This same fear of Blackness can come from whites and other people of color. Asians and Hispanics prefer to have whites as neighbors, if whites are not an option, they would rather their neighbors be a similar ethnicity to their own (Hwang & Sampson, 2014). According to Krysan et al. 2009; Lewis, Emerson, and Klineberg 2011, studies show that when choosing where to live, whites would prefer not to live by Blacks and Latinos (as cited in Hwang & Sampson, 2014). The U.S has a turbulent history with people of color with the U.S

contributing substandard remedies for their wrongdoings. Because of this unmediated history of Blackness in the U.S, this fear of Blackness has been further corroborated at the detriment of people of color, mostly African Americans. Not only has the fear of Blackness permeated whites, but people of color as well.

CHAPTER FIVE: DISCUSSION

The gentrification of Black and Brown communities in Chicago happens for multiple reasons, such as the importance of location, neoliberalism, and impoverished residents. These three themes have an underlying ideology of the fear of Blackness and how Blackness translates diminishing financial value and worth. It is apparent that the fear of Blackness, concerning gentrification, is not intentional, but rather calculated and deliberate. Gentrification being a deceptive process, was demonstrated in several instances. The underhanded nature of gentrification further promotes stigmas and stereotypes, whether overt or implied. Ultimately, the stereotypical beliefs, about Blackness, impact communities of color and their ability to maintain space and ownership in their neighborhoods. The beliefs further marginalize communities of color and limit their ability to have a role in the advancing of their communities.

This scoping review illustrates that the needs and well-being of these communities that are gentrified are not considered or valued. The majority would benefit from a change in perspective and thought regarding African Americans and other people of color such as Puerto Ricans and Mexicans. Location, aesthetics, and privatization are essential in neoliberalism and efforts to gentrify neighborhoods. Gentrifiers are seeking for a particular aesthetic, such as modernity, which Black and Brown communities do not fit. Not only does the majority devalue the worth of African Americans, but so do other people of color, which shows that there is a hierarchy of value that directly relates to race, with African Americans at the bottom of the list. For gentrification to be properly addressed, the ideology and perception of communities of color, especially African Americans, need to shift to a more accepting view.

While identifying relevant articles to include in the review, some topics were not explicitly stated. For example in articles about gentrification, there were no articles that openly stated there was a fear of Blackness or antiblackness. Instead, the conversation centered around the implications of communities of color being in the globalization of neighborhoods. There was limited discourse regarding white people feeling uncomfortable when Black or Brown people are around, but the conversation centered on the financial gain from whiteness in neighborhoods.

Due to the nature of displacement associated with gentrification, there are some recommendations for all are involved. First, community members should ensure civic action through voting in local elections and running for office, like the alderman, and participating in community town halls or meetings. If the decision-makers come from the community, there could be fewer opportunities for investors to infiltrate their communities. Next, if globalization is an option for community leaders, these leaders should involve the community. The involvement of the community can include providing opportunities and incentives for residents to build in their areas for example, small business grants, mentorship, reduction in lot prices and so on. In order for these opportunities to yield change, they have to be realistic and attainable. Lastly, there has to a mindset shift. To have a different perception about communities of color, there has to be engagement with these communities to bridge the gap. The leadership of the United States has to denounce racist actions and promote cultural equity, or else, racist thoughts and rhetoric will continue.

Implications for Social Work

Social workers play a vital role in the gentrification of neighborhoods and the displacement of residents. Social workers advocate for their clients on the micro, mezzo and macro levels. On the micro level, social workers directly engage with those clients who are

displaced. They can provide housing and transportation resources. They can provide clients with counseling to discuss their thoughts on stress, being displaced and losing their home, friends and culture. On the mezzo level, social workers can work with schools in these gentrifying areas to advocate on their behalf to ensure these schools do not close and that the students can continue their education. Social workers can collaborate to ensure the reinvestment in communities that are marginalized. On the macro level, social workers can create programs to enrich communities. Also, macro level social workers can specifically advocate and work to create bills and laws to denounce systemic racism and create equity within housing authorities. Ultimately, all levels of social workers can advocate for their clients on each level.

Limitations

There were several limitations to the implementation of this scoping review due to the timeline. Due to the time constraints, there was an inability to dive into the process of investors lobbying to local politicians to advocate for the ability to gentrify neighborhoods. Investor advocacy would be an important topic to explore further and can show the process of gentrifying neighborhoods and the role elected officials have in the gentrification process. Other limitations include the inclusion of grey literature. The inclusion of grey literature could possibly have included more discourse about the fear of Blackness from all demographics. Grey literature could have also revealed the impact of the fear of Blackness. Lastly, the search terminology and the databases were limiters in the review. Databases were chosen based on the availability of databases and recommendations. Although the terminology included the Chicagoland area, there were not many articles that addressed the suburban areas of Chicago.

Recommendations

Future research about the role of race and racial hues in gentrification would benefit from future research. When discussing the role of race, it would be beneficial to address the impact and discourses of all communities of color, including Indians, Turkish, and so forth. These recommendations include using primary data to determine the significance of fear of Blackness as it relates to having communities of color as neighbors. Other recommendations include having a wide range of databases and utilizing grey literature.

Figure 1
Charting The data.

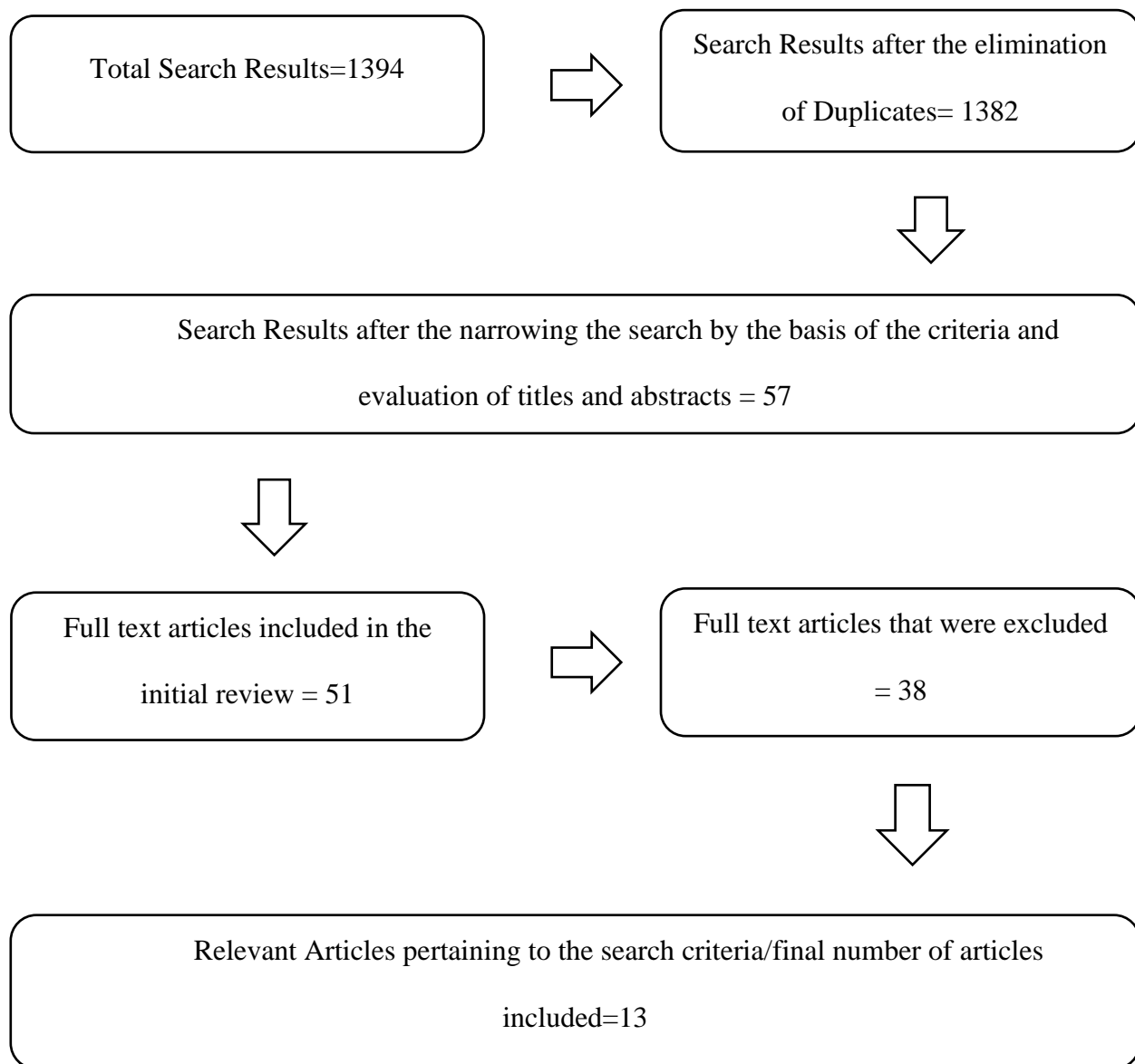


Table 1
Research Results

Author (s)	Year	Title	Demographics	Study Type	Results
Berrey, E.C.	2005	Divided over diversity: Political discourse in a Chicago neighborhood	African Americans and Latinos	Qualitative Analysis	There is a difference in conversation about diversity and rights. The elite or privileged can use diversity to their benefit because they may or may not want diversity in their neighborhoods. The low-income use legal rights to supplement their rights to housing in particular neighborhoods. Lastly, this diversity, or lack thereof, can be indicative of the ideology behind whiteness in a neighborhood.
Betancur, J.J.	2002	The politics of gentrification: The case of west town in Chicago	Latinos	Analysis	West Towns proximity to downtown and financial potential promoted the gentrification of West Town by politicians and government officials. Due to the current residents resistance to gentrification, the battle for space became about race and economic status.
Betancur, J.J.	2011	Gentrification and Community Fabric in Chicago.	Mexicans and Puerto Ricans	Exploratory analysis/ inquiry, case study	The gentrification in Chicago impacted Mexican and Puerto Rican communities in several ways; displacement by the government and gentrifiers, destroyed community/culture, and the lack of ownership of space.
Hirsch, A.R.	1995	Massive resistance in the urban north: Trumbull park, Chicago, 1953-1966.	African American	Narrative analysis	CHA began to give more African Americans the opportunity to live in a predominately white neighborhood, which infuriated the white residents. This led to continued anti-black violence which decline over ten years. The violence began to shift from physical violence to covert discrimination.
Hwang, J &	2014	Divergent pathways of gentrification: Racial inequality and the social	African American and Hispanic	Field Surveys, social observation,	Their research showed that the neighborhoods with a majority white population have higher reinvestment into their neighborhoods compared to those with

Sampson, R.J.		order of renewal in Chicago neighborhoods		and Google street view analysis	people of color gentrification. If there is no reinvestment in a Black or Brown community, poverty continues.
Keene, D.E. & Padilla, M.B.	2010	Race, class and the stigma of place: Moving to “opportunity” in eastern Iowa.	African American	Qualitative analysis	This study showed that African Americans have become directly correlated with poverty, crime, and violence. Participants tried to distant themselves from the ideology of African American Chicagoans. This same study shows that African Americans deal with high levels of stress and health concerns.
Kern, L. & Kovesi, C.	2018	Environmental justice meets the right to stay put: Mobilising against environmental racism, gentrification, and xenophobia in Chicago’s Little Village.	Latinos	Qualitative analysis	There is an intersection between race, space, environmental justice that ultimately plays a role in gentrification of Latino neighborhoods. The collaboration of residents to resist displacement and pollution is beneficial and aides in the protection of their neighborhood.
Lipman, P.	2008	Mixed-income schools and housing: Advancing the neoliberal urban agenda.	African American	Analysis; social justice framework	Neoliberalism as a social justice framework does not support their goals of inclusivity, but rather it further divides communities. Neoliberalism is based on the globalization of neighborhoods though political power and wealth. Neoliberalism does not address the needs of the community or past community disinvestment.
Lipman, P.	2009	The cultural politics of mixed-income schools and housing: A racialized discourse of displacement, exclusion, and control.	African American	Multidisciplinary Analysis	Creating mixed income schools and housing comes after current residents are ignored and neighborhoods are disinvested. After the disinvestment the neighborhoods are deemed incompetent and there is the need to invest in the same neighborhoods and schools and market these same areas to others or whites, while displacing current problematic residents.

McCarthy, C. & Sanya, B.N.	2014	The new iconography of the global city: Displacement and the residues of culture in Chicago.	African American	Analysis	Politics and policies impact the fabric of culture in the city of Chicago. Instead of investing in the culture of the city, the focus is globalization. which separates African Americans from their cultural ties in the City.
Mumm, J.	2016	Gentrification in Color and Time: White and Puerto Rican Racial Histories at Work in Humboldt Park.	Puerto Ricans	Qualitative: Discourse analysis data analysis	Over 50% of whites and nonwhites believe that the presence of whites cause displacement in Humboldt park. The history of Chicago and race plays a role in gentrification and their interactions when newcomers arrive.
Mumm, J.	2017	The racial fix: White currency in the gentrification of Black and Latino Chicago.	Mexicans and Puerto Ricans	Qualitative: Discourse analysis	Studies show that whiteness equals an increase in property values and housing prices. Newcomers used key words to negatively discuss people of color residents.
Wilson, D., Wouters, J. & Grammenos, D.	2004	Successful protect-community discourse: Spatiaslity and politics in Chicago's Pilsen neighborhood.	Mexican American	Discourse analysis	The discourse activism by community led groups has slowed the gentrification of this Mexican neighborhood.

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