Urban Displacement, Stress, and Wellbeing in Historically Black Urban Neighborhoods: A Case Study

Maxine K. Wright

A thesis

submitted in partial fulfillment of the

requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

University of Washington

2023

Committee:

Jerald Herting

Kyle Crowder

Program Authorized to Offer Degree:

Sociology

University of Washington

Abstract

Urban Displacement, Stress, and Wellbeing in Historically Black Urban Neighborhoods: A Case Study

Maxine K. Wright

Chair of the Supervisory Committee:

Dr. Jerald R. Herting, Professor

Department of Sociology

Given that the majority of the US population lives in an urban area, cities have become production centers, not only for goods and services, but also for national values and norms. As the urban landscape continues to change, we must consider how these changes will impact the health and wellbeing of our most marginalized communities. In the current study, I explore the multidimensional ramifications of urban displacement (UD) for health and wellbeing in historically Black communities. Using archival video research and semi-structured interviews, I find that as community support networks are disrupted, residents experience deep feelings of loss and anger and struggle to feel like they belong in their legacy neighborhood. I extend the literature by pointing to changing perceptions of safety and security as one possible mechanism

through which individuals lose their sense of belonging and experience stress. I also find that community perpetuity is a high priority for many long-term institutions and community leaders; further, an emphasis on community perpetuity and collective action may mitigate individual feelings of loss and promote connectedness. Finally I find that the historical Blackness of the neighborhood matters deeply to legacy residents due to histories of residential and social segregation and restriction.

Introduction

Where we live matters for our health and wellbeing. It is well-documented in the sociological literature that an individual's living and working conditions, as well as their ability to access social and economic resources, are crucial to understanding their health behaviors and outcomes (Braveman et al. 2011). Further, social supports and relational networks are themselves place-based to some extent (Brody et al. 2014; Kitchen et al 2012). This begs the question–how are place-based supports and relationships associated with health and wellbeing, and what happens when that place changes unexpectedly? To explore these questions further, we must look at instances where place-based social ecosystems have been disrupted; one such instance is urban displacement.

In order to better understand how the disruption of place-based social ecosystems impacts health and well being, I aim to synthesize multiple literatures and demonstrate how urban displacement constitutes a disproportionate stressor for urban communities of color in the United States due to histories of spatial constraints. With this premise, my research examines stress and its connection to structural inequities through exploring meso-level stressors for urban communities. Both social and biosocial literatures agree that stress has a negative impact on health (Aneshensel and Mitchell 2014; Green and Darity 2010; Duru et al., 2012; Hickson et al., 2012; Schulz et al., 2012). The racial capitalist and critical geographic literatures in turn deepen our understanding of structural inequities by laying out how the socio-spatial and economic history of the US led to segregation and poor economic status for the majority of Black Americans. These structural processes led to spatial constraints, whereby Black communities were held in place and Black cultures were thus spatially informed (McKittrick 2011). Therefore, any disruption to place or

displacement theoretically represents a disproportionate stressor to Black communities. The current study operates within this theoretical framework and focuses specifically on the Black American urban population. In this project, I explore both micro- and meso-level manifestations of urban displacement processes by leveraging resident perspectives of displacement and place disruption in a qualitative case study that demonstrates how urban displacement generates stress for legacy residents of a historically Black urban neighborhood.

The literature review in the next section makes the theoretical argument that structural inequities such as segregation and their systemic nature led to the development of a positive Black sense of place, one that evolved out of necessity for community survival (McKittrick 2011; Fields and Raymond 2021). Despite deficit-based paradigms about communities of color, this positive Black sense of place and community belonging mitigated stress and acted as a protective factor for the health of Black American urban populations. In contrast, urban displacement erodes the positive Black sense of place and community belonging, therefore depleting health-sustaining social resources by disrupting both physical place and individuals' place attachment. This disruption impacts health in the following ways: 1) acting as a stressor at both the individual and community levels, which has tangible implications for mental and physical health; and 2) removing a positive Black sense of place as an ameliorating force that promotes health and mitigates stress. The current study aims to establish that a positive Black sense of place actually exists for legacy residents of historically Black urban neighborhoods and that urban displacement is negatively impacting said sense of place, thus decreasing belongingness and increasing stress. This will allow future research to explore both the qualitative and quantitative impacts of neighborhood change on residents' health and wellbeing, establishing a link from urban

displacement to stress to health outcomes. Here, I examine how urban displacement impacts a positive Black sense of place and generates stress–while eroding coping resources that mitigate stress–by examining resident experiences of displacement processes. My project challenges the deficit-based paradigm for communities of color often used by social science researchers and shows how urban displacement alters the positive features of a historically Black urban neighborhood.

Indeed, understanding how place matters in the urban context and how urban displacement impacts historically disenfranchised communities is crucial. After all, by 1920, the majority of the United States population was living in an urban area rather than a rural one (U.S. Census Bureau 2012). In the century since, cities have become production centers, not only for goods and services, but also for national values and norms**.** Harvey (2008) points out, "the question of what kind of city we want cannot be divorced from that of what kind of social ties, relationship to nature, lifestyles, technologies and aesthetic values we desire" (23). Perhaps most importantly, the socio-spatial framework of the city is a microcosm of the larger socio-spatial framework of the United States, in that place has been politicized, monetized, and implicitly racialized at the macro-, meso-, and micro-levels.

On all of these levels, "neoliberal ideology connects with geographically grounded social and cultural structures to accomplish broader economic aims" (Inwood 2015: 409). While originally neoliberalism was described as a set of doctrines regarding the appropriate framework for economic regulation, it can be more broadly understood as the effort to institutionalize "free market" doctrines through the ideological and political reorganization of capitalism in many

contexts (Agnew and Corbridge 1994; Brenner and Theodore 2002). While these struggles to consolidate neoliberal forms of power, and the problem of how said struggles are framed and interpreted, may seem like they could only take place at the macro-level, I argue that since neoliberal strategies for socio-spatial transformation are deeply dependent on context, examining these processes at the meso- and micro-levels will have invaluable insights. Brickell (2012) reminds us that the places we live are "...metaphorical gateways to geopolitical contestation that may simultaneously signify the nation, the neighborhood or just one's streets" (575).

My aim in the first half of the paper is to extend our theoretical understanding of urban displacement in communities of color by bridging racial capitalist, geographic, and sociological literatures to produce a coherent narrative of the disproportionate impact urban displacement has on these communities and put forth an argument for the unique importance of place attachment in the study of health and wellbeing. In the second half, I turn to the current study, a qualitative account of displacement, stress, and wellbeing in historically Black urban neighborhoods. The theoretical section first reviews the urban displacement and gentrification literature and touches on debates therein. Then, I offer a brief explanation of the theoretical importance of place in sociology and how place attachment matters for health and wellbeing. Next, I situate urban displacement within the social determinants of health framework and the stress process model, providing a brief overview of the association between stress, social supports, and health outcomes across the life course. Finally, I explore how urban displacement disproportionately impacts communities of color through a racial capitalist lens before turning to a description of the current project's methods, analysis, and findings.

The Urban Landscape, Displacement, and Social Capital

Before talking about urban displacement and its relationship to health, it is important to note some drivers of displacement posited in the literature and how displacement shapes the urban landscape more broadly. First, there is the clear neo-Marxist framework, since urban displacement is seen as a tool of neoliberal institutional and individual actors to perpetuate class inequities in modern cities. As David Harvey (2008) says, "a process of displacement and what I call 'accumulation by dispossession' lie at the core of urbanization under capitalism" (10). This framework is further nuanced by consideration of the racial capitalism literature, discussed later. The second branch of theory within the sociocultural frame is that of social and cultural capital. Specifically, the Bourdieusian notion of cultural capital as a means of maintaining social order and hierarchy by way of indoctrinating people into the system through norms and mores seems to be relevant here (Bourdieu 1986). Wacquant's extension, negative state social capital, speaks directly to the idea of institutional neglect resulting in displacement for marginalized communities (Wacquant 1998). However, the idea of negative state social capital is inherently in tension with the notion that urban displacement and neighborhood change may have adverse outcomes for individuals living in areas of concentrated disadvantage, since Wacquant implicitly suggests that when an area is no longer neglected by institutions and institutional actors (e.g., law enforcement, emergency medical care providers, etc.), the outcomes in the area should improve. This is why considering embodied experiences of displacement is crucial; many macro-level theories operate from a deficit-based paradigm about low-income communities of color and fail to account for the myriad ways these communities care for and enrich the lives of inhabitants.

The deficit-based paradigm may be why there are widespread debates within the urban displacement literature about the extent to which processes of urban displacement even matter. For example, Massey writes, "Compared to the continued large outflow of whites to suburbs and the well-established proclivity by white movers to avoid inner city locations, urban displacement is truly a drop in the bucket" (2002:174). In sociology, quantitative scholars point to the continuance, and in fact expansion, of high-poverty tracts and the calcification of the borders between affluence and poverty within most contemporary cities (Fischer et al. 2004; Reardon and Bischoff 2011; Solari 2012; Hwang 2015).

Though quantitative measures of urban displacement are contested and under development, there are numerous qualitative accounts that suggest displacement processes disproportionately affect racial/ethnic minoritized groups. Solari (2012) finds that the consequences of urban displacement vary across cities and regions, and a comparison of Lloyd's (2006) description of Chicago's Wicker Park and Greene's (2014) of Boystown quickly shows how the appearance and experience of urban displacement can vary even within a city. In an example of capturing the outcomes of urban displacement, Stabrowski (2014), an urban geographer, looks beyond the loss of housing to the loss of a sense of "enclave" in his ethnography of Polish immigrants in Brooklyn. This is a different definition of urban displacement's consequences, one that cannot be captured by quantitative analysis alone. However, it would be false to claim that quantitative analysis never captures the impact of urban displacement on a neighborhood space. Hwang and Sampson (2014) used Google Earth Street View to look at the actual changes in neighborhood appearances and signs of disorder over time and used that to assess neighborhood urban displacement. Still, micro-level inquiries interrogate not just the urban displacement of a

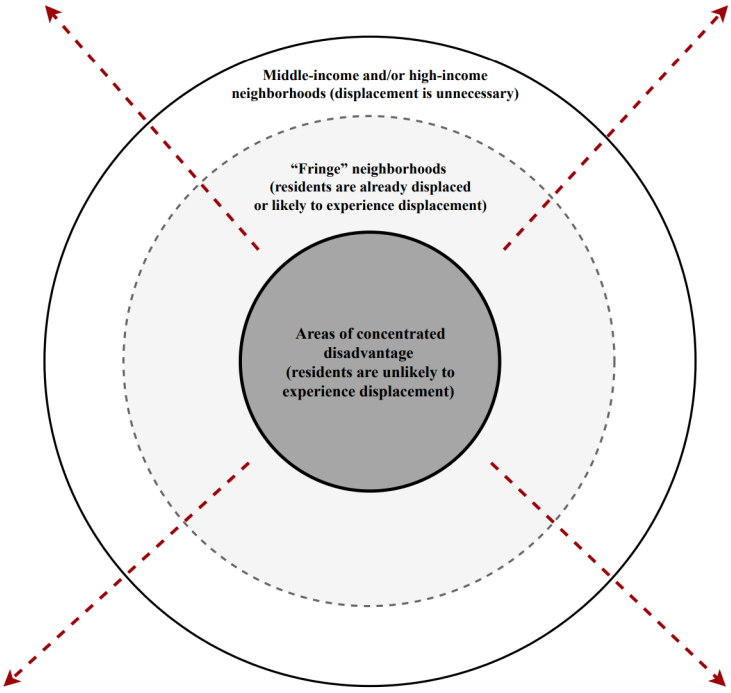
neighborhood over time, but also the neighborhood's identity, the symbolic power structures that neighborhood actors contend with, and the perceptions of residents old and new (Lloyd 2006; Greenberg 2008; Spain 1992). Brown-Saracino (2017) delves into the methodological differences, pointing out that qualitative scholars preselect neighborhoods that either are experiencing or have already experienced displacement for their projects, and thus potentially see more advanced cases of urban displacement than is seen at the mean-census-tract level included in quantitative analyses. On the other hand, quantitative work, by looking at the big picture, may capture more neighborhoods unlikely to experience displacement because they start at the city level, which can smooth over differential effects based on specific areas.

However, there is a growing body of literature that construes urban displacement as a fundamentally selective process (Hess 2018). For example, Hwang and Sampson (2014) demonstrate that close proximity to amenities such as parks and transportation increases the likelihood that a minority neighborhood will experience displacement, while they and Timberlake and Johns-Wolfe (2017) both point out that the likelihood of urban displacement is also increased by being near another neighborhood that is undergoing urban displacement. Similarly, Brown-Saracino (2017) cites

Figure 1. Conceptual model of the concentric circles of neighborhoods in the urban landscape and relative risks of displacement

multiple studies with findings that most displacement occurs in "fringe" areas that aren't perceived to be as dangerous. Based on this, I have constructed a conceptual spatial model of displacement in the urban landscape (see Figure 1 above) that represents the process of neighborhood selection in urban displacement. It is important to note that the process encapsulated in Figure 1 is not static but iterative, in the sense that the borders between the neighborhoods will shift over time as more neighborhoods attract or develop amenities and thus undergo displacement of original residents. As shown in Figure 1a (right), as displacement occurs and the areas of concentrated disadvantage within the urban landscape are increasingly constrained, original residents are forced to move out of the urban center; this forced migration is represented by the dashed red arrows in the figure. This is called the suburbanization of poverty, which has been comprehensively explored by Scott Allard in his 2017 book *Places in Need: The Changing Geography of Poverty*. Once we understand urban displacement as a selective process, we need to dive deeper into the connection between place and health in order to better understand how urban displacement acts as a disproportionate stressor for communities that have been spatially

Figure 1a. The iterative process of displacement and the suburbanization of poverty

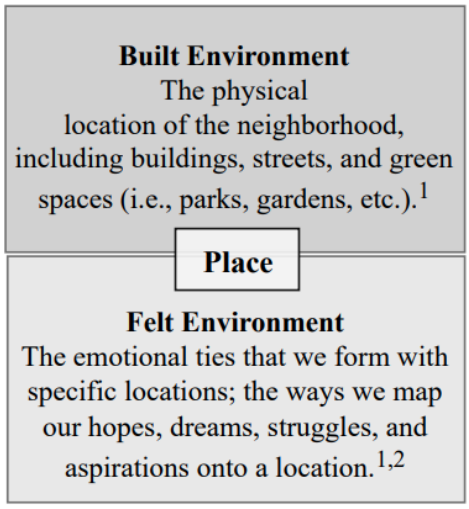


constrained. Next, I explore the sociological conception of place and how (dis)placement is associated with health.

Urban Displacement, Place, and Health

Place in Sociology. The sociological literature has long grappled with the importance of place in the study of social processes. While we may intuitively understand that places are different and unique, our research often treats them as interchangeable (i.e., census tracts). Part of this is because place itself is so difficult to define. Gieryn (2000) argues that sociologists must consider the multiscalar nature of place, captured in three main components: geographic location, material form, and investment of meaning. Put simply, place exists as the material environment and the "things" that fill said environs (e.g., people, objects, buildings) as well as the "social processes (difference, power, inequality, collective action) [that] happen *through* the material forms that we design, build, use, and protest" (Gieryn 2000: 465). Further, our definition of place must include how we feel about any given place; places are doubly constructed--they encompass not just the literal built environment, but also the ways it is interpreted, narrated, perceived, felt, understood, and imagined (Soja 1996). It is that second component, what I call the "felt environment," that helps us understand the formation of emotional bonds with a particular place, another way in which we imbue geographic and

Figure 2. Sociological conceptions of place



1. Gieryn, Thomas F. 2000. "A Space for Place in Sociology." *Annual Review of Sociology* 26(1):463–96. doi: 10.1146/annurev.soc.26.1.463.
2. Manzo, L., & Devine-Wright, P. (Eds.). (2013). Place Attachment: Advances in Theory, Methods and Applications (1st ed.). Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203757765

material formations with meaning (Flynn and Mathias 2020; Altman and Low 1992, Gupta and Ferguson 1997). These sociological conceptions of place are encapsulated in Figure 2 (above). In this way, physical place acts as the basis for social community. Places become material reminders of our own biographies: our growth, joys, fears, and triumphs. In fact, the longer people have lived in a place, the more embedded they feel, and the greater their attachment to it (Elder et al. 1996, Herting et al. 1997). It follows that *dis*placement–one example of the loss of place--must have distressing consequences for individual and collective identity, memory, and history, as well as for psychological wellbeing (Fullilove 1996), particularly for long-time, embedded inhabitants of a place. This constitutes place attachment.

Understandings of place and place attachment are especially important because they have wide-ranging implications for the health and wellbeing of both individuals and communities. We know that health is a not merely a product of an individual's personal behavior and medical care; instead, it is a phenomenon shaped largely by economic and social opportunities and the resources an individual has access to, health-related and otherwise, as well as the living and working conditions in homes and communities (Link and Phelan 1995; Braveman et al. 2011). Simply put, mental and physical health outcomes are partially determined by where an individual lives, and living in an area of concentrated disadvantage is associated with worse health overall (Sampson et al 2002; Curtis et al 2013; Galster 2010).

Yet social integration and support can mitigate the impact of living in an area of concentrated disadvantage (Levasseur et al. 2015; Jarrett, Jefferson, and Kelly 2010; Mair, Diez Roux, and Morenoff 2010). As communities are disrupted, social ties must shift and adapt if not erode

altogether. What does this mean for health and wellbeing as the face of the urban landscape changes? How might urban displacement complicate the notion of neighborhoods, concentrated disadvantage, and health? By beginning to explore these questions, I extend the neighborhood-effects and racial/ethnic health disparities literatures discussed in the next section.

Urban Displacement, the Neighborhood-Effects Health Framework, and Stress. According to Sampson (2003), there are predictable geographic patterns of health inequality that suggest neighborhoods are important health-differentiating urban environments. The "neighborhood effect" has become a model for coalescing multiscale biological, psychological, and social processes by which places embody and replicate the social conditions leading to health disparities (Curtis, 2004; Izenberg and Fullilove, 2016; Sampson, 2002). Most of the neighborhood-effects literature point to areas of concentrated disadvantage as places where both mental and physical health outcomes are negatively affected by where an individual lives (Sampson et al 2002; Curtis et al 2003; Galster 2010). Thus, it follows that as an area becomes less disadvantaged, health outcomes in that neighborhood will improve. Yet the neighborhood-effects literature has yielded mixed results (Levasseur et al. 2015; Arcaya et al. 2016; Oakes 2004; Brody et al. 2014; Finch et al. 2010), perhaps because the framework tends to focus on broad, aggregate-level factors, such as the average income or education level of a neighborhood, rather than specific contextual factors that may be more important in determining health outcomes. Another limitation of the neighborhood-effects health framework is that it does not account for the complex interactions between different contextual factors, or the fact that these factors may operate differently for different groups of people.

As mentioned above, embodied experiences of displacement can provide much-needed insights into place, place attachment, and wellbeing. Sociologists have always recognized that feeling a sense of belonging in the community where one lives is important for one's health. One of the first empirical sociological works found that less socially integrated people were more likely to die by suicide than those who were most socially integrated (Durkheim 1897). Indeed this association has been demonstrated in multiple studies over time: Acton and Malathum (2000) examined health-promoting self-care behaviors in adults and reported that an increase in the sense/ experience of belonging was associated with increased health-promoting behaviors. Similarly, Stewart et al (2009) found that income was a consistent predictor of measures of isolation and sense of belonging to the community; in the study, higher income was associated with an increase in sense of belonging and corresponding decrease in feelings of isolation.

While there have been some studies that examine the ways urban displacement and rapid neighborhood change affect the health of minoritized populations, few have studied the impact of urban displacement specifically on mental health and how these processes impact overall psychosocial wellbeing. Psychosocial wellbeing refers to levels of positive functioning, both internally and in the larger world, based on how one is connected to and interacts with others, as well as how one reflects on one's own sense of competency in various aspects of life. Gibbons and Barton (2016) and Izenberg et al (2018) found that for racial/ethnic minorities, especially Black Americans, neighborhood change increases the odds of self-rated health being reported as poor/fair. This suggests that we would likely find some sort of association between urban displacement and mental health, as well as psychosocial wellbeing. I argue that our theoretical understanding of urban displacement requires a closer look at the unique importance of place

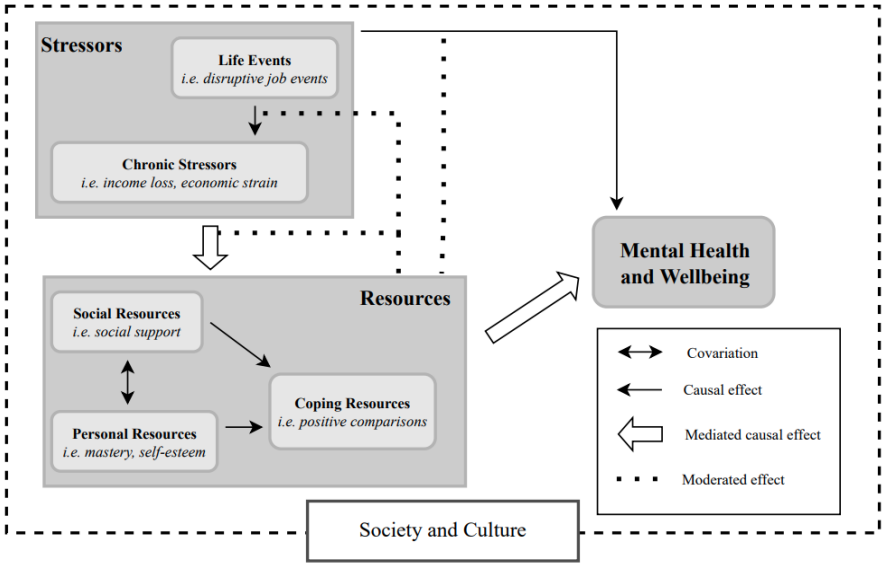
attachment in the study of health and wellbeing, particularly in communities of color. Therefore, I situate urban displacement within the stress process model to demonstrate the association between stress, social supports, and health outcomes across the life course.

Mental health and psychosocial wellbeing are incredibly significant, not only for how humans interact with each other, but also for how humans interact with their own bodies and physical health. Health literature indicates that this association between mental and somatic health might be particularly salient for people of color, especially Black Americans. Self-rated mental health and self-rated physical health are positively associated in Black Americans (Assari 2013). In addition, mental health comorbidities worsen chronic disease outcomes (Haarasilta et al 2003). Depressive symptoms are also associated with increased hypertension and systolic blood pressure in Black American women, and increased hypertension and higher levels of high sensitivity C-reactive protein (Cooper et al 2013). Essentially, there are well-documented racial/ethnic health disparities in the cumulative distress a body displays from repeated stressful experiences, both physical and psychosocial (Green and Darity 2010; Duru et al., 2012; Hickson et al., 2012; Schulz et al., 2012). Emotional and social support have been found to act as a protective factor against cumulative distress (Brody et al. 2014); ethnic group solidarity and congregation also mitigate the impacts of material disadvantage (Fagg et al. 2006). These examples of allostatic load and its mitigation are discussed in more detail below.

Clearly, it is well-established in the literature that there are mental and physical health disparities between racial/ethnic groups (Beck et al. 2014; Jackson, Knight, and Rafferty 2010; Cardoso et al. 2005; Krieger et al. 2005). Physical health disparities persist even after controlling for

socioeconomic status (SES), although Geronimus et al (2006), among others, found health disparities both across SES within racial/ethnic groups and across racial/ethnic groups within SES. Similarly, disparities in mental health are consistently observed across SES (Turner and Gil 2002; Turner, Lloyd, and Taylor 2006) and often observed across race when assessed through depressive symptom or psychological distress measures (Taylor and Turner 2002). Researchers posit that one of the reasons for the continuing differential health outcomes is the disproportionate exposure to stressors in low-SES communities and communities of color (Dressler, Oths, and Gravlee 2005; Aneshensel and Mitchell 2014). This is a logical extension of the Stress Process Model (SPM), first introduced by Pearlin et al. in 1981. The Stress Process Model, adapted in Figure 3 (right), lays out the ways that stress exposure is impacted by people's contexts, and therefore must be distributed differently across distinct contexts. These contexts are themselves shaped by the values, status groups, and norms of a given society, including SES and race (Pearlin et al. 1981; Turner and Avison 2003). For example, Sternthal, Slopen, and Williams (2011) found that the association between depressive symptoms and SES was substantially reduced after controlling for stress, suggesting that there

Figure 3. The role of individual context in the Stress Process Model (SPM)[1,2]



1. Pearlin, Leonard I., Elizabeth G. Menaghan, Morton A. Lieberman, and Joseph T. Mullan. "The Stress Process." *Journal of Health and Social Behavior* 22, no. 4 (1981): 337–56. https://doi.org/10.2307/2136676.
2. Aneshensel C.S. and Mitchell U.A. 2014. " The Stress Process: Its Origins, Evolution, and Future." In: Johnson R., Turner R., Link B. (eds) *Sociology of Mental Health*. SpringerBriefs in Sociology. Springer, Cham. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-07797-0_3

are stressors that accompany low SES that increase the experience of stress. They also found support for a graded association between the number of stressors and an increase in depressive symptoms. Similarly, Thoits (2010) draws the conclusion that differential exposure to stress is a central mechanism in generating mental health disparities based on gender, race/ethnicity, marital status, and social class. As the SPM suggests, there is a complex relationship between stress, coping resources, and overlapping, multiplicative social statuses, especially because none of our stressors occur in a vacuum–they are always in the context of our society and culture, which is inherently both historical and evolving. Williams (2018) points out the research has shown that Black Americans often have higher rates of psychological distress for several decades. Findings of higher psychological distress have persisted despite lower rates of defined psychiatric disorders among most racial/ethnic minoritized groups (Miranda et al. 2008).

Though the stress literature has spoken to how the built environment impacts experiences of stress, like the neighborhood-effects literature it has not yet fully grappled with how neighborhood change is a source of stress. By expanding the neighborhood effects health framework through inclusion of the stress process, we can understand urban displacement as a stressor that changes access to social resources, which in turn impacts coping/personal resources and thus impacts mental health and wellbeing, especially in communities of color. In the next section, I argue that urban displacement is a disproportionate stressor for communities of color due to legacies of racial capitalism and colonization in the neoliberal urban order.

Some studies suggest one of the drivers of differential racial/ethnic stress exposure is discrimination. Interpersonal discrimination has been associated with a broad range of diseases

(e.g., cancer, cardiovascular disease, diabetes) and preexisting conditions that increase the risk of disease (e.g., allostatic load, inflammation, shorter telomere length, cortisol dysregulation, and oxidative stress) that are not assessed via self-report (Lewis et al. 2015; Paradies et al. 2015). And yet, as Bonilla-Silva (1997) reminds us, racism is structural and we cannot capture its impacts through sole focus on personally mediated prejudice. Increasingly, researchers across disciplines are acknowledging the importance of researching macro- and meso-level manifestations of racism, and examining structural racism as a driver of health inequities (Williams and Mohammed 2013; Gee and Ford 2011; Phelan and Link 2015). This brings us one step closer to addressing the fundamental causes of disease rather than the era-specific mechanisms, which inevitably return in new forms from one generation to the next. As we deepen our understanding of stress, discrimination, and health, it is important to consider the cumulative neurobiological effects of stress exposure, especially in the study of place and stress. The longer people are exposed to stress, the greater the physiological impacts (Offidani, Tomba, and Linder 2013; Jones et al. 2019). In the same vein, research indicates that the longer a person lives in a given place, the more attached/embedded they are (Gilleard, Hyde, and Higgs 2007; Lebrusán and Gómez 2022). Indeed, the aging literature is beginning to focus on displacement and its impact on older adults' desire to age in place (Rúa 2017; García and Rúa 2018; Versey et al. 2019; Croff, Hedmann, and Barnes 2021). Additionally, Versey (2018) points out that for Black older adults in particular, urban displacement has deleterious impacts on social ties.

In the current study, half of the interview sample is aged 65 or older, highlighting that many long-term or legacy residents of a given community are themselves older adults. Moreover, during Seattle City Council meetings and public comments, residents emphasized that urban

displacement was a threat to the right to age in place as well as the status of older adults as community builders. Taken together, these resident perspectives suggest that investigating urban displacement includes an exploration of older adult health and stress. Therefore, in the next section I explore the neurobiological impacts of stress across the life course for two reasons: 1) to emphasize the link between stress, wellbeing, and physical health outcomes; and 2) to better capture the impact of urban displacement on older adults specifically, as they are often the long-term residents of a neighborhood.

Neurobiological Effects of Stress Exposure. Stress is understood as the arousal of internal physiological responses in response to the presence of environmental threat or the absence of the ability to achieve a particular goal. Both the threat and the absence of coping resources are known as stressors, and they exceed the individual's capacity to adapt under normal circumstances (Wheaton et al. 2013; Pearlin et al. 1981; Aneshensel 1992). When an individual experiences stress, it activates parts of the brain associated with protection--fight, flight, or freeze. The brain then works to return the body to homeostasis. There are three bodily regulation systems involved: the hypothalamic-pituitary-adrenocortical (HPA) axis, the autonomic nervous system and the immune system (Wheaton et al. 2013). For racial/ethnic minoritized groups who experience structural and interpersonal discrimination, this activation can easily become chronic. In 1994, Wheaton produced a description of the 'stress universe,' where he delved into the nature of stressors along a variety of dimensions. The first such dimension was the chronicity or duration of the stressor (Aneshensel and Mitchell 2014). Lupien et al. (2009) review the literature on the effects of stress on the brain, and conclude that "...the data obtained in animals and humans suggest that chronic or repeated exposure to stress has enduring effects on the brain,

through activation of the HPA axis and the release of glucocorticoids…" (2009: 440). In addition, they describe the neurotoxicity hypothesis, which "suggests that prolonged exposure to glucocorticoids reduces the ability of neurons to resist insults, increasing the rate at which they are damaged by other toxic challenges or ordinary attrition" (2009: 441). This means that for older adults, especially those who are more likely to experience stress earlier in the life course, stress exposure has increasing costs for healthy cognitive functioning. The neurotoxicity hypothesis has much in common with discussions of weathering and allostatic load; allostatic load in particular will be addressed later. Stress exposure is a direct result of the environment one inhabits--thus, any changes to that environment will necessarily impact stress and therefore health.

Allostatic Load, Urban Displacement, and Health. The potential disproportionate impact of displacement on the emotional and physical geographies of Black communities is tied to health at every stage of the life course. Neighborhoods with high levels of socioeconomic stratification affect adolescent emotional wellbeing by shaping subjective perceptions of their neighborhood, according to Aneshensel and Sucoff (1996). This can be understood as a form of allostatic load. According to Green and Darity (2010), allostatic load is a way to capture the cumulative distress a body displays from repeated stressful experiences, both physical and psychosocial. Most studies agree that Black Americans do have a significantly higher allostatic load than most other racial/ethnic groups, particularly white Americans (Duru et al., 2012; Hickson et al., 2012; Schulz et al., 2012). Brody et al.'s (2014) findings reveal that even when poverty levels increased in a neighborhood over a period of seven years, Black Americans with high levels of emotional support did not show an increase in allostatic load, while those who received low levels of

emotional support showed a significant association between increased neighborhood poverty and allostatic load. Similarly, Fagg et al (2006) found that ethnic group solidarity and congregation may protect adolescents from the impacts of material disadvantage. How does urban displacement fit into this picture? On the one hand, lowering neighborhood poverty levels would ostensibly lower rates of allostatic load; on the other, since urban displacement would disrupt social support networks, it could potentially increase the effect of allostatic load experienced over the life course, particularly for older adults. The emotional support that mitigated allostatic load discussed by Brody et al (2014) demonstrates how a sense of belonging can act as a protective factor in communities that experience high rates of discrimination and marginalization. In a qualitative example, in his ethnography *Streets of Glory* McRoberts (2003) shows how Black churches operated as sites of healing and collective action in an urban neighborhood. These accounts point out how important social support could be to mitigate weathering and deleterious health consequences of neighborhood change, both mental and physical.

Urban Displacement, Community, and Social Support. One mechanism through which urban displacement may be associated with health is disruption of social support networks and thus an individual's level of social integration. Kitchen et al (2012) did a study of geographic variations in senses of belonging and self-rated mental health in an urban center in Ontario, Canada that revealed a strong and clear association between lower sense of belonging and lower self-perceived mental health. In that study, age (45–64) and household type (couples with children) were associated with a higher sense of belonging. There is also evidence to suggest that social network size, or the "connectedness" of an individual, is inversely related to risk

behaviors. For example, Murray et al (1995), among others, found that social support is related to smoking cessation, particularly for men. In addition, a study by McAvay, Seeman, and Rodin (1996) found that for older adults, lower levels of social network contact were predictive of decline in the health and safety domains of self-efficacy, and the absence of instrumental support was also associated with decline in the productivity, health, and transportation domains.

Weiss (1974) distinguishes between types of social support, dividing the phenomenon into subtypes that include emotional, instrumental, appraisal, and informational support. Berkman et al (2000) clarify that

> "...emotional support is most often provided by a confidant or intimate other, although less intimate ties can provide such support under circumscribed conditions. Instrumental support refers to help, aid or assistance with tangible needs such as getting groceries, getting to appointments, phoning, cooking, cleaning or paying bills...Appraisal support, often defined as the third type of support, relates to help in decision-making, giving appropriate feedback, or help deciding which course of action to take. Informational support is related to the provision of advice or information in the service of particular needs." (Berkman et al 2000, p. 848)

Per Stewart et al (2009), income is "a consistent predictor of measures of isolation and sense of belonging to the community. Lower-income people experienced greater isolation and a lower sense of belonging than did higher-income people. Poverty shaped low-income people's perceptions and experiences of stigmatization and isolation." (Stewart et al 2009: 173). This

suggests that lower sense of belonging as a result of poverty may be exacerbated by displacement, and lead to worse health outcomes. In contrast, Acton and Malathum (2000) examined health-promoting self-care behaviors in adults and reported that an increase in the sense/ experience of belonging was associated with increased health-promoting behaviors.

Asante and Castillo (2018) found strong, positive correlations between perceived social support and self-rated physical and mental health for a sample of older adults in Utah. The findings suggested that perceived social support might be relatively more important to the health and mental well- being of older adults than social connectedness, underscoring the relative importance older adults attach to quality rather than quantity of social ties. This relationship between social integration and health may be even more important for older African American adults. Deuster, Kim-Dorner, Remaley, and Poth's (2011) study found that social support is highly related to hardiness and lower rates of weathering in African Americans. Although very few studies have looked at the relationship between social integration and health in older Black Americans, some have looked at other ethnic populations and have findings that demonstrate support for the notion that the connection between social integration and health is salient for older adults of color. Jeon et al (2016) looked at social support and perceived general health among older Koreans at high risk of depression. Their findings suggested that social networks and social support among older adults with depression played a key role in their perceived health. Similarly, Krause and Bastida (2011), investigated health and belonging in older Mexican Americans through church-based social relationships, and found that "older Mexican Americans who feel they belong in their congregation tend to rate their health more favorably than those who feel less tightly integrated…Moreover, 71 percent of this effect may be attributed

to the feelings of personal control that are fostered by a greater sense of belonging in the congregation" (Krause and Bastida 2011: 406). Keyes et al (2000) examined social support and quality of life among Missourian older adults; their findings " indicated that visits with friends or relatives, having close friends for emotional support, and the perception of help being available if sick or disabled were associated with better health-related quality of life (HRQOL) and particularly with better mental health among older adults...Increased levels of perceived social support generally corresponded to fewer reported mentally unhealthy days and more vitality days" (Keyes et al 2000: 1). Most notably in their findings, "Living alone was not associated with worse HRQOL, suggesting that household size might not be an adequate measure of social isolation…A greater number of friends might offer a broader range of support and balance in terms of benefits and costs of social exchange." Many of these findings are consistent with mental/physical outcomes of stress. This suggests that *community* integration may be especially important to mitigating stress, rather than a more general feeling of belonging.

Thus far, I have demonstrated that there is a clear connection in the literature between place, stress, and health; I argue that this connection is impacted by access to social supports and integration. When place is disrupted, social supports are eroded. This in turn may erode feelings of belonging and exacerbate experiences of stress, particularly for longer-term residents. The association between place disruption (i.e., displacement) and wellbeing may be racialized due to persistent systemic inequities that led to spatial constraint, rendering place attachment more salient to spatially constrained communities. The racial capitalist lens makes the following argument: these systemic inequities have economic drivers, ones that necessitated the categorization of bodies and places along racial lines in order to extract value and establish

dominion. In the next section, I explore how urban displacement disproportionately impacts communities of color by drawing on the racial capitalism literature.

Disproportionate Impacts of Urban Displacement on Communities of Color: Bridging Theoretical Perspectives

Urban Displacement, Racial Capitalism, and Neoliberalism. The US neoliberal order is inextricably linked to racial capitalism. As DuBois (1935) points out, capitalism in the US evolved from slavery, so race and capital are deeply interrelated concepts in the US context. Throughout the development of the US, race and racism were inherent to the establishment of the nation and its socio-spatial framework (Goldberg 2001). Further, the history of the US is a history of colonization, one that "has always entailed the racial construction of colonial spaces" (Jung 2011: 2), colonial spaces that could only be established through Indigenous displacement and dispossession. This racial construction of space necessarily included white supremacy, since the very construction depended on a superior race deserving of dominion. The US was built from its foundation through the extraction of surplus value from racialized bodies (e.g., dispossession of indigenous lands, slavery, sharecropping, prison industrial complex, forced labor camps) that are connected to "racially ontologized hierarchies of space, which permitted the hyper-exploitation of certain (colorized) bodies and lands" (McIntyre and Nast, 2011: 1466). The establishment of a racial hierarchy with whiteness at the apex is directly related to the logic of difference embedded in capitalism--the 'dominant' group has higher status and thus higher value. Lower status/value groups become subjects and therefore more vulnerable to the expropriation of both land and labor (Fields and Raymond 2021). In the US context, as in so many other places, this is tied to ideas of property and ownership.

Through the alignment of the white worker with the white elites (DuBois 1935), the conceptual framework of white supremacy has shaped the economic development of the US and set the stage for current neoliberal operations while evincing a 'race-neutral' approach when necessary. One example of this is Reagan's coded language (i.e., 'welfare queen') throughout his presidency, through which he was able to tap into the growing white anxiety of the time while still maintaining a "color-blind" discourse. This rhetoric was shaped to justify disinvesting from particular people and communities. The reasoning was simple and insidious: since the unspecified Other theoretically abused the system and refused to get a job, they had no right to expect social services. This 'roll-back' implicitly relied on the spatial sorting of social groups into distinct neighborhoods to restrict access to services, and also to demarcate certain people and places as low-value surplus (Fields and Raymond 2021).

Over time, the US has shifted to "roll-out neoliberalism…[the] purposeful construction and consolidation of neoliberalized state forms, modes of governance, and regulatory relations"(Peck and Tickell 2002:). In this way, formerly disinvested communities--or at least, the places they lived--suddenly have value and the rhetoric has also shifted. Newly revalued "…property not only makes space into a commodity, it also produces racial subjects with differing rightful claims to space" (Fields and Raymond 2021: 6). Formerly excluded areas are said to be in need of saving by the very neoliberal forces that led to their disarray, purportedly "animated by a set of concerns related to crime, worklessness, welfare dependency, and social breakdown" (Peck and Tickell 2002: 48). In fact, these areas are reinvested in because they have become revalorized, "as has the city itself, in a world where consumerism, tourism, cultural and knowledge-based industries have become major aspects of the urban political economy" (Harvey 2008: 31).

Urban Displacement as a Colonial Project. As discussed above, the US is founded on notions of slavery, Indigenous displacement, and dispossession; urban displacement represents yet another example of cycle of dispossession and revalorization that undergirds much of US development. However, within the US context, urban displacement can only be seen as a colonial project through the lens of racial capitalism. This is because traditional Marxian scholarship places primitive accumulation, or accumulation by dispossession, in the pre-capitalism era. As the 'primitive' suggests, this type of accumulation is not capitalism itself but its origin, since it helped commodify labor and land (Fields and Raymond 2021). Robinson (1983) was one of the first to illustrate that primitive accumulation was not just a precapitalist process, but also an ongoing process necessary to the continuance of capital accumulation. Harvey (2008) solidified this by framing primitive accumulation as accumulation by dispossession. Part of the iterative process of accumulation by dispossession is displacement of devalued communities in order to profit off of the restoration of the underdeveloped spaces in which communities were once functionally trapped. In this way, urban displacement can be understood as a process of racial capitalism (Rucks-Ahidiana 2021).

The Urban Center and a Black Sense of Place. The migration of rural Black southerners from the South to industrial cities in the Midwest and Northeast, as well as migration to western cities, was a major contributing factor for social, economic, and cultural changes in US cities (Tolnay 2003). Upon arrival in these cities, most Black Americans settled close to the cities' core; this choice was dictated by housing costs and restrictions—themselves a product of redlining and racist housing policies—as well as proximity to job opportunities. This siloing of Black

communities in turn contributed to a Black sense of place as discussed by McKittrick (2011), since "diverse spatial practices—wherein the structural workings of racism kept black cultures *in place* and tagged them as *placeless*, as these communities innovatively worked within, across, and outside commonsense cartographic and topographical texts—help form a black sense of place" [emphasis original] (McKittrick 2011: 949). Attachment to place may be especially important for Black Americans, since they have been so restricted in where and how they can live. It follows that displacement may disproportionately affect them as well as other marginalized communities. Since Black cultures were kept, as McKittrick says, "in place", then when a community can only develop a positive self-identity in specific locations, emotional geographies become directly related to physical ones, and therefore displacement will be felt more keenly. This means that disruption to place or displacement theoretically represents a disproportionate stressor to Black communities, and could exacerbate already existing health disparities and lead to worse health outcomes for legacy residents of historically Black urban neighborhoods.

In this literature review, I have situated urban displacement within the social determinants of health framework and the stress process model to demonstrate the association between stress, social supports, and health outcomes across the life course. I then theorized urban displacement as a process of racial capitalism, demonstrating how spatial constraints and their economic drivers led to the establishment of a positive Black sense of place, which may render place and place attachment particularly salient in the discussion of health and wellbeing in Black communities. The current project qualitatively explores both micro- and meso-level manifestations of urban displacement processes by leveraging resident perspectives of

displacement and place disruption. By doing so, I aim to establish that a positive Black sense of place actually exists for legacy residents of historically Black urban neighborhoods and that urban displacement is negatively impacting said sense of place, thus decreasing belongingness and increasing stress.

Research Questions and Conceptual Model

As the theoretical section demonstrates, urban displacement is an interesting puzzle of history, place, social integration/belonging, and wellbeing. In attempting to understand how these coalescing factors impact stress, I tackle one piece of the puzzle. Specifically, I examine how urban displacement is perceived and felt and take up three research questions:

1. What can resident perspectives on urban displacement tell us about the association between place attachment and wellbeing in communities of color?

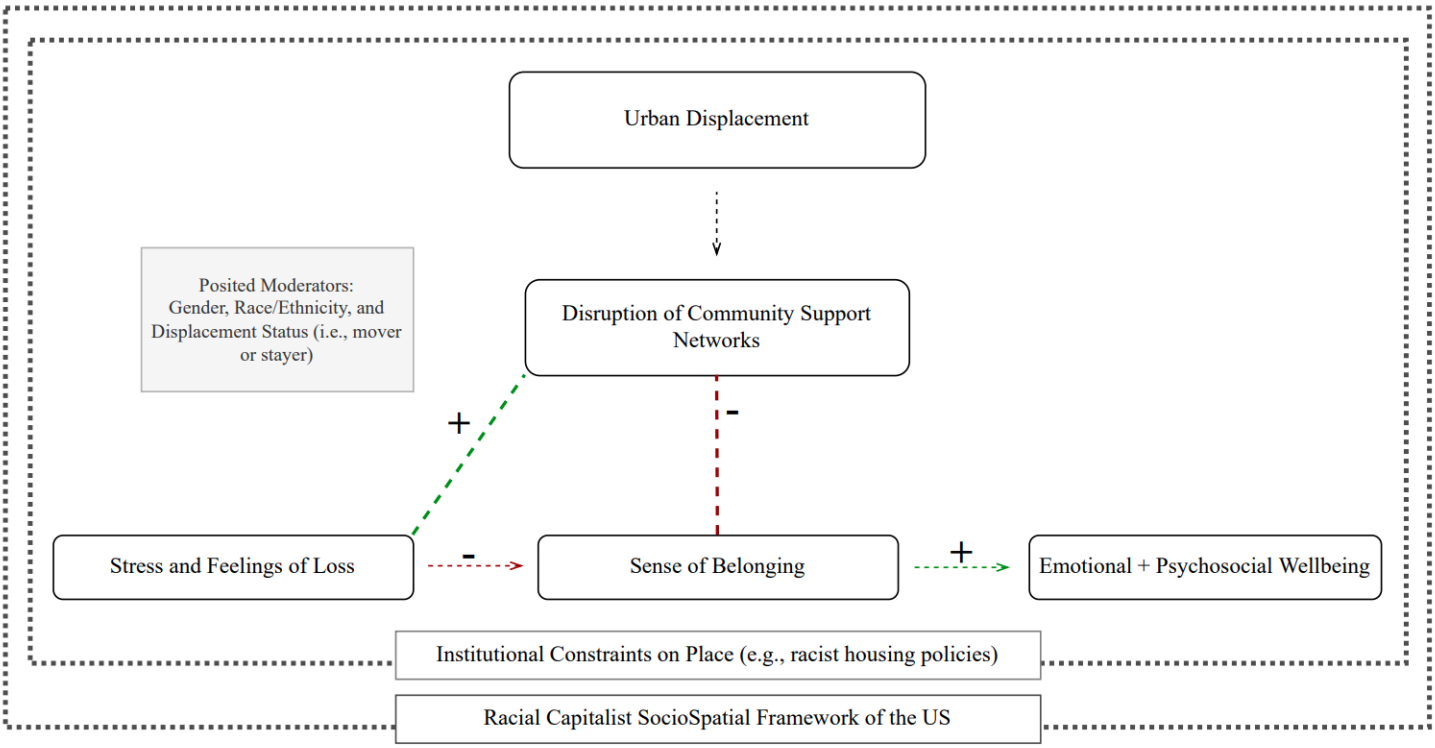
2. How does urban displacement impact formal and informal social supports?

3. Does the impact on formal and informal social supports influence belongingness?

I take a qualitative approach in this project for a few reasons. First, due to the deficit-based paradigm from which many macro-level theories operate, much of the literature fails to account for the beneficial social supports present in many low-income communities of color; therefore, considering embodied experiences of displacement offers richer data for analysis. Second, place and place attachment are inherently specific and highly contextual, thus better captured by

qualitative methods. Finally, many quantitative units of analysis 'smooth over' displacement, especially given the low proportion of communities of color in the city of study, making preliminary qualitative analysis more fruitful, though future work will include quantitative methods as well.

Figure 4. Conceptual model of pathways through which urban displacement impacts stress, belonging, and emotional/psychosocial wellbeing in communities of color



In the current study, I explore the multidimensional ramifications of urban displacement (UD) for health and wellbeing in historically Black communities specifically by construing UD as a stressor that impacts senses of loss, belonging, and wellbeing through the disruption of community support networks; per the Stress Process Model (Figure 3) and to situate UD as a disproportionate stressor for communities of color, I include the larger historical sociospatial

context and institutional constraints experienced by these communities in my model, shown in Figure 4 (above).

Reflexivity in Methodologies and Fieldwork

Reflexivity Statement. I am coming to this work as a queer Black/mixed woman who is personally dedicated to equity, justice, and the dismantlement of oppressive systems. My own childhood neighborhood has undergone displacement, something that originally led me to be interested in this subject. I tend to center the perspectives of marginalized populations and take seriously the idea of situated knowledge. Broadly, my research aims to not only systematically study race, place, and health, but also to challenge the deficit-based paradigm about communities of color that undergirds so much social science research.

Reflexivity in the Field. In an effort to 'level the playing field' with participants, interviews are conducted at a time and location selected by the participant; Participants also set the pace and take the lead in the interview process–this semi-structured approach hopefully gives them a sense of control over the interview process. I also found throughout the process that interviewees were more willing to be open about their own perceptions of UD if I disclosed more of my personal story and experience with neighborhood change–this allowed me to build trust and rapport, which led to richer conversation and better referral follow-up.

Reflexivity in Methodology. Drawing on Sweet (2020), I intentionally include the researcher in the site of knowledge production in an attempt to reconcile Bourdieusian ideas of reflexivity and feminist standpoint theory. In transcribing and interpreting both data sources, described below, I also kept track of my own thoughts, feelings, and reactions in a separate column next to each transcript, so I could be aware of my own biases and perspective.

Case and Methods

To investigate my research questions, I draw from the Seattle City Council Video (SCC) Archive, housed on the municipally-run Seattle Channel website, as well as fifteen semi-structured interviews with residents and community organization leaders in the neighborhood I selected as a case–the Central District in the city of Seattle, Washington.

The Central District. When selecting a case, I was cognizant of wanting to choose a neighborhood that was socially understood as actively undergoing displacement and as a community of color. I focused on social understandings of displacement for two reasons: first, I was interested in communities of color specifically, which given low proportions in Seattle, were not likely to show up as 'quantitatively' displaced in a significant way, especially since quantitative measures often 'smooth over' displacement (Brown-Saracino 2017). Second, measures of gentrification and UD are contested; what can't be contested is the lived experiences and perspectives of people witnessing their home community be disrupted and fundamentally changed. Therefore, I began with an internet search of general keywords and phrases (i.e., 'Seattle displacement', 'Where do people of color in Seattle live?'), all of which pointed to the Central District (CD) as not only a historical core for communities of color, but also one that had experienced significant displacement of Black Americans over time. Looking into the potential case further, there was clear displacement of the Black community–the CD went from 33.1% African American in 2000 (US Census 2010) to 15.1% African American in 2017 (American Community Surveys, 2017).

Taylor (1994) methodically describes the foundation and forging of the Black community in the

CD from 1870 through the Civil Rights Era. Like in other parts of the country, the wave of rural Black southerners migrating from the South to industrial cities largely resulted in Black families settling close to the urban core due to redlining, racist housing policies, and proximity to job opportunities (Tolnay 2003). Indeed, the area was founded in part on the land of William Grose, the second Black resident of Seattle and wealthiest Black inhabitant of the city in the nineteenth century. In 1882, he purchased twelve acres of land along East Madison Street, gradually selling properties to other successful Black Seattleites (Taylor 1994). Spatial constraint dictated where Grose was able to buy and sell property, thus laying the foundation–physically and symbolically–for a Black sense of place in the CD. The history and ongoing changes in the CD made it a good case study for the examination of urban displacement in real time as well as analysis of the impact of urban displacement on communities of color in particular.

Methodologies and Data Sources. To begin my exploration of urban displacement in the CD, I turned to the municipal archives, which contain footage of council meetings, subcommittee meetings, special events, and press conferences. The use of this data source is twofold: 1) To better understand the political dimensions of urban displacement as a socio-spatial phenomenon; and 2) To get a sense of how residents are crafting narratives about urban displacement in Seattle and framing them for political actors, giving some insight into common priorities, reservations, and relational contexts. I used a content analysis process to identify, transcribe, and code relevant footage; preliminary themes from this footage were used to generate questions for semi-structured interviews with both residents and community organization workers.

My initial content analysis was done in four phases. First, to identify relevant footage, I used

"Central District" as the keyword in the Seattle City Council (SCC) video archives; all filtered videos concerned displacement, and are listed in Table 1 (Appendix). Then, I watched and transcribed the videos, along with personal thoughts, feelings, and reactions. The archive has videos of all council meetings, including special committee meetings, as well as community outreach events (e.g., 'Lunch & Learns'), and press conferences. My sample of videos was made up of four committee meetings, including special committee meetings, along with three press conferences and one 'Lunch & Learn'–more details can be found in Table 1 (above). All meetings were hosted by councilmembers and open to the public; audiences were mostly community members and community organization leaders, along with translators and occasionally city council staff, though staff members did not participate in public comment. I coded the videos in two waves; in the within-case wave, I read through the transcript, highlighting significant statements and common threads. For the across-case coding, I read through all transcripts together, noting possible themes in a separate column; I then re-read and color-coded them according to the most common themes. Finally, I generated interview questions based on common themes, organized into categories and built my semi-structured interview protocol based on said categories.

In my second phase of data collection, I conducted contextual interviews with community organization employees involved in the CD, as well as interviews with residents, both displaced and remaining. Utilizing a grounded theory approach, I employed iterative analysis. Along with semi-structured interviewing, I completed a 'pen portrait'–a written account of the interviewee and setting, meant to capture the full experience of the interview–immediately after the interview was done, as well as my own reactions to them. I then transcribed the interview, coded for

emergent themes, and eventually compared the interviews to the SCC transcripts for any possible themes I may have missed. The phases of this iterative analysis are encapsulated in Table 2 (below), adapted from Ayres et al. (2003).

Table 2. Grounded Theory and Iterative Analysis Process (adapted from Ayres et al. (2003)

Phase of Analysis	Analytic Focus	Process	Goal
Impressions	Within-case	*When:* Immediately after the interview *What:* Field journal entry, including: a 'Pen Portrait,' a written account of the interviewee, setting, and the interview itself; first thoughts and impressions; and themes that stood out during the interview.	Capturing the lived experience of the interview, reflection on personal biases and paradigms
Immersion	Within-case	*When:* 2-3 weeks after the interview *What:* Listen to and transcribe interview, watch video footage if available; code for significant statements and within-interview themes.	Identification of significant statements
Comparison	Across cases	*When:* After transcription of each subsequent interview *What:* Looking for commonalities between interviews, color-coding accordingly.	Identification of statements common to all interviews
Reconnections	Within and across cases	*When*: After transcription and comparison *What:* Check for fidelity of quotes to participants' meaning against transcripts	Ascertain accuracy to original accounts
Critical Reflection	Within and across cases	*When:* 1 week after reconnections phase *What:* Looking for links between significant statements, begin building coding matrix	Identifying themes
Organization	Coding matrix	*When:* After completing data collection *What:* Look for redundancy in themes; synthesize	Building an essential structure of project narrative

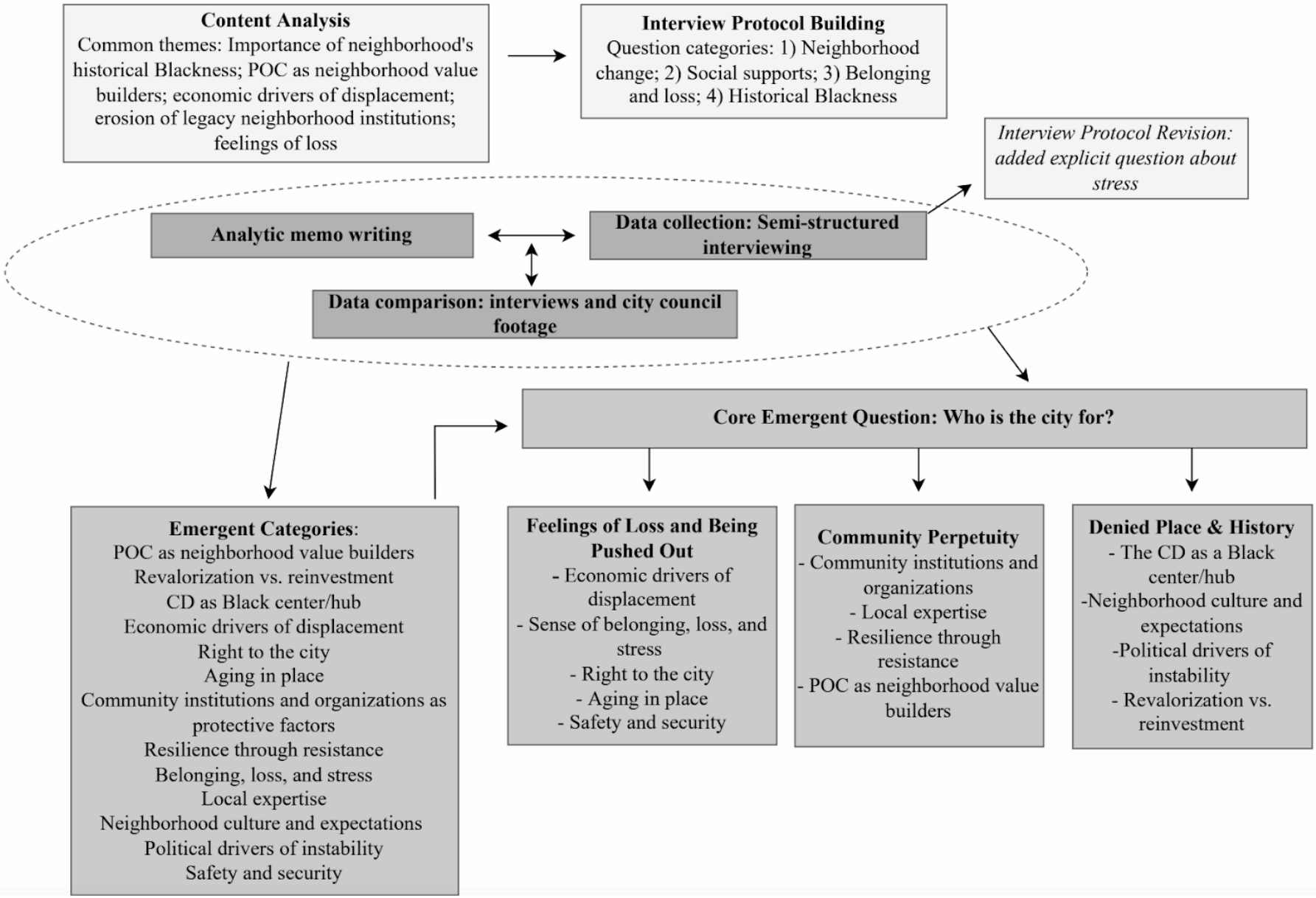
To recruit participants, I first interviewed community organization workers and leaders, including two non-residents, to determine where flyers and other promotional materials should be placed; these interviews, labeled as 'contextual' interview types in Table 3 (next page), also included questions about displacement, social supports, and neighborhood change. In addition to placing flyers in community gathering spaces (i.e., grocery stores, churches, recreation centers), I asked different community organizations to post my materials on their social media accounts. Finally, I asked all participants to optionally provide the names and contact information of three

current or former residents, and reached out directly to those potential participants. The early recruitment process revealed that many residents and community organizers are very wary of researchers extracting knowledge and emotional labor without any intention of reciprocity and/or personal history in historically underserved areas undergoing neighborhood change. Once I had built trust through establishing longer-term relationships with community organizations in the CD and began situating my research interests in my lived experience of displacement processes, I was able to more successfully recruit interviewees; I also noticed that interviews were more candid and participants more comfortable sharing personal details once I self-disclosed.

The interviewee demographic information is captured in Table 3 (Appendix). In total, I conducted fifteen interviews; all but two of my participants were former or current residents of the CD. The two non-residents worked with several organizations engaging in community work and were helpful in providing contacts as well as insight into different sites and organizations to investigate for a better understanding of community contacts. Contextual interviewees who were also current or former residents of the CD were given the option to answer questions from the resident interview protocol; those who acquiesced are labeled 'Both' under interview type in Table 3.

Finally, the next page shows Figure 5, a flowchart laying out my methodological process, early themes, and synthesis. The light gray represents the content analysis phase, exclusive to the SCC video footage, and the resultant interview protocol, while the darker gray signifies steps and findings for both data sources. I found three emergent themes from my data and process: 1) Feelings of loss and being pushed out; 2) Community perpetuity; and 3) Denied place and history; I provide evidence for each theme in the next section.

Figure 5. Methodological flowchart and thematic synthesis



Findings

In this section, I provide evidence for three themes that emerged from archival content analysis and semi-structured interviews. To organize emergent categories into themes, I attempted to find a core question 'asked' by each category. As shown in Figure 5 (above), the core emergent question was 'Who is the city for?' In city council footage and interviews, people indicated a sense of ownership over the neighborhood, not just because of physical residence, but also due to the legacy of the area itself–a place founded for and by Black people. As their sense of ownership is disrupted by urban displacement, legacy residents, both remaining and displaced, began to question who 'deserves' access and stewardship of recently revalorized neighborhoods given that they were originally developed as a function of racialized socio-spatial sorting. Once I determined the core emergent question, I sorted emergent categories into the following themes: 1) Feelings of loss and being pushed out; 2) Community perpetuity; and 3) Denied place and history.

Feelings of Loss and Being Pushed Out. Overwhelmingly, both data sources indicated deep feelings of loss and grief. This is consistent with the displacement literature, which shows that residents tend to feel loss and resentment when witnessing or experiencing urban displacement (Stabrowski 2014; Hwang 2015; Lloyd 2006). Many residents got visibly emotional when discussing displacement in the CD during the public comment portion of the city council meetings. One long-term resident, Esther, an Asian woman in her 50s, broke down in tears, saying: "I don't know where I'm going to live. Who's going to help my parents?" As a current resident of the CD, Brandon, a Black man in his 70s, said: "Loss to the community is something that we cannot put a value on."

Similar to the city council meetings, in almost all of my interviews, participants were clearly emotional in the discussion of the CD's past and what it looks like now. When I ask Racine, a Black woman in her early 20s, about how the CD has changed, she pauses and looks down, then tells me that "it just doesn't belong to us anymore." Interviewees who still lived in the neighborhood, as well as some who still visit, reference new, white neighbors looking at them as they walk; Clarence, a Black man in his 40s, comments that "Sometimes, you know, I'll be walking by apartment buildings and people look at me like 'what are you still doing here?' Like they want us to leave."All participants used phrases like "what are you still doing here? " and "why are you here?" to describe how they perceived glances and attitudes from their neighbors. Whitney, a Black woman in her early 40s, talks about the frustration and loss she feels, saying that the neighborhood feels "so foreign to her." Later in the interview, she goes on to say:

> "I feel you know, out of place. I've had my neighbors, you know, ask me, 'Are you new to the neighborhood, do you live around here?' And they're always really shocked when I'm like 'Yeah I've actually been living here my whole life.' So you know, it's like *you* might be new to the neighborhood, but you're asking me?"

Whitney also speaks to differing ideas of safety and security; her neighbors don't like kids–Black kids in particular–playing on the sidewalk outside of their house, and have called the police as a result. Other participants, such as Harriett, a white woman in her mid-30s, and Lowell, a Black man in his mid-60s, talk about how neighborhood changes have shifted their individual perception of safety. Harriett comments:

> "People always thought about our neighborhood as so dangerous like there were guns and drive-by shootings, but honestly I felt safer walking around then than I do now. I just don't know anyone…They don't think we should be here."

Lowell echoes the sentiment, "Growing up, even with the crime and violence, it felt like home...I was more comfortable with a gang member than these neighbors." This erosion of his sense of safety and security made him feel less connected to the neighborhood, especially when he was eventually displaced. Bobby, another displaced Black interviewee in his mid-60s, describes feeling more guarded than he ever has in the CD and needing to code switch so he doesn't 'offend' new neighbors. He also talks about his friends who still live in the CD, mentioning that they often like to meet elsewhere because of "the attention they feel in their own homes, with their neighbors. It's just a weird sensibility, so we usually meet at [other] places."

The above quotes reflect that current and former residents of the CD have clear feelings of loss and alienation. They also suggest that one of the mechanisms through which feelings of loss due to displacement impacts wellbeing may be a change in perceptions of safety and security, regardless of neighborhood crime or conflict levels.

These perceptions of safety seem to be tied to differing notions of access and boundaries. Older, mostly Black, residents, conceive of safety and security as the ability to access given spaces freely, while newer, mostly White residents, are described as thinking of safety in terms of the ability to restrict access based on ownership (i.e., "this is my yard you can't be in it"). Whitney's example in her interview–new, White neighbors disliking the presence of Black children on the

sidewalk outside of their houses–is best encapsulated by her last sentence: “I just, I had to go tell them, you can’t yell at the kids, you can’t call the cops, just like get the parents, you know? Like, *Black children playing in front of your house isn’t a problem*” [emphasis my own]. In this, we see echoes of the classic DuBoisian question–‘How does it feel to be a problem?’–and an answering query: ‘Who decides what the problem is?’ (DuBois 1903). In neighborhoods undergoing rapid change and demographic shifts, this is a question under contention.

Participants often emailed me after the interview to provide referral information for potential participants, and in rare instances provided further personal reflection on interview questions and topics. In her follow-up email, Harriett neatly summarizes the feelings of loss and being pushed out:

> “In addition to deep anger, there's also a sense of deep grief at the loss of feelings of home, being seen, being understood and being part of different threads in the community. One aspect that has happened with the loss of people, institutions, and a cultural sense of place in the CD has also been the hollowing out of stories for a more superficial narrative that doesn't include the diversity, depth and breadth of Black life and experiences that existed.”

Overall, findings suggest that on the micro-level, it’s not so much the disruption of tangible social support (Berkman et al. 2000), but instead the disruption of perceived support and acceptance. Perceived social support seems to carry a lot of weight for legacy residents’ feelings of community integration, exemplified by Harriet’s statement that “there's also a sense of deep

grief at the loss of feelings of home, being seen, being understood and being part of different threads in the community." This is a slightly different interpretation of social support, where safety and unencumbered access to communal spaces act as a trellis for the development of social support networks. However, there is a clear meso-level effort to institutionalize formal social supports due to loss of informal social supports, construed here as 'community perpetuity.'

Community Perpetuity. Harriett's above sentiments were echoed across interviews and city council meetings, residents of the CD spoke implicitly to the wealth of community expertise and support that already exists within the CD's long-term community. Naomi, a Black woman in her late 30's, comments at a city council meeting that community institutions "no longer have spaces and places to continue to do the healing process." As she speaks, she emphasizes 'continue,' as if to let city officials know that this work is not new, but a continuation of old efforts. Similarly, both Evelyn and Geraldine, interviewees and current residents of the CD in their mid- to late-70s, describe community support networks, aided by local institutions such as churches and youth centers, that were built out of necessity. As Evelyn put it, "We knew we weren't going to get services, the government, social services, you know, they weren't helping us so we had to help each other..." Community assets were created out of necessity and due to historical disinvestment from neighborhoods such as the CD that housed the "undesirables…Blacks and whoever else, the 'undeserving poor' as they said," as Geraldine put it. They represented, in many cases, the sole safety net for individuals in need. In both the videos and my interviews, a variety of people spoke of feeling frustrated, not just because displacement was occurring, but also because it followed a long period of disinvestment from the very neighborhoods in which

people of color can no longer afford to live. At a council meeting, Wilhelmina, a Black woman in her 60s or 70s, says:

> "...what we see is an influx of European Americans coming back to the cities that they left to the Negros and the rats 40 years ago, and now they're coming back with a vengeance and they're capitalized, you know? They have money."

This comment reflects a keen understanding of the strategies of "...displacement, poverty, or capture, [that allowed] colonialisms [to] produce a surplus of laboring bodies and a surplus of land that were racialized into a transnational exploitative and oppressive means of production" (Lumba 2021: 111). This context meant that industrialization aimed to extract value from urban centers, then the devalued properties were left for 'surplus populations' by the dominant group, which left the resource-stripped urban centers for suburbs (i.e., White Flight). After the 2008 housing crisis, these places were ripe for revalorization and profit, so original groups were again driven out in processes of urban displacement. Urban displacement here can be understood as both the last phase of one colonial project and the beginning phase of another. For example, the suburbanization of poverty (Allard 2017) mentioned above could point to a new 'devalued' space that will eventually be a candidate for expropriative revalorization. Simply put, "devalorization ushers in revalorization and successive rounds of accumulation, hardening 'the seemingly natural links between blackness, underdevelopment, poverty, and place' prototyped by the plantation'" (Fields and Raymond 2021: 6; McKittrick, 2011: 51).

Jamal, a Black man in his 30s, continues in a similar vein to Wilhemina:

> "We want our community to be honored in the art, but we don't want to become museum pieces in the community where we were, honor the history, the journey, the blood, sweat, and tears that our parents, our grandparents, our great-grandparents have put into this community, so yes we want that represented in the design and the built environment, but more than anything, we want to make sure our community, our residents, our businesses, our orgs, are present to be a part of the future of the community."

This focus on legacy, history, and place represents the importance of community perpetuity in neighborhoods of color. Community perpetuity is a place-based adaptation of cultural perpetuity, a concept introduced by the Sisika (Blackfoot) people. Cultural perpetuity is the idea that the individual experience of safety and wellbeing is itself a stepping stone to the safety, wellbeing, and continuance of a culture (Blood and Heavy Head, 2007). In essence, if the community is well, the individual is well (Hill 2006; Blackstock 2011). In this context, wellness is associated with connection and the ability to remain 'in place.' Interviews and council transcripts show an emphasis on collectivism and relationships as key protective factors for individual wellbeing, especially in historically Black neighborhoods.

Antoinette, a former CD resident in her late 30s, comments in her interview that, "Before working in community organizing, [she] had no connection to [the CD] right…[she] did not travel to the Central District, [she] did not stay connected to anything." She says, "It was only after propelling myself into community work, I have a strong connection to the Central District once again, as I am a part of this disruption, I'm a part of this rebuilding of thriving communities

this black business structure, it's all a part of what I do now and so now [my connection] is very strong." Her connection to and participation in community preservation and perpetuity efforts alleviated the feelings of loss and restored her sense of belonging, despite having lived outside the CD for over a decade. Here, the connection between loss and a sense of belonging is moderated by participation in community organizations, which in turn reduces the stress of displacement

Another way community perpetuity can be seen in the CD is through the institutionalization of previously informal social supports. For example, Byrd Barr Place, a long-standing community organization, has set up programs that formally structure intergenerational conversations that may have happened informally in the past, as well as healing circles to provide space for Black residents to process their experiences of grief and loss due to displacement. Similarly, the Central Area Senior Center (CASC) serves as a hub for legacy residents, both remaining and displaced, and institutionalizes previously informal social supports. For example, the center routinely holds potlucks, tea times. In the first phase of the COVID-19 pandemic (March 2020-January 2021), the center organized the delivery of groceries to elders. During a visit to the center, one worker commented to me that, "those grocery deliveries really also turned into the one social connection for a lot of these elders, it was the only time a lot of them talked to anyone outside of their households, since they don't really know their neighbors anymore." In this situation, the CASC provided both instrumental and emotional support (Berkman et al. 2000) that no longer was available informally due to the disruption of community support networks.

For many community organizations, issues of property and ownership are inherent to community

perpetuity and institutionalizing social supports. In the cases of the CASC and Byrd Barr Place, the Seattle City Council adopted a 2018 resolution for the Mayor's office "complete the transfer of these City-owned properties to the community organizations, so that they would be maintained for public use in perpetuity" (Seattle City Council 2018). After a year of inaction, members of the CASC and Byrd Barr Place, along with their councilmember, held a press conference to demand that the Mayor's office make good on their agreement, citing "the essential social support [the organizations] provide" as well as "community legacy." When commenting on why the CASC hadn't been granted ownership of the land for public use at a city council meeting, Rhonda, a current Black resident in her 40s said, "I know some people think it's just too beautiful for Black people." Like Wilhelmina's comment that, "...what we see is an influx of European Americans coming back to the cities that they left to the Negros and the rats 40 years ago," Rhonda speaks to the racialized nature of property and ownership within the CD by implicity questioning who 'deserves' access and stewardship of the neighborhood. Similarly, interviewees mentioned the desirability of the land as a driver of displacement. For example, Clarence and Geraldine both commented on the hesitance of local government to transfer ownership of the CASC. Clarence noted that "if you want to know why they're dragging their feet you just gotta look at that view," while Geraldine said, "If they take it, then they can put like ten or fifteen new properties there, not that anyone from the center would be able to afford it." Clearly there is a perception that legacy preservation is stymied by capitalist motivations and that community perpetuity cannot happen without community ownership.

Indeed, a third CD-based organization, Africatown Community Land Trust (ACLT) is explicit about its focus on community perpetuity in the mission statement on their website:

> "Africatown Community Land Trust was formed to acquire, steward, and develop land assets that are necessary for the Black/African diaspora community to grow and thrive in place in the Central District as well as support other individuals and organizations in retention and development of land." (Africatown Community Land Trust 2022)

ACLT seeks to establish the legacy and perpetuity of the CD as a Black community first and foremost. This includes their acquisition of the Liberty Bank Building for affordable housing development and retail space, both geared towards the establishment of Black families and businesses within the building, as well as Africatown Plaza which continues affordable housing expansion. Africatown has also acquired a CD historic landmark, Fire Station 6, "converting it into a hub for entrepreneurship, technological innovation, as well as business development in Seattle's Black community." As a part of honoring the legacy of the CD, the site has been named the WIlliam Grose Center for Cultural Innovation. The ACLT website continues that, "ACLT's goal is to establish an ecosystem for economic empowerment and community-driven development. The William Grose Center will be the cornerstone of that ecosystem. The programs and resources at WGC will provide the community with opportunities to step into new roles in the economy" (Africatown Community Land Trust 2022). In all of these examples, they focus on maintaining a Black sense of place in the CD through anti-displacement efforts. This Black sense of place becomes a way to build community power and support. For example, ACLT's latest endeavor includes the formation of Bennu Community Homes, a "24/7, enhanced shelter home that will offer culturally responsive, trauma-informed care and wraparound services including health, education, employment, and housing navigation resources…125 beds for our

unhoused neighbors' will be available" (King County Equity Now 2022). Here, they once again explicitly connect their place-based goals and mission to Black wellbeing, stating that the impetus for the project were the racial disparities of homelessness–they point to the national statistics that Black adults make up just 12% of the overall population, yet represent 37% of people experiencing homelessness (U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development 2021). They situate the CD as a historically Black urban neighborhood that should be maintained as a Black hub, suggesting that Black sense of place is important for the Greater Seattle Black community, not just current and former residents. Beyond these land acquisition efforts, they foster community perpetuity and formalize social processes through other groups and events, including the Black Health & Wellness Group, Othello Marketplace, and Re:Union on Union. These events are meant to bring the Black community back to the CD and provide anchors for those who have been displaced. Here again, there is an implicit connection between community perpetuity and individual wellbeing, not only for current residents of the CD, but also the Black community of Greater Seattle. This rationale is borne out in comments by Bobby, another former resident in his mid-60s, who highlights connection to institutions as a way to mitigate feelings of loss. He says, "...as my wife and I were sort of driving through the CD, there are things that we can recognize that we really had heart for and there were other things that we could not recognize anymore, and it just felt empty to some degree, for her more than I because, you know, I'm still connected to the leaders and institutions."

Like Africatown, Wa Na Wa Ri is an organization with a focus on community perpetuity; according to their mission statement: "Wa Na Wari creates space for Black ownership, possibility, & belonging through art, historic preservation, & connection" (Wa Na Wa Ri, 2022).

Wa Na Wa Ri was initially established in an effort to preserve a legacy family home by converting it into an art gallery and community space, where they organize events to provide social support for long-term residents, especially older Black homeowners, another example of formalizing previously informal social processes. Wa Na Wa Ri's initiatives also illustrate a growing priority among community organizations in the CD: conducting their own research to demonstrate the need for community perpetuity and preservation. For example, Wa Na Wa R established a research initiative, CACE21, that surveys Black homeowners about needs and supports for continued homeownership. Similarly, ACLT partners with Black Dot, another community organization, to study the impacts of displacement on legacy residents of the CD, through their policy advocacy branch, King County Equity Now. By taking on anti-displacement efforts and research, these organizations serve as meso-level representatives for individual residents and interact with institutions (e.g., municipal governance, local and national funding sources) to advocate for social and economic perpetuity. As advocates, community organizers view external researchers with an understandable wariness unless they have a demonstrated intention to continue working with the community.

All of these examples clearly illustrate that community perpetuity is not only explicitly racialized in the CD, but also considered crucial to the overall wellbeing of the Black community in the Greater Seattle area, lending credence to the idea of a positive Black sense of place. Both organizations and individuals seem to regain a sense of agency and ownership through advocacy and collective action, highlighting that support of legacy Black organizations in their anti-displacement efforts may mitigate stress experiences for Black residents, both remaining and displaced. Importantly, hesitance about outside actors (i.e., researchers) suggests that the most

effective interventions must be community-led. These findings, though only a start, suggest that an emphasis on funding and actively supporting already existing community institutions and populations may moderate some of the impacts UD has on stress and wellbeing. Indeed, organizations in the Central District such as Byrd Barr Place, Africatown Community Land Trust, the Central Area Senior Center, and Wa Na Wa Ri are doing incredible work to restore a sense of belonging and ownership of the neighborhood to long-term residents, begin healing processes to overcome grief and loss, and create systems that ensure the preservation of the CD's legacy as a historically Black neighborhood.

Denied Place & History. This emergent theme unifies many of the comments in the above findings, which reference the historical Blackness as particularly important to the CD. Clear themes throughout videos and interviews arose concerning the importance of the CD as a Black space, one that Black residents throughout Seattle and surrounding areas feel deep ties for and want to move back to. Overwhelmingly, participants and city council speakers explicitly link the historical Blackness of the CD to both the disinvestment and revalorization that drove the CD's displacement processes. They also invoke the ways Black communities have been held in place historically (i.e., redlining, racist housing policies), which makes preservation of the CD as a Black space all the more important. Speakers also tied the revalorization and subsequent displacement in the CD to its Black roots. Rhonda, a Latina woman in her mid-40s, said of the CD, "I know some people think it's just too beautiful for Black people." In eleven of the fifteen interviews, participants talk about the CD being "taken away," "taken over," or "stolen" from the Black community. Interestingly, even interviewees who had lived outside of the CD for periods of time in the past felt disconnection specifically because of the displacement, like Darrell, who

moved out of the CD for two years in his early 20s. He described still feeling connected and excited as a non-resident in the past because "it felt like that's where everything was happening for the Black community," which was part of his motivation for moving back into the neighborhood; however, recent waves of displacement eroded that feeling of belongingness even as a current resident. Interviewees also emphasized that the CD was and should be a Black hub for Seattle. Lowell, a former Black resident in his mid-60s, says, "...the neighborhood is important for us as a people because it's where we find community, especially because we had to establish this Black community because of how America is, and it acts as a base, even when people move out they come back. It's not that we can't make communities in other places, it's just different." Bobby comments that new residents "don't move in a way, with respect for the culture and respect for the historical context of what they're moving into…[it's about] the marginalized community members who lived in the CD because it was one of the only places that could live in the city. The characteristics and the sensibility of that is gone, it's sort of like the heartbeat is gone but the brain is still there." The feelings of loss he describes are due to the erosion of a Black sense of place as well as the 'heartbeat' of historical knowledge and recognition of community culture. During a city council meeting Jackie, a Black woman in her 40s, describes it this way:

> "Our family came from Arkansas and settled in this neighborhood in the 40s because this is the only area we were allowed to live in…[my grandmother] has seen her friends pass away and her children sell their property for pennies on the dollar. She's seen the neighborhood changed so much whenever I take her out she says, 'I don't recognize this neighborhood anymore'...and when I say my community understand that the Black

> community has been dispersed quite widely so we stay in touch with Kent we stay in touch with Federal Way, we stay in touch with Tacoma. We bring our community back together different times of the year, so we know that they want to come back if there's a way that they could afford it."

Here, she is positioning the CD first and foremost as a Black place. Similarly, in her interview Evelyn says, "The historical Blackness of the CD is what built it! We knew we weren't going to get services, the government, social services, you know, they weren't helping us so we had to help each other and that's how we built this place." [add in Black sense of place as porous, not exclusionary; interviewees emphasized that although the CD was, in their minds, a Black place, it was a safe space for many historically marginalized communities; most interviewees mentioned Jewish and Asian-American individuals as also benefiting from the historical Blackness and collectivism of the CD.

We can see that UD changes access to social resources and thus a sense of belonging is the disruption of social supports, where previous community centers, formal or informal, may change or disappear as displacement progresses. In the case of the CD, one way this is seen is through the formalizing of previously informal social supports–one example is brought up by Laila, an Asian woman in her 30s who works with community organizations based in the CD. In her interview, she talks about the creation of both healing circles to bring people together and process the grief of displacement and programming providing opportunities for intergenerational conversation, in order to "preserve wisdom and community knowledge."

Community efforts to preserve homes and institutions provide feelings of connectedness and community; however, individual preservation efforts are incredibly stressful experiences. Darrell, a Black man in his early 50s, has been fighting to preserve his family's properties within the CD for over a decade. In his interview, he describes the toll this has taken on almost every aspect of his life, especially his interpersonal relationships, mental health, and finances. When I ask him how he kept trying despite multiple setbacks, he shares an anecdote about the first attempts to sell a family property: his grandfather taking down a for-sale sign put up by an estate company in front of his house, just putting his cane to the side and shaking the sign until it fell off the hooks, then nodding in satisfaction, getting into his truck, and driving away. And for Darrell, that moment of "absolute defiance, just a refusal to allow the home to be sold…kept [him] going no matter what and really sustaining [him] through the fight to keep family property."

Taken together, these examples suggest that the CD acted in some ways as a Black hub providing a sense of connection to all Black Seattle residents whether they lived there or not. This may be because historically, most Black Americans have settled in urban areas, near the cities' core; this choice was dictated by housing costs and restrictions—themselves a product of redlining and racist housing policies—as well as proximity to job opportunities (Tolnay 2003). This siloing of Black communities in turn contributed to a Black sense of place as discussed by McKittrick (2011), since "diverse spatial practices—wherein the structural workings of racism kept black cultures in place and tagged them as place*less*, as these communities innovatively worked within, across, and outside commonsense cartographic and topographical texts—help form a black sense of place" [emphasis original] (McKittrick 2011: 949). Attachment to place may be especially important for Black Americans, since they have been so restricted in where and how they can

live. Black neighborhoods operate as a basis for economic development and protective social institutions for many Black families, especially in the face of restricted opportunities and systemic racism, reifying the disproportionate impact of displacement on the health and wellbeing in Black communities.

Discussion

Implications. This study examined both micro- and meso-level reactions to and perceptions of urban displacement processes within the Central District neighborhood in Seattle, Washington. The emergent themes of the current study indicate that the disruption of place and belonging inherent to urban displacement provokes feelings of stress and loss; it also erodes social supports unless those are formalized by historical institutions. This directly connects to the Stress Process Model (Figure 2), in which both stressors and access to coping resources impact mental health outcomes (Aneshensel and Mitchell 2014). One possible mechanism through which residents experience this disruption is differing perceptions of safety and security (i.e., new neighbors asking "Why are you here?", calling the police, etc.) that leads to a disproportionate psychological load for legacy residents, who feel unduly surveilled in a place they previously experienced as safe and freely accessible. This stress is also connected to feelings of material precarity as housing costs rise and legacy residents are no longer certain they can afford to stay in the neighborhood.

On the micro-level, the benefits of residential focus on community perpetuity are tied to the mitigating impact of social support and integration, which may explain often mixed results within the neighborhood effects health framework (Arcaya et al. 2016; Oakes 2004; Brody et al.

2014; Finch et al. 2010). Interviews revealed that ideas of community had less to do with integration, particularly for displaced former residents, and much more to do with perceived support as well as a sense of belonging and ownership over the neighborhood itself. However, meso-level institutions were able to create the conditions for individual connections to community, suggesting that intermediary institutions play a very important for not only for the material preservation of a place and access to resources (i.e., governmental funding), but also for individual feelings of connection. One example is being able to join or volunteer for long-term community institutions as a pathway to reconnection as in the case of Antionette, who felt grief and loss until she got involved in anti-displacement efforts through Africatown Community Land Trust, or Bobby, whose historical involvement in community organizing allowed him to maintain relationships in the neighborhood even after he was displaced. In contrast, current residents' sense of belonging and ownership were eroded by new neighbors questioning their right to place (e.g., "Oh do you live here?"; "Are you new to the neighborhood?") and restricting access to communal space (e.g., calling the police when Black children played on the sidewalk outside their house), leading to legacy residents feeling surveilled–as Bobby remarked about his friends who still live in the CD, "the attention they feel in their own homes, with their neighbors…it's a weird sensibility."

Clearly, both micro- and meso-level processes of displacement and neighborhood change must be taken into account in order to capture the nuance of displacement's impact on health and wellbeing. Looking at meso-level interactions also allows us to capture deficit-based paradigms as a part of selection in urban displacement processes. As one interviewee, Harriet, said, "...the hollowing out of stories for a more superficial narrative that doesn't include the diversity, depth

and breadth of Black life and experiences that existed" is a source of loss and grief for many residents. A displaced interviewee, Bobby, said that, "other neighborhoods are allowed to keep their culture and their character, but they [developers] don't see the need for that in the CD. Like Ballard looks like Ballard, it still has its character, its roots. But when I come back, I don't see the CD anymore, it looks different." Both Harriet and Bobby's comments implicitly reference one justification for urban displacement: the needs narrative. When discussing neighborhood disinvestment and renewal, "the *needs narrative*" often emerges "with specific meanings designed to illustrate problems manifest in neighborhoods and structures or, occasionally, problematic activities of some residents" (Elwood 2006: 332). The needs narrative is a deficit-based paradigm, whereby low-income communities of color, due to lack of resources, are seen by outsiders as essentially unhelpful for residents, and the neighborhood needs to be changed in order to survive. This narrative opens the door for 'fix and flip' investors bent on revalorization of property without burdening them with obligatory maintenance of the existing community (Fields and Raymond 2021).

Meso-level inquiries also allow us to tie macro-level inequities to micro-level choices. Not only does examining the meso-level allow researchers to examine how individual behavior and interactions are shaped by and contribute to the functioning of larger social structures and institutions, but by analyzing meso-level processes, researchers can better understand how social phenomena operate within specific contexts and how they are influenced by the broader social and cultural environment. This is especially true for urban displacement, as qualitative meso-level analysis can also be useful for identifying deeper narratives to explore that may be missed by more quantitative macro-level analysis. For example, Bonam, Bergsieker, and

Eberhardt (2016) found in four experimental psychological studies that physical spaces associated with Black Americans are associated with negative racial stereotypes, namely that they are impoverished, neglected, and riddled with crime. While interesting, this study fails to take into account emerging neoliberal narratives, where the improvement of these Black physical spaces is framed as a moral imperative and ultimately a "good" act. In this way, we can consider Fluri's (2017) examination of consumer behavior framed as "saving" the poor. While this cannot be construed as "charitable giving," I would argue that this type of real estate acquisition is itself "framed as an ethical and moral activity" which ultimately "divert[s] attention from the structural violence of racial, gender, and economic inequalities by suggesting individuation and personal choice" (Fluri 2017: 2).

This represents a form of neoliberal paternalism. Paternalism itself has been a part of US race relations for centuries. Genovese and Fox-Genovese (2011) point out that "slaveholders were preoccupied with presenting slavery as a benign, paternalistic institution…[in order to] discipline and justify a system of exploitation" (2). It would be disingenuous to claim that neoliberal paternalism is entirely distinct from its predecessor. Rather, it extends past paternalism towards "a civic incorporation...by making the extension of social rights contingent on the fulfillment of social obligations" (Soss, Fording, and Schram 2011: 25). Neoliberal paternalism aims to reconstruct the citizen into a different kind of self-regulating subject (Cruikshank 1999). In order to do so, the state must lead the citizen in the correct way "do" citizenship; neoliberal paternalism is based on the belief that "freedom [is] a practice of efficient living that requires an inner discipline. Those who fail at freedom must be trained into it" (Segal 2006: 327). The paternalism allows individual and institutional actors to believe that they 'know best' and urban

displacement helps them to improve neighborhoods by being a 'role model' and 'fixing' them. Neoliberalism provides an economic incentive to engage in processes of displacement–simultaneous extension of the free market–while reifying white superiority.

Individuals in both city council video footage and interviews alluded to the impact of macro-level processes such as neoliberalism and racial capitalism on experiences of urban displacement. With the advent of "roll-out neoliberalism" and the ensuing commodification of urban space, the "white spatial imaginary" (Lipsitz 2011: 29) is used to extend neoliberalized order into formerly majority-of-color neighborhoods. According to Lipsitz (2011), the white spatial imaginary is based on "exclusivity and augmented exchange values "which develop out of the "white geographic imperative to segregate communities and hoard resources" (29). As a result, the white spatial imaginary comes to "idealize pure and homogeneous spaces, controlled environments, and predictable patterns of design and behavior" that ultimately veil "social problems and contradictory social relations" (Lipsitz 2011: 29). The enforcement of this environmental homogenization and control is based on normative ideas of what a neighborhood *should* look like and ultimately dependent on white values and norms. This logic follows the Bourdieusian notion of cultural capital as a means of maintaining social order and hierarchy by way of indoctrinating people into the system through norms and mores.

However, these deficit-based paternalistic narratives are not the only choice when it comes to improving neighborhood conditions. Elwood (2006) points to "*asset narratives* [that] are designed to illustrate resources for positive neighborhood change, or existing opportunities for improvement" (Elwood 2006: 332). Investment in a community that is primarily led by

community members themselves is the clearest strategy to uphold an asset narrative in neighborhood change efforts. Urban displacement, in contrast, actively disrupts asset narratives because legacy residents are not able to maintain existing opportunities or support systems for community members as people leave. Here, macro-level factors such as economic policies, cultural values, and political systems can shape the opportunities and constraints that individuals face, influencing their behavior and decision-making. Interviewees and commentary in city council footage highlighted this at multiple points when discussing why and how the CD came to be a Black hub.

As the various initiatives of ACLT, CASC, Wa Na Wa Ri, and other CD-based community organizations demonstrate, meso-level institutions that can act as intermediaries negotiating macro-level inequity and their micro-level impacts in order to affect social change. ACLT does so by acquiring and developing land specifically for the preservation of the Black community in the CD, as well as doing policy advocacy work. Similarly, CASC not only provides individual services for community connection, but also works with city councilmembers and other advocacy groups to maintain the center for public good. Organizations like Wa Na Wa Ri not only negotiate for social change, but have established research initiatives to better understand the connections between macro-level inequity and individual wellbeing (e.g., CACE21) to inform place-based interventions and anti-displacement efforts. By examining these intermediate-level structures, we can investigate the connections and interrelationships between different levels of social reality. In the case of the CD, both individual residents and community organizations perceive urban displacement as an issue of equity and justice given historic spatial constraints on the Black community in Seattle. This perception of inequity and injustice, in turn, leads to

feelings of stress, loss, and grief, as well as anger about the erasure of Black history in the neighborhood as new residents move in. However, these feelings may be mitigated by engagement in collective community efforts for preservation and perpetuity.

Indeed, applying the assets narrative suggested by Elwood (2006) to meso-level institutions may be one avenue for researchers and policymakers to accurately analyze and distribute resources for communities undergoing displacement. For example, Byrd Barr Place, Africatown Community Land Trust, the Central Area Senior Center, and Wa Na Wa Ri are organizations that serve as meso-level representatives for individual residents and interact with institutions (e.g., municipal governance, local and national funding sources) to advocate for social and economic perpetuity. Findings suggest that an emphasis on funding and actively supporting already existing community institutions and populations may mitigate some of the impacts UD has on stress and wellbeing, since organizations in the Central District are doing incredible work to restore a sense of belonging and ownership of the neighborhood to long-term residents, begin healing processes to overcome grief and loss, and create systems that ensure the preservation of the CD's legacy as a historically Black neighborhood.

Limitations and Future Directions. In my conceptual model (Figure 5), I posit that urban displacement increases stress and decreases a sense of belonging for legacy residents, both remaining and displaced, through the disruption of community support networks. Further, I argue that urban displacement decreases a positive Black sense of place in historically Black urban neighborhoods. I find support for erosion of belonging and perceived support. Additionally, I observe an increase in stress related to UD. My analysis points to the strong import and presence

of a positive Black sense of place in the neighborhood under study. I also find that engagement in collective community perpetuity efforts may mediate feelings of loss and stress, especially for displaced former residents, but these findings should be seen as suggestive given the small number of former residents included in the study sample. Similarly, the small and unbalanced sample size of the interviews means I am unable to compare experiences between age groups and genders, and thus cannot adequately capture the roles these social identities may play in the association between urban displacement and wellbeing, though prior work referenced in the literature indicates that age may be particularly salient for experiences of displacement. In future research, I aim to diversify my study sample by age, and gender, as well as capture more displaced perspectives in order to more accurately determine the impact of these potential moderators. Further, while the content analysis and themes clearly show that urban displacement processes are considered racialized specifically for Black residents of the Central District, my sample of long-term residents was almost entirely Black. This lends credence to the idea that urban displacement impacts historically Black urban neighborhoods, but does not allow for the analysis of other racial/ethnic group responses and perceptions. Future studies will also diversify the sample by race as possible. These preliminary findings also indicate some future areas of inquiry. Namely, I hope to further study how anti-displacement efforts breed resilience through resistance and thus may mitigate the experiences of loss, stress, and subsequent impacts to health and wellbeing. Finally, I aim to conduct research in more historically Black neighborhoods across the US to ascertain the potential importance of a Black sense of place to the sociological study of race, place, and health. Other future directions include how neighborhood change influences perceptions of safety and security, as well as how those perceptions may be racialized.

Despite the limitations, my emergent themes of loss, community perpetuity, and stolen place clearly indicate that urban displacement impacts place attachment and belongingness, both of which are racialized due to histories of prejudice and spatial constraints. For the Black American urban population, this disruption of place is a likely mechanism through which urban displacement influences health outcomes.

Conclusion

Given that the majority of the US population lives in an urban area, cities have become production centers, not only for goods and services, but also for national values and norms**.** Harvey (2008) points out, "the question of what kind of city we want cannot be divorced from that of what kind of social ties, relationship to nature, lifestyles, technologies and aesthetic values we desire" (23). As the urban landscape continues to change, we must consider how these changes will impact the health and wellbeing of our most marginalized communities. In the theoretical section, I positioned urban displacement within the social determinants of health and stress literatures to demonstrate the association between stress, social supports, and health outcomes across the life course. I discussed urban displacement as a process of racial capitalism, demonstrating how spatial constraints and their economic drivers led to the establishment of a positive Black sense of place, arguing that this renders place and place attachment particularly salient in the discussion of health and wellbeing in Black communities. I do so by construing urban displacement as a stressor, thus incorporating the Stress Process Model (Pearlin et al., 1981) in order to enhance our sociological understanding of the association between neighborhood context and wellbeing.

With this theoretical argument as a backdrop, the present study investigates resident perspectives on urban displacement, as well as how urban displacement may impact formal and informal social supports and thus influence belongingness. My findings largely echo the existing literature on urban displacement. Namely that as community support networks are disrupted, residents experience deep feelings of loss and anger and struggle to feel like they belong in their legacy neighborhood. I extend that literature by pointing to changing perceptions of safety and security as one possible mechanism through which individuals lose their sense of belonging and experience stress, manifested in heightened awareness of surveillance and feelings of discomfort and alienation in formerly familiar, 'safe' spaces. I also find that community perpetuity is a high priority for many long-term institutions and community leaders; further, an emphasis on community perpetuity and collective action may mitigate feelings of loss and promote connectedness. In the case of the CD, this is directly connected to the historical Blackness of the neighborhood.

Simply put, who is or is not allowed to remain "in their legacy place" in the city reflects our collective values; processes of urban displacement, which influence the suburbanization of poverty (Allard 2017), serve as tools of neoliberal institutional and individual actors to perpetuate class inequities in modern cities. As Harvey (2008) says, "a process of displacement and 'accumulation by dispossession' lie at the core of urbanization under capitalism" (34). Since neoliberalism, white supremacy, and racism are firmly entangled in the US context, urban displacement as a neoliberal exercise is racialized and based on a colonial mindset that foregrounds white profit and prosperity. As I've discussed above, for historically Black neighborhoods in particular, urban displacement represents an erosion of belongingness and

neighborhood legacy. This erosion of neighborhood legacy is especially painful for residents because it discounts the value generated by the community in an originally disinvested space, value created with little help or under active antagonism by structures and policies for the place in which they were functionally constrained. The erasure of Black community value in turn can have numerous health consequences for Black original residents. Yet, the present study points to some meso-level factors that moderate the relationship between displacement and stress, in that the presence of community organizations becomes an important source for individuals to reduce feelings of loss and/or reify a sense of belonging, regardless of displacement status, through participation in the organizations. Essentially, by formalizing previously informal community supports, these organizations aim to create structures that ensure the continuance of neighborhood legacy.

So, what does this mean for communities? How does this inform the impact on legacy residents and how they can still maintain a sense of place? First, the assets narrative provides us with a possible template for community engagement and equitable development of a neighborhood. Glover (2003) provides an excellent example of how residents can resist negative dominant narratives about their community through organizing and collective reinvestment. Similarly, Cahill (2007) showcases community-based participatory action research and its success in empowering young women of color in gentrifying neighborhoods. In addition, my findings point to the importance of community organizations, such as Byrd Barr Place, the Central Area Senior Center, Wa Na Wa Ri, and Africatown Community Land Trust, to buffer against resident feelings of loss, by providing a place to gain belongingness. The fact that these community organizations are lauded (and funded) for tackling issues of land acquisition and community building, among

many other things, indicates that residents view anti-displacement efforts as fundamental to the overall wellbeing of the community. Clearly, there are ways of improving neighborhood conditions and prioritizing preservation of community centers and cultural touchstones. These examples also point to the crucial role of researchers in supporting the maintenance of these communities.

References

Acton, Gayle J., and Porntip Malathum. 2000. "Basic Need Status and Health-Promoting Self-Care Behavior in Adults." *Western Journal of Nursing Research* 22(7):796–811. doi: 10.1177/01939450022044764.

Africatown Community Land Trust. 2022. Webpage. https://www.africatownlandtrust.org/

Agnew, J. and Corbridge, S. 1994. Mastering Space. New York: Routledge.

Allard, Scott W. 2017. *Places in Need: The Changing Geography of Poverty*. Russell Sage Foundation.

Aneshensel, CS, Sucoff, CA. 1996. The neighborhood context of adolescent mental health. J Heal. Soc. Beh., 37(4): 293-310

Aneshensel C.S. and Mitchell U.A. 2014. " The Stress Process: Its Origins, Evolution, and Future." In: Johnson R., Turner R., Link B. (eds) *Sociology of Mental Health*. SpringerBriefs in Sociology. Springer, Cham. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-07797-0_3

Arcaya, Mariana C., Reginald D. Tucker-Seeley, Rockli Kim, Alina Schnake-Mahl, Marvin So, and S. V. Subramanian. 2016. "Research on Neighborhood Effects on Health in the United States: A Systematic Review of Study Characteristics." *Social Science & Medicine* 168:16–29. doi: 10.1016/j.socscimed.2016.08.047.

Assari, S. 2013. Race, ethnicity, religious involvement, church-based social support, and subjective health in United States: A case of moderated mediation. *Int J Prev Med 4*(2): 203-217.

Ayres, Lioness, Karen Kavanaugh, and Kathleen A. Knafl. "Within-Case and Across-Case

Approaches to Qualitative Data Analysis." Qualitative Health Research 13, no. 6 (July 2003): 871–83. https://doi.org/10.1177/1049732303013006008.

Berkman, Lisa F., Thomas Glass, Ian Brissette, and Teresa E. Seeman. 2000. "From Social Integration to Health: Durkheim in the New Millennium p." *Social Science* 15.

Blackstock, Cindy. 2011. "The Emergence of the Breath of Life Theory." 8(1):16.

Blood, Narcisse and Heavy Head, Ryan. 2007. "Blackfoot Influence on Abraham Maslow." Presentation at the University of Montana. https://www.blackfootdigitallibrary.com/digital/collection/bdl/id/1296/rec/1

Bois, W. E. B. Du. 1935. *Black Reconstruction in America 1860-1880*. Simon and Schuster.

Bonam, CM, Bergsieker, HB, Eberhardt, JL. 2016. Polluting black space. J Exp Pscyh, 145(11): 1561-1582

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1986. Ch.5 in Granovetter, M. 2018.*The Sociology of Economic Life*. Routledge.

Braveman, Paula, Susan Egerter, and David R. Williams. 2011. "The Social Determinants of Health: Coming of Age." *Annual Review of Public Health* 32(1):381–98.

Brenner, N. and N. Theodore. 2002. 'Cities and the geographies of "Actually Existing Neoliberalism"', Antipode, 33(3), pp. 349–379.

Brenner, Neil, and Nik Theodore. 2005. "Neoliberalism and the Urban Condition." *City* 9(1):101–7. doi: 10.1080/13604810500092106.

Brickell, Katherine. 2012. "Geopolitics of Home: Geopolitics of Home." *Geography Compass* 6(10):575–88. doi: 10.1111/j.1749-8198.2012.00511.x.

Brown-Saracino, Japonica. "Explicating Divided Approaches to Gentrification and Growing

Income Inequality." *Annual Review of Sociology* 43, no. 1 (2017): 515–39. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-soc-060116-053427.

Cahill, Caitlin. 2007. "Negotiating Grit and Glamour: Young Women of Color and the Gentrification of the Lower East Side." *City & Society* 19(2):202–31. doi: 10.1525/city.2007.19.2.202.

Christou, Anastasia. 2011. "Narrating Lives in (e)Motion: Embodiment, Belongingness and Displacement in Diasporic Spaces of Home and Return." *Emotion, Space and Society* 4(4):249–57. doi: 10.1016/j.emospa.2011.06.007.

Cooper, D.C., Trivedi, R.B., Nelson, K.M., Reiber, G.E., Zonderman, A.B., Evans, M.K., & Waldstein, S.R. (2013) Sex differences in associations of depressive symptoms with cardiovascular risk factors and metabolic syndrome among african americans. *Cardiovascular Psychiatry and Neurology, 2013*: 1-10.

Croff, Raina, Monique Hedmann, and Lisa L. Barnes. 2021. "Whitest City in America: A Smaller Black Community's Experience of Gentrification, Displacement, and Aging in Place." *The Gerontologist* 61(8):1254–65. doi: 10.1093/geront/gnab041.

Cruikshank, Barbara, and Bruce Cruikshank. 1999. *The Will to Empower: Democratic Citizens and Other Subjects*. Cornell University Press.

Curtis, Sarah, Professor, Professor Susan J. Elliott, and Dr. Allison Williams. 2012. *Space, Place and Mental Health*. Farnham, UNITED KINGDOM: Ashgate Publishing, Limited.

Dawson, Michael C., and Megan Ming Francis. 2016. "Black Politics and the Neoliberal Racial Order." *Public Culture* 28(1 (78)):23–62. doi: 10.1215/08992363-3325004.

Deuster, Patricia A., Su Jong Kim-Dorner, Alan T. Remaley, and Merrily Poth. 2011. "Allostatic

Load and Health Status of African Americans and Whites." *American Journal of Health Behavior* 35(6):641–53. doi: 10.5993/AJHB.35.6.1.

Dressler, William W., Kathryn S. Oths, and Clarence C. Gravlee. 2005. "RACE AND ETHNICITY IN PUBLIC HEALTH RESEARCH: Models to Explain Health Disparities." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 34(1):231–52. doi: 10.1146/annurev.anthro.34.081804.120505.

Elwood, Sarah. 2006. "Beyond Cooptation or Resistance: Urban Spatial Politics, Community Organizations, and GIS-Based Spatial Narratives." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 96(2):323–41. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-8306.2006.00480.x.

Elder GH, King V, Conger RD. 1996. Attachment to place and migration prospects: a developmental perspective. *J. Res. Adolesc.* 6:397–425

Evans, Shani Adia. Forthcoming. *The World Was Ours: Race, Memory, and Resistance in the Gentrified City.* Under Contract, University of Chicago Press.

Fields, Desiree, and Elora Lee Raymond. 2021. "Racialized Geographies of Housing Financialization." *Progress in Human Geography* 03091325211009299. doi: 10.1177/03091325211009299.

Fischer CS, Stockmayer G, Stiles J, Hout M. 2004. Distinguishing the geographic levels and social dimensions of US metropolitan segregation, 1960–2000. Demography 41(1):37–59

Fluri, Jennifer. 2017. "Crisis and Consumption: 'Saving' the Poor and the Seductions of Capitalism." *Humanities* 6(2):36.

Galster, George C. 2010. "The Mechanism(s) of Neighborhood Effects Theory, Evidence, and Policy Implications." 33.

García, Ivis, and Mérida M. Rúa. 2018. "'Our Interests Matter': Puerto Rican Older

Adults in the Age of Gentrification." *Urban Studies* 55(14):3168–84. doi: 10.1177/0042098017736251.

Genovese, Eugene D., and Elizabeth Fox-Genovese. 2011. *Fatal Self-Deception: Slaveholding Paternalism in the Old South*. Cambridge University Press.

Geronimus, Arline T., Margaret Hicken, Danya Keene, and John Bound. 2006. "'Weathering' and Age Patterns of Allostatic Load Scores Among Blacks and Whites in the United States." *American Journal of Public Health* 96(5):826–33. doi: 10.2105/AJPH.2004.060749.

Gibbons, Joseph, and Michael S. Barton. 2016. "The Association of Minority Self-Rated Health with Black versus White Gentrification." *Journal of Urban Health: Bulletin of the New York Academy of Medicine* 93(6):909–22. doi: 10.1007/s11524-016-0087-0.

Gieryn, Thomas F. 2000. "A Space for Place in Sociology." *Annual Review of Sociology* 26(1):463–96. doi: 10.1146/annurev.soc.26.1.463.

Gilleard, Chris, Martin Hyde, and Paul Higgs. 2007. "The Impact of Age, Place, Aging in Place, and Attachment to Place on the Well-Being of the Over 50s in England." *Research on Aging* 29(6):590–605. doi: 10.1177/0164027507305730.

Glover, Troy D. 2003. "The Story of the Queen Anne Memorial Garden: Resisting a Dominant Cultural Narrative." *Journal of Leisure Research* 35(2):190–212. doi: 10.1080/00222216.2003.11949990.

Goldberg, D. (2001). The racial state. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.

Haarasilta, Linnea, Mauri Marttunen, Jaakko Kaprio, and Hillevi Aro. 2003. "Major Depressive Episode and Health Care Use among Adolescents and Young Adults." *Social Psychiatry and Psychiatric Epidemiology* 38(7):366–72.

Hall, Stuart. 2011. “THE NEO-LIBERAL REVOLUTION.” *Cultural Studies* 25(6):705–28. doi: 10.1080/09502386.2011.619886.

Harvey, David. 2008. “The Right to the City.” *New Left Review* 53:18.

Herting JR, Grusky DB, Van Rompaey SE. 1997. The social geography of interstate mobility and persistance. *Am. Sociol. Rev.* 62:267–87

Hill, Doris Leal. 2006. “Sense of Belonging as Connectedness, American Indian Worldview, and Mental Health.” *Archives of Psychiatric Nursing* 20(5):210–16. doi: 10.1016/j.apnu.2006.04.003.

Hwang J. 2015. Gentrification in changing cities: immigration, new diversity, and racial inequality in neighborhood renewal. Ann. Am. Acad. Polit. Soc. Sci. 660(1):319–40

Hwang J, Sampson RJ. 2014. Divergent pathways of gentrification: racial inequality and the social order of renewal in Chicago neighborhoods. Am. Sociol. Rev. 79(4):726–51

Inwood, Joshua F. J. 2015. “Neoliberal Racism: The ‘Southern Strategy’ and the Expanding Geographies of White Supremacy.” *Social & Cultural Geography* 16(4):407–23. doi: 10.1080/14649365.2014.994670.

Izenberg, Jacob M., Mahasin S. Mujahid, and Irene H. Yen. 2018. “Health in Changing Neighborhoods: A Study of the Relationship between Gentrification and Self-Rated Health in the State of California.” *Health and Place* 52:188–95.

Jeon, Haesang, Yeonseung Chung, Soondool Chung, and Ahyoung Song. 2016. “The Influence of Social Networks and Social Support on Health Among Older Koreans at High Risk of Depression.” *Care Management Journals* 17(2):70–80. doi: 10.1891/1521-0987.17.2.70.

Jones, Nancy L., Stephen E. Gilman, Tina L. Cheng, Stacy S. Drury, Carl V. Hill, and Arline T.

Geronimus. 2019. “Life Course Approaches to the Causes of Health Disparities.” *American Journal of Public Health* 109(S1):S48–55. doi: 10.2105/AJPH.2018.304738.

Jung, Moon-Kie, João Costa Vargas, and Eduardo Bonilla-Silva. 2011. *State of White Supremacy: Racism, Governance, and the United States*. Stanford University Press.

Keyes, CL, B. Michalec, Georgia R. Kobau, H. Zahran, MM Zack, and EJ Simoes. 2000. “Social Support and Health-Related Quality of Life Among Older Adults --- Missouri, 2000.” Retrieved May 13, 2020 (https://www.cdc.gov/mmwr/preview/mmwrhtml/mm5417a4.htm).

King County Equity Now. Webpage. https://www.kingcountyequitynow.com/

Kitchen, Peter, Allison Williams, and James Chowhan. 2012. “Sense of Belonging and Mental Health in Hamilton, Ontario: An Intra-Urban Analysis.” *Social Indicators Research* 108(2):277–97. doi: 10.1007/s11205-012-0066-0.

Krause, Neal, and Elena Bastida. 2011. “Church-Based Social Relationships, Belonging, and Health Among Older Mexican Americans.” *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 50(2):397–409. doi: 10.1111/j.1468-5906.2011.01575.x.

Lebrusán, Irene, and M. Victoria Gómez. 2022. “The Importance of Place Attachment in the Understanding of Ageing in Place: ‘The Stones Know Me.’” *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health* 19(24):17052. doi: 10.3390/ijerph192417052.

Lipsitz, G. (2011). How racism takes place. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.

Lumba, Allan E. S. 2021. “4. Transpacific Migration, Racial Surplus, and Colonial Settlement.” Pp. 111–34 in *Histories of Racial Capitalism*, edited by J. Leroy and D. Jenkins. Columbia University Press.

Massood, Paula J. 1996. “Mapping the Hood: The Genealogy of City Space in ‘Boyz N the Hood’ and ‘Menace II Society.’” *Cinema Journal* 35(2):85–97.

Mcintyre, Michael, and Heidi Nast. 2011. “Bio(Necro)Polis: Marx, Surplus Populations, and the Spatial Dialectics of Reproduction and ‘Race’1.” *Antipode* 43:1465–88. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-8330.2011.00906.x.

McKittrick, Katherine. 2011. “On Plantations, Prisons, and a Black Sense of Place.” *Social & Cultural Geography* 12(8):947–63. doi: 10.1080/14649365.2011.624280.

McKittrick, Katherine, and Clyde Adrian Woods. 2007. *Black Geographies and the Politics of Place*. Toronto : Cambridge, Mass.: Between the Lines ; South End Press.

Melamed, Jodi. 2006. “The Spirit of Neoliberalism.” *Social Text* 24(4):1–24. doi: 10.1215/01642472-2006-009.

Oakes, J. Michael. 2004. “The (Mis)Estimation of Neighborhood Effects: Causal Inference for a Practicable Social Epidemiology.” *Social Science & Medicine* 58(10):1929–52. doi: 10.1016/j.socscimed.2003.08.004.

Offidani, Emanuela, Elena Tomba, and Michael Dennis Linder. 2013. “Two Key Concepts in the Life Course Approach in Medicine: Allostatic Load and Cumulative Life Course Impairment.” *Current Problems in Dermatology* 44:17–32. doi: 10.1159/000350385.

Pearlin, Leonard I., Elizabeth G. Menaghan, Morton A. Lieberman, and Joseph T. Mullan. “The Stress Process.” *Journal of Health and Social Behavior* 22, no. 4 (1981): 337–56. https://doi.org/10.2307/2136676.

Peck, Jamie, and Adam Tickell. 2002. “Neoliberalizing Space.” *Antipode* 34(3):380–404. doi: 10.1111/1467-8330.00247.

Reardon SF and Bischoff K. 2011. Income inequality and income segregation. Am. J. Sociol.

116(4):1092–53.

Rúa, Mérida M. 2017. "'Aging in Displacement: Urban Revitalization and Puerto Rican Elderhood in Chicago.'" *Anthropology and Aging* 38(1):44–59. doi: 10.5195/aa.2017.157.

Rucks-Ahidiana, Zawadi. 2021. "Theorizing Gentrification as a Process of Racial Capitalism." *City & Community* 153568412110547. doi: 10.1177/15356841211054790.

Sampson, Robert J. 2003. "The Neighborhood Context of Well-Being." *Perspectives in Biology and Medicine* 46(3):S53–64.

Sampson, Robert J., Jeffrey D. Morenoff, and Thomas Gannon-Rowley. 2002. "Assessing 'Neighborhood Effects': Social Processes and New Directions in Research." *Annual Review of Sociology* 28(1):443–78.

Seattle City Council. 2018. "Resolution 31856" (http://seattle.legistar.com/View.ashx?M=F&ID=6828308&GUID=6A35EB16-36FA-4E66-ABDC-6FC4DE6FDD46)

Segal, Jacob. 2006. "The Discipline of Freedom: Action and Normalization in the Theory and Practice of Neo-Liberalism." *New Political Science* 28(3):323–34. doi: 10.1080/07393140600856078.

Soja EW. 1996. *Thirdspace: Journeys to Los Angeles and Other Real-and-Imagined Places.* Cambridge, MA: Blackwell Press.

Solari CD. 2012. Affluent neighborhood persistence and change in U.S. cities. City Community 11(4):370–88

Soss, Joe, Richard C. Fording, and Sanford F. Schram. 2011. *Disciplining the Poor: Neoliberal Paternalism and the Persistent Power of Race*. University of Chicago Press.

Sweet, Paige L. 2020. “Who Knows? Reflexivity in Feminist Standpoint Theory and Bourdieu.” *Gender & Society* 34(6):922–50. doi: 10.1177/0891243220966600.

Taylor, John, and R. Jay Turner. 2002. “Perceived Discrimination, Social Stress, and Depression in the Transition to Adulthood: Racial Contrasts.” *Social Psychology Quarterly* 65(3):213–25. doi: 10.2307/3090120.

Tolnay, Stewart E. 2003. “The African American ‘Great Migration’ and Beyond.” *Annual Review of Sociology* 29:209–32.

Turner, R. Jay, and Andres G. Gil. 2002. “Psychiatric and Substance Use Disorders in South Florida: Racial/Ethnic and Gender Contrasts in a Young Adult Cohort.” *Archives of General Psychiatry* 59(1):43–50. doi: 10.1001/archpsyc.59.1.43.

Turner, R. Jay, and Donald A. Lloyd. 2003. “Cumulative Adversity and Drug Dependence in Young Adults: Racial/Ethnic Contrasts.” *Addiction* 98(3):305–15. doi: 10.1046/j.1360-0443.2003.00312.x.

Turner, R. Jay, and Franco Marino. 1994. “Social Support and Social Structure: A Descriptive Epidemiology.” *Journal of Health and Social Behavior* 35(3):193–212. doi: 10.2307/2137276.

US Department of Health and Human Services. 1999. “US Surgeon General Report on Mental and Somatic Health.

U.S. Census Bureau, 2010 Census of Population and Housing. 2012. “Population and Housing Unit Counts, CPH-2-1, United States Summary, Table 7:Population by Urban and Rural and Size of Place Based on Current Urban Definition: 1990 to 2010; 1950–1990 Urban Definition: 1950 to 1990; and Pre-1950 Urban Definition: 1790 to 1950—Con.” U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, DC.

U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development. 2021. “2021 Annual Homelessness Assessment Report: Part 1 - PIT Estimates of Homelessness in the U.S. | HUD USER.” (https://www.huduser.gov/portal/datasets/ahar/2021-ahar-part-1-pit-estimates-of-homelessness-in-the-us.html).

Versey, H. Shellae. 2018. “A Tale of Two Harlems: Gentrification, Social Capital, and Implications for Aging in Place.” *Social Science & Medicine* 214:1–11. doi: 10.1016/j.socscimed.2018.07.024.

Versey, H. Shellae, Serene Murad, Paul Willems, and Mubarak Sanni. 2019. “Beyond Housing: Perceptions of Indirect Displacement, Displacement Risk, and Aging Precarity as Challenges to Aging in Place in Gentrifying Cities.” *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health* 16(23):4633. doi: 10.3390/ijerph16234633.

Wa Na Wa Ri. 2022. Webpage. https://www.wanawari.org/

Wacquant, L. 1998. Negative social capital: State breakdown and social destitution in America’s urban core. Neth. J. Of Hous.and Built Enviro. 13(1): 25-40

Watt, Paul. 2003. “Urban Marginality and Labour Market Restructuring: Local Authority Tenants and Employment in an Inner London Borough.” *Urban Studies* 40(9):1769–89. doi: 10.1080/0042098032000106591.

Williams, Eric. 1944. *Capitalism and Slavery*. The University of North Carolina Press.

Appendix: Data Sources

Table 1. Seattle City Council Video Archive: Central District Footage (https://www.seattlechannel.org/mayor-and-council/city-council/city-council-all-videos-index)

Video Date	Event Type	Video Length (in hrs/min)
03-16-2019	Special Committee meeting	1:33:57
03-21-2019	Lunch & Learn (Community outreach, presentations)	1:01:50
04-23-2019	Press conference	0:24:51
06-20-2019	Special Committee meeting	2:08:41
07-29-2019	Committee meeting	2:06:40
06-18-2020	Press conference	0:50:10
05-05-2021	Committee meeting	1:02:48
07-21-2021	Press conference	0:49:41
Years: 2019-2021 | Total time:		9:58:38

Table 3. Interviewee Pseudonyms and Demographics (*all participants are cisgender)

Pseudonym	Age Range	Gender Identity*	Race	Household Income	Residential Status	Interview Type
Clarence	early 40s	Man	Black	$20,000-$50,000	Current	Both
Shawn	early 40s	Man	Black	$50,00-$75,000	Former	Both
Doug	late 60s	Man	White	< $20,000	Non-Resident	Contextual
Laila	late 30s	Woman	Asian/Pacific Islander	$50,000-$75,000	Non-Resident	Contextual
Racine	early 20s	Woman	Black	$20,000-$50,000	Current	Contextual
Harriet	mid-30s	Woman	White	$50,000-$75,000	Current	Residential
Evelyn	mid-70s	Woman	Black	$50,000-$75,000	Current	Residential
Whitney	early 40s	Woman	Black	$50,000-$75,000	Current	Residential
Geraldine	late 70s	Woman	Black	< $20,000	Current	Both
Dietrich	mid-70s	Man	Black	< $20,000	Former	Residential
Antoinette	late 30s	Woman	Black	> $100,000	Former	Both
Darrell	early 50s	Man	Black	$75,000-$100,000	Current	Both
Ora	mid-70s	Woman	Black	$20,000-$50,000	Current	Residential
Lowell	mid 60s	Man	Black	$50,000-$75,000	Former	Residential
Bobby	mid-60s	Man	Black	> $100,000	Former	Residential