Gentrification and Integration

Urban Injustices Workshop, Sao Paulo, 14th February 2023

1. The Integration Debate and Gentrification

1.1. Racial segregation perpetuates Black disadvantage in the US (Massey and Denton 1993).

1.2. New integrationists (e.g., Anderson 2010) and egalitarian pluralists (e.g., Shelby 2016) disagree on the status of **residential integration** as a response to racial segregation.

1.3. **Gentrification**: process of spatial and demographic change involving the influx of wealthier residents into relatively deprived areas.

1.4. **Racialised gentrification**: predominantly white incomers moving into predominantly Black neighbourhoods: (i) racialised processes of dis/investment (Rucks-Ahidiana 2022) and (ii) the racial coding of geographical space (Zimmer 2022).

1.5. Racialised gentrification is, in demographic terms, a form of residential integration (Ellen and Torrats-Espinosa 2019). We can use it as a **test case** for arguments for integration.

1.6. Kim and Walton (2022) and Pierce (2021): gentrification (or "advantaged relocation") has integrative benefits, and its burdens can be contained/limited.

2. The Causal Argument

2.1. Anderson's diagnosis: residential segregation (i) enables "social closure" and (ii) causes stigmatisation through limiting inter-group contact.

2.2. Anderson's prediction: residential integration (i) disrupts processes of social closure and (ii) decreases stigma through increasing inter-group contact.

2.3. Racialised cases of gentrification cast doubt on the prediction but not the diagnosis.

2.4. (i): limited "bridging capital" in racialised contexts of gentrification and material benefits in gentrifying neighbourhoods disproportionately benefit white incomers.

2.5. (ii): inter-group hostility a feature of social relations in gentrifying neighbourhoods.

3. The Epistemic-Democratic Argument

3.1. Anderson: democracy as a mode of collective inquiry for solving collective problems: (i) segregation encourages "white ignorance" (Mills 2017); (ii) robust deliberation requires integration

3.2. On a **systemic** view of deliberation, (ii) gentrification shows the role of **intra-group** deliberation in enclaves that Anderson overlooks (cf. Medina 2013).

3.3. Racialised gentrification shows that (ii) residential integration does not necessarily lead to robust deliberation, but other "nodes" in the deliberative system can play this role (cf. Lepoutre 2021).

4. The Relational-Democratic Argument

4.1. Anderson: (i) segregation leads to elites monopolising higher offices and using them to serve their own partial interests; (ii) integration encourages elites to be responsive to all.

4.2. Anderson rejects "politics of difference" arguments for elite descriptive representation.

4.3. Racialised gentrification shows that (ii) integration does not always make elites responsive, and that sources of countervailing power can be disrupted by integration.

4.4. "Differentiated" conceptions of social equality (e.g., Young 2000) has diagnostic power in racialised contexts of gentrification.

5. The Terms of Integration

5.1. Integration's prospects are limited when: (i) interaction is on terms of inequality; (ii) benefits are skewed to the advantaged; or (iii) it conflicts with racial solidarity.

5.2. A more demanding conception of integration can avoid these problems (e.g., Stanley 2017) and does not vindicate racialised cases of gentrification.

5.3. This conception fits with arguments made by Kim and Walton (2022) and Pierce (2021).

5.4. But "temporal paradox": it presupposes the social conditions it is supposed to produce.

5.5. Perhaps the same can be said of Kim and Walton (2022) and Pierce (2021)?

References

Anderson, E. (2010) *The Imperative of Integration*. Princeton University Press.

Ellen, I. and Torrats-Espinosa, G. (2019) "Gentrification and Fair Housing: Does Gentrification Further Integration?" *Housing Policy Debate* 29 (5): 835–51.

Lepoutre, M. (2021) *Democratic Speech in Divided Times*. Oxford University Press.

Kim, H. Y. and Walton, A. (2022) "Residential Integration on Fair Terms for the Disadvantaged," *British Journal of Political Science*. [online first]

Massey, D. and Denton, N. (1993) *American Apartheid: Segregation and the Making of the Underclass*. Harvard University Press.

Medina, J. (2013) *The Epistemology of Resistance: Gender and Racial Oppression, Epistemic Justice, and the Social Imagination*. Oxford University Press.

Mills, C. (2017) *Black Rights/White Wrongs: The Critique of Racial Liberalism*. Oxford University Press.

Pierce, A. (2021) "Integration Without Gentrification," *Public Affairs Quarterly* 35 (1): 1–21.

Rucks-Ahidiana, Z. (2022) "Theorizing Gentrification as a Process of Racial Capitalism," *City & Community* 21 (3): 173–92.

Shelby, T. (2016) *Dark Ghettos: Injustice, Dissent and Reform*. Belknap Press.

Stanley, S. (2017) *An Impossible Dream? Racial Integration in the United States.* Oxford University Press.

Young, I. (2000) *Inclusion and Democracy*. Oxford University Press.

Zimmer, T. (2022) "Gentrification and the Racialization of Space," *Philosophy & Social Criticism* 48 (2): 268–88.