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Neighborhood Experiences and the Co-Construction of Neighborhood, Race, and Gender: A Qualitative Study of a Middle-Class, Latino-White Neighborhood

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**NEIGHBORHOOD EXPERIENCES AND THE
CO-CONSTRUCTION OF NEIGHBORHOOD, RACE,
AND GENDER: A QUALITATIVE STUDY OF A
MIDDLE-CLASS, LATINO-WHITE NEIGHBORHOOD**

by

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DISSERTATION

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Requirements for the Degree of

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation incorporates three distinct bodies of scholarship to bridge theories on: 1) the social construction of community and neighborhood, 2) the social construction of race, and 3) the social construction of gender. In doing so, I identify similarities in these theories by focusing on the symbolic and interactional dimensions. I draw from this theoretical framework to address the research question: for a middle-class neighborhood with a relatively even mix of both whites and Latinos, what are the patterns of neighborhood experiences in terms of race and gender? I develop the multidimensional analytic concept of neighborhood experiences to include neighboring, emotional connections, and neighborhood activities. I draw from qualitative data collected from an Albuquerque, New Mexico neighborhood that I refer to as Las Flores. In particular, I conducted in-depth interviews with neighborhood residents and field notes from neighborhood activities and argue that neighborhood and race are co-constructed and neighborhood and gender are co-constructed. Co-construction refers to how

neighborhood is given meaning via race and how race is given meaning via

neighborhood. Similarly, gender is given meaning via neighborhood and neighborhood

is given meaning via gender. This dissertation presents three main results chapters. First,

I explore neighboring interactions and the symbolic meaning given to neighbors,

specifically highlighting the concept of "friendly distance." Second, I examine emotional

connections to the neighborhood and the co-construction of neighborhood and race with

results on racial differences in residents' descriptions of sense of belonging,

neighborhood history, and neighborhood attachment. Third, I address neighborhood

activities and gendered expectations within the neighborhood highlighting how women

experienced the neighborhood as mothers and linking these results to the systemic model

of community. Taken as a whole, the results point to the significance of examining the

co-construction of race and neighborhoods and the co-construction of gender and

neighborhoods to better understand neighborhood dynamics in a contemporary, middle-

class Albuquerque neighborhood. This dissertation concludes with a discussion of

insights, implications, and suggestions for future research.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Sociology, as a discipline, has an inherent focus on groups and communities. The topic of community traces to the founding of the discipline where classical theorists such as Tönnies ([1887] 1988) and Durkheim ([1893] 1964) lamented the loss of community (Wirth 1938; Wellman and Leighton 1979). In this regard, there is no doubt that community continues to be a central topic for sociologists as fears of community decline and nostalgia for a simpler time are still prominent. I started this dissertation journey with a general interest in contemporary community guided by a belief that neighborhoods are still meaningful even with growing virtual connections and the seemingly take-over of technological-mediated interactions. My interest in neighborhoods grew from both a personal and an academic interest. Personally, I did not grow up in a so-called neighborhood. I grew up in a rural area of Colorado where "neighbors" were considered people living within a few miles of each other and dirt roads did not easily form a street block. In particular, I am personally compelled by the role of place in shaping social interactions and social identities. This personal experience connected with more academic interests as I learned of research on place and neighborhoods.

An important area of research focuses on "neighborhood effects" or how important social outcomes such as childhood well-being, crime, and health are affected by residential location (Sampson, Morenoff, and Gannon-Rowley 2002; Sharkey and Faber 2014). Research on neighborhood effects attempts to study sociology's fundamental concern with groups and community by identifying how place matters and how interventions for social problems must focus on aggregate-level issues not just

changes to individual behavior. The goals and data of neighborhood effects research are quite compelling, but I was often struck by the lack of "on-the-ground" processes. I was more curious with how residents, themselves, viewed neighborhood and how neighborhood became a meaningful community. In this regard, my research set out to listen to the stories of everyday people.

While community is a fundamental theme within all sociological scholarship, sociologists also grapple with social inequality. A sociological approach to understanding structures of society often means focusing on how social identities of race or gender map onto unequal structures within institutions such as economy (Acker 1990; Oliver and Shapiro 1995; Conley 1999; Reskin and Padavic 2002; Skuratowicz and Hunter 2004), education (Thorne 1993; López 2002; Staiger 2004; Lewis 2005), and criminal justice system (Sampson and Lauritsen 1997; Pager 2003; Alexander 2012). Moreover, sociological theories are continually being refined to address race and gender as crucial to understanding social life. Therefore, this dissertation grows out of a personal interest in and commitment to sociological scholarship on race and gender. Throughout this dissertation process, I have continually sought to incorporate sociological theories of race and gender into research on neighborhoods. Ultimately, this entailed formulating my own conceptual model identifying key similarities between distinct bodies of literature related to neighborhood, race, and gender.

While this dissertation developed from a general interest in neighborhood, race, and gender, my specific research followed a more direct path. First, I identified a unique empirical setting by selecting an Albuquerque, New Mexico neighborhood. Initially, I was particularly interested in researching a middle-class neighborhood because research

often focuses on economically disadvantaged neighborhoods. My process of site selection uncovered an additional point of analytic interest, namely the racial integration of certain Albuquerque neighborhoods. Therefore, I ultimately selected a middle-class neighborhood with a fairly even mix of both white and Latino residents. This unique setting provides an important empirical contribution by extending neighborhood and race research beyond the black-white dichotomy and by examining Latinos as a non-immigrant group but instead incorporating theories of race and racialization. The second empirical focus of this research was to develop the core analytic concept of "neighborhood experiences." As such, my research design incorporated scholarship on neighboring, emotional connections, and neighborhood activities as crucial to understanding the "everyday" experiences of neighborhood residents.

In the remainder of this chapter, I first provide the research question for this dissertation. In the second section, I provide a focused review of three distinct areas of scholarship on the social construction of: 1) neighborhood and community; 2) race; and 3) gender. In doing so, I identify the similarities between these three bodies of literature by focusing on symbolic meaning and interaction dimensions. I then situate my core analytic concept of neighborhood experiences by addressing how neighborhood experiences provides an important tool for understanding the symbolic and interaction dimensions of the social construction of neighborhood. I also review literature on neighborhood experiences and race and neighborhood experiences of gender. The fourth section provides an illustration and description of my conceptual model on the co-construction of neighborhood, race, and gender. I conclude this chapter with an overview of the remaining chapters of the dissertation.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

This dissertation is guided by the main research question: for a middle-class neighborhood with a relatively even mix of both whites and Latinos, what are the patterns of neighborhood experiences in terms of race and gender? To answer this research question, I conducted a qualitative study of one neighborhood in Albuquerque, New Mexico. I refer to this neighborhood as Las Flores, which is a pseudonym just as all names of residents are pseudonyms to protect the identity of all research participants. Las Flores is a unique neighborhood in that it is a middle-class neighborhood with a fairly even mix of Latinos and whites. My qualitative research included in-depth interviews with Las Flores residents and observation of neighborhood activities. Following an inductive analytic approach, several themes related to neighborhood experiences, such as meeting neighbors, good neighbors, sense of belonging, and neighborhood gender expectations, emerged from this data. To fully situate these results, I now present the main conceptual framework guiding this dissertation.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

This dissertation brings together three distinct bodies of literature to address the social construction of neighborhood, race, and gender. As such, I make a unique contribution of bringing these bodies of literature in dialogue with each other. In particular, I identify two key factors of social constructionism—symbolic dimensions and interactions—and discuss how core sociological theories on community, race, and gender address these factors.

I conceptualize neighborhood as a type of community with a particular focus on interactions and symbolic meanings within a shared residential space. A social

constructionism approach underscores how people and space become defined as neighbors and neighborhood instead of viewing neighborhoods as fixed or natural. I conceptualize race as multidimensional bridging the micro-level dimension of identity and the macro-level dimension of structure. In particular, I focus on race as a social identity whereby individuals may self-identify as a member of a racial group but these identities also reflect a larger social system that shapes individual identity and interaction. I also conceptualize gender as multilevel where gender refers to both individual-level social identity and macro-level gender structure. While I emphasize that both race and gender are social constructions, and therefore not rooted in biology or fixed, innate traits, I also conceptualize race and gender as understood within a larger structure of inequality. As such, the social identities of race and gender reflect how individual identities are shaped by systems and structures that privilege certain identities. Moreover, a social constructionism approach directs attention to the social meaning given to race and gender emphasizing the differences in definitions across contexts. Therefore, my conceptualizations integrate scholarship on neighborhood, race, and gender by identifying similarities in these distinct bodies of literature with a focus on social constructionism, symbolic meaning, and interactions.

To bridge theoretical components of the social construction of neighborhood, race, and gender with my empirical research, I develop my core analytic concept of neighborhood experiences. Drawing on existing empirical research on neighborhoods, I conceptualize neighborhood experiences as consisting of neighboring, emotional connections, and neighborhood activities. These three dimensions of neighborhood experiences address informal interactions among neighbors, evaluations and sentiment

toward the neighborhood, and participation in more formal neighborhood organizations. Neighboring addresses informal interactions between neighborhood residents and the symbolic meaning given to neighbors whereas neighborhood activities incorporates more formal activities such as neighborhood association and local school events. Emotional connections include evaluations of and sentiments toward the neighborhood. Neighborhood experiences provide an analytic tool for interpreting my results from the Las Flores neighborhood.

In linking my theoretical framework of the social construction of neighborhood, race, and gender with the analytic concept of neighborhood experiences, I used an inductive approach to formulate my results and demonstrate the co-construction of neighborhood and race and the co-construction of neighborhood and gender. By co-construction, I argue that neighborhood is given meaning via race and race is given meaning via neighborhood. Similarly, I argue that neighborhood is given meaning via gender and gender is given meaning via neighborhood.

Social Construction of Community and Neighborhood

This section addresses relevant concepts from existing scholarship to better understand neighborhood as a social construction. In particular, I identify how neighborhood can be understood as a type of community. I then discuss relevant theories on the social construction of community, with a particular focus on how the social construction of neighborhood is tied to both interactions and symbolic dimensions.

Community and neighborhood are not consistently defined (Chaskin 1997; Lyon 1999; Campbell 2000). Moreover, definitions of community and neighborhood sometimes conceptualize community and neighborhood as separate but may also

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conceptualize neighborhood as a fundamental type of community. Chaskin (1997: 522) classifies community as implying connection where connection can take the form of social, functional, cultural, or circumstantial. As such, community can be territorial, in other words place-based connections, but community can also be relational, consisting of social ties that are not bound by shared locality (Wellman 1979; Willmott 1986; Gieryn 2000; Kusenbach 2006). Neighborhoods, on the other hand, are almost always conceptualized as place-based and generally considered to be residential areas that are subunits to a larger area (Schwirian 1983; Willmott 1986; Chaskin 1997; Martin 2003). As such, studies of neighborhoods are often studies of community, but the reverse is not always the case because studies of community can examine contexts other than neighborhoods (Chaskin 1997; Sampson 1999; Volker, Flap, and Lindenberg 2007).

A social constructionist perspective assumes that community and neighborhood are not natural or innate. Instead, neighborhood is given meaning via shared interactions and shared meaning. Shared meaning could refer to shared spatial components, as in what are the place-based boundaries of a neighborhood? Shared meaning could also refer to shared interactions occurring within the shared place of neighborhood that create shared norms.

The work of Anthony Cohen is useful to better understand the social construction of community perspective. Cohen (1985) emphasized that community can best be understood via symbolic meanings. In particular, Cohen (1985) addressed boundaries as the fundamental feature of community and how the purpose of boundaries is twofold: to define who is part of the community and also who is not part of the community. For Cohen (1985), boundaries are symbolic in that they come from perceptions and

interactions not from external structural or place features. Therefore, in order to research the symbolic construction of community, Cohen (1985: 38) directs researchers to capture "experience" and "meanings" for members.

Cohen also emphasizes the importance of interactions as a way to understand the boundaries and symbolic construction of community. This emphasis is also key in Wilkinson's (1991) framework of an interactionist perspective of community. Wilkinson (1991) highlights various definitions of community such as ecological, structural, and psychological. However, for Wilkinson (1992: 2) the "core property" of community is interaction. As such, interaction addresses how space becomes place, how territories become community, and how community is still an important and relevant sociological concept. Wilkinson (1991) critiques a community lost or despatialized notion of community. Instead, Wilkinson (1991) claims that territorial aspects are still important for how people interact within a locality, even if interactions extend beyond a particular locality. Like Cohen, Wilkinson also notes that localities have boundaries and also emotional connections. However, for Wilkinson, the key dimension of community is how interactions within a locality construct community.

Taken together, Cohen (1985) and Wilkinson (1991) address two critical concepts for addressing the social construction of community—the interaction and symbolic dimensions of community. They direct researchers to examine how community is fostered through shared interactions that lead to shared symbols to create boundaries of community. I draw from these concepts to address neighborhood as a type of community that is socially constructed via shared interactions and shared symbolic meaning. Qualitative studies of neighborhoods as socially constructed have found that residents

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ascribe symbolic meaning to place features, and perceptions of neighborhood can shape identity and motivate residents to mobilize (Nowell, Berkowitz, Deacon, Foster-Fishman 2006). In a study of Dutch neighborhoods, Larsen and Stock (2010) examined how neighborhood and community were given meaning via shared interactions in neighborhood settings and shared neighborhood history. Kusenbach (2008) addressed the social construction of community by examining how interactions and meaning occur across different levels of place within a neighborhood. In particular, Kusenbach found different interactions and symbolic meaning given within the microsetting of a few adjacent houses compared to the interactions and sentiments attached to the larger area of neighborhood within walking distance. In line with Kusenbach (2008), I examine the symbolic meaning and interactions for residents of Las Flores to better understand how place was defined as neighborhood and people were considered neighbors. I link the social construction of neighborhood with theories on the social construction of race and the social construction of gender.

Social Construction of Race

The second body of literature framing this dissertation draws from sociology of race and ethnicity scholarship to address race as a social construction. In this section, I provide an overview of key sociological theories of race as a social construction and scholarship addressing interaction and symbolic dimensions. I also address how I conceptualize Latinos as a racialized group within the United States.

Omi and Winant's (1994, 2015) racial formation theory is the preeminent sociological theory on the social construction of race. Racial formation theory defines race as "a concept that signifies and symbolizes social conflicts and interests by referring

to different types of human bodies" (Omi and Winant 2015: 110). This definition of race highlights that race is not natural or essential and instead highlights how race can be symbolic. Omi and Winant (2015: 109) extend their discussion of race by addressing racial formation as "the sociohistorical process by which racial identities are created, lived out, transformed, and destroyed." Therefore racial formation theory addresses not just race as symbolic but also addresses the social construction of race by emphasizing the processes that lead to racialization. As such, Omi and Winant identify racial projects as the building blocks of racial formation, whereby the process of racialization is carried out through racial projects. Racial projects are the organizational aspect of racial formation, and racial projects connect the symbolic aspect of race to resource distribution.

Feagin (2014) also provides important theoretical concepts related to race as a social construction. In particular, Feagin (2014: 11) focuses on systemic racism and explicitly discusses historical and contemporary dynamics within the United States that have led to "unjust impoverishment and unjust enrichment" along racial lines. Feagin and Elias (2013) critique racial formation theory for not fully addressing racial inequality, particularly institutionalized racism. As such, race is not just symbolic but should be understood within a larger system of racial inequality (Feagin 2014). Bonilla-Silva (2001: 37) also emphasizes race as a social system and claims, "In all racialized social systems the placement of actors in racial categories involves some form of hierarchy that produces definite social relations among the races."

While sociological theories of race all address race as a social construction, the points of emphasis differ regarding how to conceptualize race tied to racial inequality.

Feagin (2014) and Bonilla-Silva (2001) more explicitly focus on racism while Omi and Winant (2015) more generally focus on race as a social construction. This dissertation research is more line with Omi and Winant by addressing race as a social construction. However, as Feagin and Bonilla-Silva highlight, it is impossible to address race without also recognizing the broader racial system. For Feagin (2014), the U.S. racial system is characterized by a black-white dichotomy whereby whites have received unjust enrichments and blacks have received unjust impoverishment. Examples of historical and contemporary institutionalized inequality could be viewed as types of racial projects, but Omi and Winant do not claim that all racial projects are necessarily racist.

In addition to different points of emphasis on understanding race as a social construction compared to racism, it is also important to address interaction dimensions of race. Omi and Winant identify racial formation as both a micro and macro level process. However, Omi and Winant's elaboration of racial formation theory mainly addresses the macro level by illustrating the racial state. In a comprehensive review of literature on racial formation scholarship, Saperstein, Penner, and Light (2013: 367) specifically identify strategies for addressing meso-level analysis as important "because the social construction of race takes on a different emphasis in analyses of institutions and organizations. This is the terrain where official policies, racial stereotypes, and cultural representations collide with individual racial identities and perceptions." A meso-level racial formation approach bridges micro-level racial projects on racial identity with macro-level racial projects such as the racial state. Interactions could be considered an example of meso-level racial formation, especially when researchers address racial interactions within specific meso-level contexts. Along these lines, Saperstein et al.

(2013: 370) claim "the effects of institutional or social context are revealed even more clearly in studies that explicitly contrast how race is constructed or experienced differently in different settings." Feagin and Sikes (1994) also elaborate on racialized interactions in their research on the black middle-class and found that black middle class participants described many instances of mistreatment and discrimination in their daily lives. Feagin and Sikes (1994) discuss these results in relation to systemic racism via lived experience where lived experience refers to the everyday interactions within a racial system.

A final dimension of the social construction of race that is important for my dissertation framework is the racialization of Latinos. One debate among sociologists who study race is how to differentiate between race and ethnicity. This debate becomes particularly important when researching Latinos because Latinos are often identified as an ethnic group not a racial group, especially for researchers using official statistics. The federal guidelines on measuring race, particularly U.S. Census data, do not include Hispanic as a racial identity (Roth 2012; Rodriguez, Miyawak, and Argeros 2013). In contrast to the official federal guidelines, many Latinos self-report their racial identity as "some other race" although there is variation across categories of nationality (Rodriguez et al. 2013). As such, at the micro-level of self-identity, the symbolic meaning of race differs between Latino respondents and government officials. Further, racial formation theory specifically emphasizes race as a key concept distinct from ethnicity and highlights racialization as distinct from issues of assimilation or incorporation (Omi and Winant 2015). Finally, from a racial system perspective, Latinos are often deemed an "intermediary group" within a racial hierarchy (Feagin 2014). While whites are the

privileged racial group in the American racial system, Latinos are often marginalized or viewed as "off-white" (Glenn 2002; Gomez 2007; Feagin 2014). Hispanics, particularly Mexican-Americans, have been defined as legally white but socially viewed as non-white (Betancur 1996; Gomez 2007). In many regards, this inconsistency of whether Hispanics are a racial group highlights the social construction of race and demonstrates that racial categories are not based in any essential or biological quality.

This dissertation approaches race as a social construction whereby race is specifically understood as symbolic not biological, which draws from a racial formation perspective. However, this dissertation also approaches race as a social construction shaped by an unequal racial system. Finally, this dissertation examines racialized interactions as useful for addressing racial formation and the racial system, particularly linking micro and meso-levels.

Moreover, in this dissertation I discuss Latinos as a racial group. The reasons I address Latinos as a racial group are twofold, theoretical and empirical. First, theoretically I am grounding my research in sociology of race theories, specifically racial formation and systemic racism. Second, whereas ethnicity frameworks often examine issues of assimilation and incorporation, the empirical context of my research examines Latino residents who not new immigrants. Instead, Latino residents were more likely to have family ties to the neighborhood and some could trace their family history back several generations. Therefore, an emphasis on "incorporation" is less applicable for understanding white-Latino comparisons within this neighborhood context. As such, I situate my findings with a focus on racialization processes not the process of assimilation.

In linking the social construction of race to the social construction of neighborhoods, I elaborate on the meso level of racial formation. First, I focus specifically on the neighborhood as an important context for studying the social construction of race, and I link neighborhood experiences to racial formation. Second, I address the symbolic meaning of neighborhood tied to racialization and a racial system. The co-construction of race and neighborhood occur within a racial system that is unequal. Further, because my research addresses Latino-white dynamics, I contribute to scholarship on Latinos as a racial group.

Social Construction of Gender

The third body of scholarship guiding this dissertation draws from sociological theories on the social construction of gender. In particular, I draw from the West and Zimmerman's (1987) doing gender perspective and Ridgeway and Correll's (2004b) gender system perspective. Doing gender is the preeminent theory for sociology of gender scholars. In particular, doing gender calls attention not just to gender as a social construction but also emphasizes that gender emerges in interactions. West and Zimmerman (1987) differentiate between sex, sex category, and gender. Sex refers to the biological differences between males and females and sex category is the social categorization of individuals, often initially on basis of socially defined sex characteristics, but also through everyday categorizations where biological sex criteria is not present. Gender, on the other hand, refers to "the activity of managing situated conduct in light of normative conceptions of attitudes and activities appropriate for one's sex category. Gender activities emerge from and bolster claims to membership in a sex category" (West and Zimmerman 1987: 127). This definition of gender emphasizes that

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gender is not a trait that people have but instead a property that emerges within interactions. Importantly, individuals are accountable to how they do gender. In this sense, accountability refers to engaging "in behavior at the risk of gender assessment" (West and Zimmerman 1987: 137).

Accountability addresses the symbolic dimension of gender and gender inequality. Individuals are held accountable to normative conceptions of gender, which refers to the symbolic meanings of masculinities and femininities that serve as rules for behavior. However, these symbolic meanings are not neutral and instead the doing gender perspective specifically addresses normative conceptions and accountability tied to inequality. In particular, West and Zimmerman (1987: 146) state, "If we do gender appropriately, we simultaneously sustain, reproduce, and render legitimate the institutional arrangements that are based on sex category. If we fail to do gender appropriately, we as individuals—not the institutional arrangements—may be called to account." While doing gender emphasizes interactions, the theory is not solely a micro-level theory. Normative conceptions and accountability bridge micro-level interactions with macro-level structure.

Ridgeway and Correll (2004b) also address gender as a multilevel phenomenon and expand on the doing gender perspective to further understand the context of gender interactions. Ridgeway and Correll (2004b: 510) define gender as "an institutionalized system of social practices for constituting people as two significantly different categories, men and women, and organizing social relations of inequality on the basis of that difference." In this regard, Ridgeway and Correll more specifically address aspects of gender inequality than the doing gender perspective. While West and Zimmerman

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(1987) sought to establish gender as a social construction with an emphasis on gender as a situated accomplishment, Ridgeway and Correll (2004b) focus on how to understand gender inequality. Building from the doing gender perspective, Ridgeway and Correll (2004b) emphasize social relational contexts as important for understanding gender and gender inequality. Social relational contexts include "any situation in which individuals define themselves in relation to others in order to act" (Ridgeway and Correll 2004b: 511). Moreover, Ridgeway and Correll (2004b: 511) address how gender beliefs or the "core, defining beliefs about gender," are more likely to be salient within certain social relational contexts. In this regard, gender beliefs are the "rules for enacting the gender system," and social relational contexts are where the rules are "brought to bear on the behavior and evaluations of individuals" (Ridgeway and Correll 2004b: 514).

Gender is theorized as an ever present background identity, however Ridgeway and Correll (2004b) identify two contexts where gender will be more salient. First, gender will be more salient in contexts where actors differ in sex category. Second, gender will be more salient in contexts that are gender typed. Further, Ridgeway and Correll (2004b) discuss how gender beliefs and social relational contexts are important for understanding gender inequality. In particular, they claim that when gender is salient, hegemonic gender beliefs are more likely to be present. Hegemonic gender beliefs maintain a system that privileges men over women (Connell 2005; Connell and Messerschmidt 2005). Therefore, in social relational contexts where gender is salient, the gender beliefs activated are more likely to include "hierarchical presumptions about men's greater status and competence [that] become salient for participants, along with

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assumptions about men's and women's different traits and skills" (Ridgeway and Correll 2004b: 517).

My dissertation draws from both the doing gender perspective and Ridgeway and Correll's concept of social relational contexts to examine gender as a social construction. These perspectives emphasize gender as a property of interactions not a biological or fixed trait. Further, both perspectives situate gender tied to interactions and address the symbolic dimensions of gender via normative conceptions and gender beliefs that set the rules for interactions. Finally, these perspectives address gender as a social construction that links both micro and macro levels, and as such, micro-level gender interactions need to be understood as occurring with a broader gender system. I build from these points to address how gender is co-constructed with neighborhoods. As such, neighborhood serves as the social relational context for my dissertation research, and I identify specific characteristics of neighborhood activities where gender was more salient. Further, I address the symbolic dimensions of gender by addressing how residents understand the normative conceptions of gender and how they discussed the rules for gender interaction within the neighborhood.

<u>NEIGHBORHOOD EXPERIENCES</u>

To examine the social construction of neighborhood, I developed the analytic concept of neighborhood experiences. Neighborhood experiences are used as an umbrella term that includes both interactions within and perceptions of the neighborhood. In this regard, I bring together concepts and research related to neighboring, sense of community, neighborhood attachment, place attachment, and neighborhood organizations and conceptualize these as components of neighborhood experiences. While previous

research examines multiple dimensions of neighboring (Unger and Wandersman 1985) or neighborhood attachment as multifaceted (Woldoff 2002; Greif 2009), I use the term neighborhood experiences as an umbrella term since it more clearly articulates behaviors and perceptions. Specifically, I conceptualize neighborhood experiences as consisting of neighboring behaviors, emotional connections, and neighborhood activities. These three dimensions of neighborhood experiences address informal interactions among neighbors, evaluations of and sentiment toward the neighborhood, and participation in more formal neighborhood organizations. In this section, I demonstrate how existing literature addresses these components of neighborhood experiences. I then discuss research on neighborhood experiences and race and neighborhood experiences and gender. I conclude with a discussion of neighborhood experiences as the anchoring concept of this dissertation.

Neighboring generally refers to social interactions among residents within a neighborhood (Skjaeveland, Garling, and Maeland 1996; Woldoff 2002; Farrell, Aubry, and Coulombe 2004; Kusenbach 2006; Long and Perkins 2007). As a concept, neighboring addresses both social ties between neighbors and behaviors such as exchange of social support and normative practices. Based on survey research, quantitative research examines distinct components of neighboring (Skjaeveland et al. 1996; Guest, Cover, Matsueda, and Kubrin 2006); predictors of neighboring (Skjaeveland and Garling 1997; Farrell et al. 2004); and neighboring as an independent variable that predicts outcomes such as well-being (Farrell et al. 2004) and attachment (Woolever 1992; Sundblad and Sapp 2011). My dissertation research is most in line with the qualitative

research by Kusenbach (2006: 282) who defines neighboring as "a normative set of interactive practices."

Existing literature presents differing definitions on whether neighboring and neighborhood attachment are distinct. In line with research that posits a distinction between neighboring and neighborhood attachment (Skjaeveland et al. 1996; Sunblad and Sapp 2011), I include the concept of emotional connections as part of neighborhood experiences and conceptualize emotional connections as distinct from neighboring. Emotional connections include concepts such as sense of community, place attachment, neighborhood attachment, and neighborhood satisfaction. Sense of community is variously defined in the literature (Sarason 1974; McMillan and Chavis 1986; Perkins and Long 2002; Farrell et al. 2004) but generally refers to feelings of belonging within a community. Researchers who view territoriality as a key component of community also address place attachment and people-place relationships (Skjaeveland et al. 1996; Taylor 1996; Long and Perkins 2007). Skjaeveland et al. (1996) refer to place attachment or rootedness as a dimension of neighboring where attachment to place is often seen as affective bonds and tied to neighboring. According to Trentelman (2009), one of the key debates within the place scholarship centers on whether place encompasses both physical and social dimensions. Several authors posit multi-dimensional models of place and place attachment (Gustafson 2001; Hidalgo and Hernández 2001; Brehm, Eisenhauer, and Krannich 2006; Raymond, Brown, and Weber 2010; Scannell and Gifford 2010). As more models of place and place attachment continue to emerge, researchers still need to examine whether predictors of attachment are similar across both social and physical dimensions. Neighborhood attachment has been researched in a similar manner as place

attachment (Comstock et al. 2010) with a specific focus on residents' perceptions of their neighborhood. Previous research on neighborhood attachment has found that length of residence (Austin and Baba 1990; Woldoff 2002), participation (Woolever 1992), and neighboring (Austin and Baba 1990) influence positive evaluations of the neighborhood.

The final dimension of neighborhood experiences refers to neighborhood activities. Neighborhood activities are related to involvement with neighborhood organizations more than individual interactions with neighbors or perceptions of the neighborhood. In this regard, neighborhood activities address more formal aspects whereas neighboring is more informal. Previous research has examined neighbor organizing (Guest et al. 2006) as a dimension of neighboring. Swaroop and Morenoff (2006) identify dimensions of neighborhood organization to include a typology of formal and informal organizations classified as either instrumental or expressive. In this regard, my conceptualization of neighborhood activities is most similar to the category of formal instrumental participation within the local community (Guest 2000; Swaroop and Morenoff 2006). Instrumental organizations have goals related to neighborhood well-being such as "protecting property values or ensuring the high-quality education of children" (Guest 2000: 604). In this sense, neighborhood activities refer to activities that serve some purpose beyond just the social interaction of neighboring. My field work primarily focused on neighborhood activities within two main organizations: the local neighborhood association and the local elementary school. Neighborhood associations are formal organizations that are structured around sets of bylaws and official recognition (Austin 1991; King 2004; Koschmann and Laster 2011). Neighborhood associations can serve the purpose of neighboring but are often more instrumental and formal. While

neighborhood associations may allow for more direct political participation (Berry, Portney, and Thompson 1993; Koschmann and Laster 2011), my focus is less on the purpose, goals, or successes of the neighborhood association. Instead, I conceptualize neighborhood associations as sites of neighborhood activities that allow for exploration of the social construction of neighborhood. Similarly, because elementary schools are more localized than either middle schools or high schools, elementary schools can be considered a neighborhood school. As such, both the neighborhood association and the local elementary school were considered sites within the neighborhood to observe neighborhood activities.

Race and Neighborhood Experiences

In addition to addressing existing literature related to the components of neighborhood experiences, it is also necessary to discuss how previous research has examined connections between race and neighborhoods. Race and neighborhood context are indelibly linked because of the enduring presence of residential segregation. Residential segregation is a persistent aspect of racial formation within the United States via a racial geography whereby inequality is perpetuated by distinct disadvantage across neighborhood conditions (Massey and Denton 1993; Peterson and Krivo 2010). While research continues to examine the neighborhood effects of residential segregation and racially unequal neighborhood context, this dissertation focuses on the racial differences in neighborhood experiences. Importantly, the neighborhood effects literature demonstrates that these individual-level differences must also be understood via the unequal neighborhood context (Sampson and Wilson 1995; Small 2007; Peterson and

Krivo 2010). Therefore, racial differences in neighborhood experiences should be interpreted within the context of residential segregation and racial inequality

Research on race and neighborhood experiences often compares survey responses for whites and blacks to assess individual-level differences. Racial differences have been found in neighborhood attachment (Woolever 1992; Greif 2009); social networks (Small 2007); neighboring (Lee, Campbell, and Miller 1991; Geis and Ross 1998; Nation, Fortney, and Wandersman 2010); friendship (Logan and Spitze 1994); participation in neighborhood activities (Musick, Wilson, and Bynum 2000; Oh 2004); and sense of community (Coffman and BeLue 2009). However, there is not a clear pattern regarding the relationship between race and neighborhood experiences. Some researchers find that whites engage in more neighboring than blacks (Lee et al. 1991; Oh 2004), but research also finds that individual-level race effects are reflective of different neighborhood conditions of residents (Woldoff and Ovadia 2008; Hipp 2009).

While less research specifically examines neighborhood experiences for Latinos, the results are also mixed. Grief (2009) found Hispanics reported less neighborhood attachment but this was mostly on account of differing neighborhood contexts, whereas Oh (2004) found that no significant differences between whites and Latinos in regard to a multidimensional measure of neighborhood attachment. Using survey data from Latino respondents who had been in the United States for over two decades, Woldoff and Ovadia (2008) also found neighborhood experiences of Latinos were more similar to whites. In a study by Almeida, Kawachi, Molnar, and Subramanian (2009) Mexican Americans reported larger neighborhood social networks compared to non-Latino whites, but they also found an inverse relationship between percentage of Mexicans in the

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neighborhood and individual perception of neighborhood social cohesion. Finally, based on an ethnographic study of a rural town in California, Chavez (2005) found long-term white residents and Mexican residents had distinct definitions of community and different patterns of community participation. In particular, white residents understood community tied to participation in formal organizations but many Mexican immigrant residents felt excluded from these white dominant organizations and activities. Mexican residents participated in more ethnic-specific organizations and activities, and Chavez (2005) highlights how definitions of community and community involvement are distinct based on ethnicity and class.

Overall, existing research demonstrates that racial differences may exist in neighborhood experiences and that Latinos and whites may have different neighborhood experiences. However, research is still mixed as to the specific differences and whether these differences stem from the individual-level or structural-level factors. This dissertation serves to examine racial differences in neighborhood experiences by emphasizing the co-construction of race and neighborhoods. In this sense, the purpose is to examine how Latino and white residents within the same neighborhood engaged in neighboring, described emotional connections, and participated in neighborhood activities. In particular, my results center around the links between neighborhood emotional connections and race to illustrate the co-construction of neighborhood and race tied to symbolic meanings given to the neighborhood and understood within the larger racial system.

Gender and Neighborhood Experiences

While race is an established topic related to studies of neighborhoods, gendered aspects of neighborhoods are less researched. While racial residential segregation is important for understanding both neighborhood context and racial inequality, there is not a direct gender corollary because neighborhoods are not generally segregated by gender. However, gender effects are consistently reported in neighborhood research. Kusenbach (2006) reports that gender is found to be a unanimous result in neighboring research. In particular, women are consistently found to engage in more neighboring than men. Wellman and Wortley (1990) find gender to be the only individual characteristic associated with social support. Neighborhood-level studies often include gender as a control variable, but even when gender differences are statistically significant, there is little focus specifically on how gender matters for neighborhood processes (Woolever 1992; Ross, Reynolds, and Geis 2000; Woldoff 2002; Swaroop and Morenoff 2006; Flaherty and Brown 2010).

Congruent with previous studies, Campbell and Lee (1990) found that women participate in more neighborhood activities. Even after controlling for marital and socioeconomic status, women neighbor more than men. However, the types of neighboring activities varied by gender. While women were more likely to engage in neighboring activities classified as forms of emotion work, such as discussing problems, and women overall had higher numbers of total contacts, there was no gender difference in the frequency or intensity of relations with neighbors. Campbell and Lee (1990) posit that society's gender roles account for why women engage in more neighboring than men. In this regard, gender roles expect women to be nurturers and engage in emotional

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caretaking while men are considered providers. Similarly, other researchers address how gender roles and gender socialization are relevant for gender differences in social capital (Warr 2006) and social networks (Song 2012). In this regard, neighboring may reflect normative conceptions of gender (West and Zimmerman 1989) and gender inequality (Ridgeway and Correll 2004b).

Another manner in which gender and neighborhoods are linked is through research on the ways space includes gendered meanings, particularly in regard to the distinction between private and public spaces. Gottdiener (1994: 162) discusses the importance of examining space and gender and how gendered expectations of women staying out of the paid labor force and at home also included responsibility for "keeping up the appearance of the neighborhood." Gottdiener (1994) also describes how the association of women with the private sphere of home constrains women's activities and safety because women do not have the same freedom of movement as men, so the public realm becomes a site of possible danger for women. Martin (2002) addresses the public/private dichotomy as limited since it assumes clear divisions between home, work, and neighborhood. Instead, Martin (2002) notes that community organizing may blur these divisions. For instance, neighborhood organizing may be a viable political activism, especially for women. Research on community organization and political mobilization is not necessarily focused solely on neighborhoods, but this research demonstrates that women may engage in community organization at the neighborhood level (Jones-Correa 1998; Stall and Stoecker 1998; Martin 2002).

While neighborhood experiences and gender are under-researched, there is evidence that neighboring varies by gender and that this can be partially attributed to

different gender expectations for men and women. This dissertation examines gendered aspects of neighborhood experiences by addressing the co-construction of gender and neighborhoods. As such, I am interested in how meanings about neighborhood also reflect gendered meanings and vice versa. In particular, my results demonstrate gendered aspects of neighborhood activities and gendered expectations within the neighborhood and how these reflect symbolic meanings of both gender and neighborhood.

Neighborhood Experiences as Anchoring Concept

As an anchoring concept, neighborhood experiences allows me to examine the social construction of community. In particular, neighborhood experiences incorporate both interaction dimensions, especially via neighboring and neighborhood activities, and symbolic dimensions, most clearly via emotional connections. However, my conceptualization of the three dimensions neighborhood experiences refer to both symbolic and interaction components of the social construction of neighborhood. For instance, neighboring is about how people interact with their neighbors but also about meaning given to "good" and "bad" neighbors. Neighboring therefore refers to how these interactions and normative components construct neighborhood. Emotional connections concentrates on symbolic aspects but emotional connections can be fostered by social interactions. As my results highlight, there are different underpinnings of attachment as social vs. place. Neighborhood activities focus on interactions within the elementary school and neighborhood association but also about the meaning given to the neighborhood. Additionally, I address how neighborhood experiences provide an analytic tool to examine racial and gender differences. In particular, I find that emotional

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connections were different for whites and Latinos. Moreover, I found gender differences related to neighborhood activities and neighborhood expectations.

CONCEPTUAL MODEL: THE SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF NEIGHBORHOOD, RACE, AND GENDER VIA NEIGHBORHOOD EXPERIENCES

Drawing from the theories on social construction of community and neighborhood, the social construction of race, and the social construction of gender, this dissertation examines the co-construction of neighborhood and race and the co-construction of neighborhood and gender. I present and discuss two figures to provide an illustration of my conceptual model. In figure 1, I address the co-construction of neighborhood, race, and gender. In figure 2, I illustrate how the concepts of symbolic dimensions, interactions, and neighborhood experiences are the main analytic concepts for this dissertation. I also preview the results for this dissertation via neighborhood experiences, race, and gender.

Figure 1: Co-Construction of Neighborhood, Race, and Gender
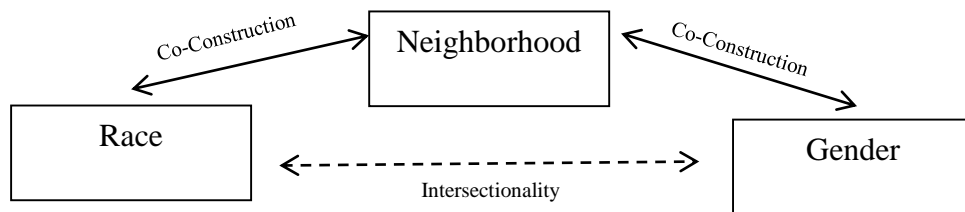
Figure 1 presents the general theoretical model of my dissertation. In particular, I am examining the co-construction of neighborhood and race and the co-construction of neighborhood and gender. The double-arrow between race and neighborhood and double-arrow between gender and neighborhood are intended to reflect this co-construction. Neighborhood, race, and gender are conceptualized as socially constructed,

not natural or innate. The social construction of neighborhood addresses how space and people become defined as neighborhood and neighbors. I conceptualize race as multilevel but focus particularly on race as a social identity whereby racial identities and meaning are contextualized within a larger unequal racial system. I conceptualize gender as multilevel with a focus on how gender emerges through interactions and these interactions are shaped by a broader unequal gender structure. By co-constructed, I argue that neighborhood is given meaning via race and race is given meaning via neighborhood. Similarly, I argue that neighborhood is given meaning via gender and gender is given meaning via neighborhood and this is the co-construction of gender and neighborhood. Finally, I provide a double-arrow, dotted line between race and gender and identify this as intersectionality. I chose to make this a dotted line because I cannot fully speak to co-construction of race and gender. Therefore, while intersectionality is a relevant concept, my actual data and analysis did not focus on the co-construction of race and gender.

Figure 2: Social Construction of Neighborhood, Race, and Gender via Neighborhood Experiences
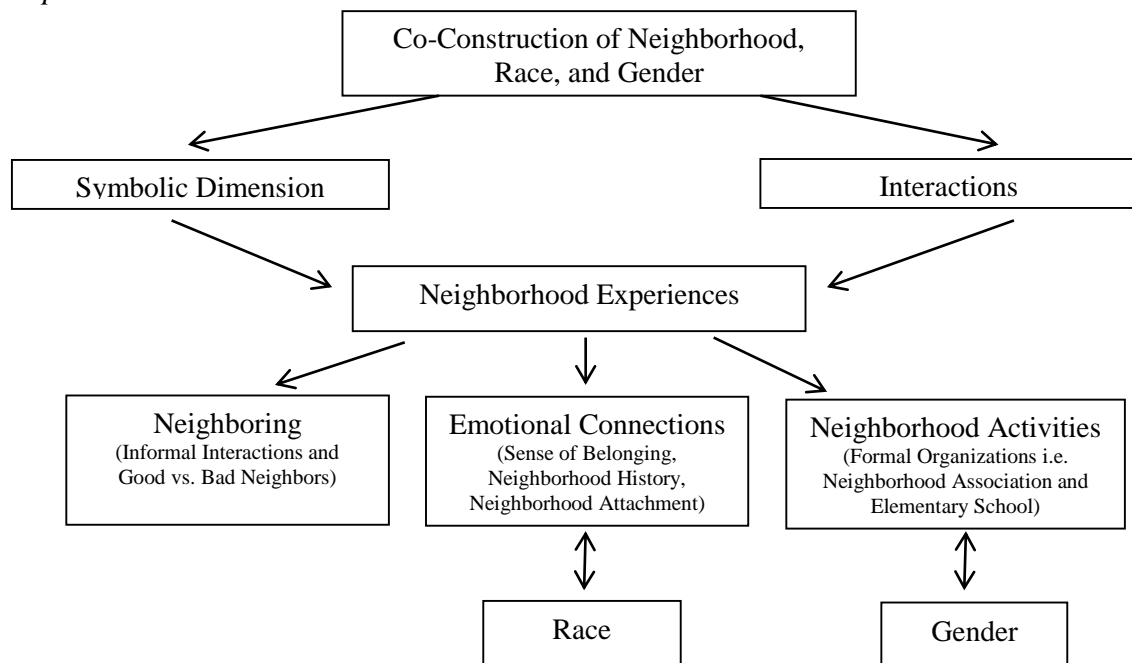
This conceptual model elaborates on the previous figure by expanding on the social construction of neighborhood, race, and gender. Figure 2 starts with the concepts of "Co-Construction of Neighborhood, Race, and Gender," which refers to the co-construction detailed in the Figure 1. Figure 2 articulates the full conceptual model including the interaction and symbolic dimensions of social construction of neighborhood, race, and gender linked to the analytic concept of neighborhood experiences. Neighborhood experiences are conceptualized to include three dimensions: neighboring, emotional connections, and neighborhood activities. Neighboring includes informal interactions among residents and definitions provided for "good" and "bad" neighbors. Emotional connections include sentiments such as sense of belonging and neighborhood attachment and evaluations of the neighborhood via residents' descriptions of neighborhood history. Neighborhood activities include more formal neighborhood organizations, particularly activities and events within the neighborhood association and local elementary school. This figure illustrates how the main theoretical concept of social construction will be examined via symbolic dimensions, interactions, and neighborhood experiences.

The bottom of this model represents the results chapters for this dissertation. To illustrate the conceptual framework, I focus on three main results. First, I present results on neighboring to provide a lens for understanding the social construction of neighborhood in Las Flores by highlighting neighboring interactions and symbolic meanings given to neighbors. The second results chapter presents the co-construction of race and neighborhood via emotional connections. In particular, I present results on differences in emotional connections to Las Flores for white and Hispanic residents. The third results chapter presents the co-construction of gender and neighborhood via

neighborhood activities. As such, I demonstrate how gendered aspects of neighborhood activities and gendered expectations within the neighborhood reflect meanings of both gender and neighborhood.

As a whole, this conceptual model provides a useful framework for my dissertation. Additionally, this model illustrates the core concepts guiding this research. Beyond addressing the theoretical contributions of integrating the social construction of neighborhood, race, and gender scholarship by focusing on the interactional and symbolic dimensions, this conceptual framework also illustrates substantive implications. In particular, as I discus in the next chapter, my research results on the co-construction of neighborhood and race and the co-construction of neighborhood and gender are empirically driven based on a unique neighborhood context. As such, this conceptual framework is not just relevant for framing my dissertation, but also has implications for research on neighborhood, race, and gender. My conceptualization of neighborhood experiences provides avenues for policy-oriented research examining effective strategies for neighboring interactions and activities that might foster community. Moreover, sociological research on race and gender often focuses on inequality in order to create strategies for reducing racial and gender inequality. This conceptual framework, therefore, provides opportunities for scholars to situate research on gender inequality or racial inequality within the context of neighborhoods. In this regard, neighborhoods may be important sites for reducing structural inequality, and one path might be to gain better understanding of interactional and symbolic dimensions that perpetuate racial and gender inequality. I will return to these substantive issues throughout this dissertation by

discussing the implications in each of the empirical results chapters as well as addressing the overall significance of this dissertation in the concluding chapter.

A Note on Intersectionality

This dissertation originally set out to examine race and gender together via a framework of intersectionality, which emphasizes that individual identity and structures of inequality do not exist along only one axis of race or gender. Due to data limitations, I was unable to fully integrate intersectional analysis into my results. As the conceptual model in Figure 1 illustrated, intersectionality addresses how race and gender are co-constructed. I represented this as a dashed line because I am unable to fully address this with my specific research results. However, I do want to acknowledge the important scholarship on intersectionality and will return to themes of intersectionality in the concluding chapter.

Intersectionality as an area of research and theory grew out of scholarship by women of color who critiqued mainstream feminism and race studies (Crenshaw 1991). Both areas of study were critiqued for not taking into account the experiences of women of color whereby women's studies and feminism often referred to a universal category of womanhood that usually gave primacy to white women and race studies often focused on racial inequality from the perspective of men of color. Therefore, both women's studies and race studies did not account for the experiences of women of color; instead women of color were asked to give primacy to either gender or to race and view their experiences as separable. Similarly, much sociological research often treats gender and race as important variables for research but also views them as separate entities. Collins (2000) presents two important concepts—intersectionality and the matrix of domination.

Intersectionality refers to "particular forms of intersecting oppressions" since oppression

cannot be reduced to one fundamental type, while matrix of domination refers to "how

these intersecting oppression are actually organized" (Collins 2000: 18).

Intersectionality, therefore, may include such factors as race, gender, class, religion,

sexuality, or citizenship status.

Collins (1993) calls for research to move away from additive analysis, meaning

analysis based on ranked, dichotomous thinking in which an individual can be more or

less oppressed/privileged. From the additive perspective, an individual's race, gender,

sexual orientation, class, etc. are all assigned a score of either oppressed or privileged and

then added together to achieve a total score of oppressed/privileged. As Collins (1993)

notes this viewpoint is severely limiting and also obscures some important questions. For

instance, additive analysis does not take into account relationality (Glenn 2002), which

refers to how the social construction of privilege and oppression are relational. Using a

social constructionist framework Glenn (2002: 7) examines how "gender and race are

mutually constituted." Glenn's (2002) integrated framework identifies three key features

of race and gender as analytic concepts: 1) relationality, 2) representative and material

relations, and 3) power. In particular, the concept of relationality is relevant to my

research. Relationality addresses how the social construction of gender and race is

relational, meaning that categories are constructed in relation to each other. For instance

the gendered meanings of woman and femininity are meaningless without the

corresponding meanings of man and masculinity. Glenn (2002) provides three reasons

that the concept of relationality is important: 1) it problematizes dominant categories such

as whiteness or masculinity; 2) it points out how group differences are systematically

related; and 3) it helps to provide a solid basis for analysis while also recognizing that the analysis is not static.

Another critique of additive analysis is that it does not account for the lived experiences of individuals such that race, gender, and class are not necessarily experienced separately but instead intersect in everyday life. Further, it is not just individual identity that does not map out clearly within additive analysis, but interactions and social structures also do not exist only along the lines of race or gender or class. Collins (2000) discusses the interpersonal domain of power, which refers to routinized, day-to-day practices of how people interact with each other. Collins stresses that many individuals are able to locate themselves within a major system of oppression but typically fail to see "how their thoughts and actions uphold someone else's subordination" (2000: 287). Therefore, the matrix of domination does not contain many pure victims or pure oppressors but instead each person experiences different forms of domination and privilege from the multiple systems of oppression. Intersectionality also addresses agency and resistance. For instance, resistance within the interpersonal domain of power can take numerous forms in everyday life.

Race, class and gender can be viewed as both macro-level structural characteristics and micro-level individual characteristics. Importantly, these concepts are not independent from each other. Collins (2000: 100) calls for the need to "[reconceptualize] oppression by uncovering the connections among race, class and gender as categories of analysis." Race, class, and gender are intersecting categories of analysis that address both the structure of oppression and the lived experience along all three axes of identity. Therefore, these are appropriate concepts for examining how

contextual neighborhood characteristics shape individual neighborhood experiences and how individual characteristics of race, class, and gender shape the neighborhood context (see Frankenberg 1993 for discussion of social geography).

Intersectionality is an important concept for neighborhood studies because intersectionality addresses complexities at the level of individual lived experience alongside more meso and macro, contextual and structural factors. The main complexity is the fact that systems of oppression shape lived experiences in such a manner that race, class, and gender cannot be separated. Furthermore, race, class, and gender are important to individual lived experiences, group experiences, and social structure. Since social interactions occur between individuals who occupy a social location within the matrix of domination, it is important to recognize these intersecting identities. Research that studies only race or gender or class in regard to neighborhoods may neglect important experiences and processes that occur when race and gender and class are seen as simultaneous experiences. It is feasible that the form, processes, and outcomes of neighborhood experiences vary when we consider complex group locations in terms of race, gender, and class. While my specific data did not allow for full intersectional analysis, I will discuss some of the implications of my results regarding intersectionality and neighborhood experiences.

<u>DISSERTATION OVERVIEW</u>

This introduction presented the main research question guiding my dissertation research. In particular, this dissertation set out to examine neighborhood experiences, conceptualized as neighboring behaviors, emotional connections to neighborhood, and neighborhood activities. I situate neighborhood experiences within a theoretical

framework on the social construction of neighborhood, race, and gender whereby I examine how neighborhood and race are co-constructed and neighborhood and gender are co-constructed. In doing so, I focus on the interactional and symbolic dimensions.

To briefly overview the remainder of this dissertation, I will discuss each subsequent chapter. In chapter two, I discuss the research methods used in this study including research design, data collection and sampling, and strategies of analysis. I also provide a snapshot of the Las Flores neighborhood. In chapter three, I present the results on neighboring. This chapter provides a lens on how residents discussed neighboring interactions and symbolic meanings related to good, bad, and not neighbors. I situate these results within literature on friendly distance and the parochial realm as place-based. In chapter four, I present results on racial differences, focusing on the emotional connections component of neighborhood experiences. In particular, three themes emerged as different for white and Latino residents: sense of belonging, neighborhood history, and neighborhood attachment. Two key racial differences were: 1) an understanding of belonging as acknowledgement for white residents vs. a deeper, familial sense of belonging for Latino residents, and 2) Latino residents emphasized social aspects while white residents emphasized place aspects of connection. I link these results to understanding the co-construction of race and neighborhood drawing from sociological literature about the racialized system and literature on symbolic and social boundaries. In chapter five, I present results about gender differences focusing on neighborhood activities within Las Flores to illustrate how women emphasized motherhood as a prominent theme related to neighborhood experiences, and I present results on gendered neighborhood expectations. I link this set of results on the co-construction of gender and

neighborhood with the systemic model of community and sociological scholarship on

motherhood. Finally, in chapter six, I discuss the conclusions and implications of this

research project. I return to the concept of intersectionality to discuss how my own data

and analysis did not elucidate clear intersectionality results but do provide possible

insights for further exploration of how race and gender simultaneously shape

neighborhood experiences. I conclude with suggestions for future research.

CHAPTER TWO: METHODS

This project studied one neighborhood in the city of Albuquerque, New Mexico, which is the largest city in the state with over half a million residents. I refer to this neighborhood as Las Flores, which is a pseudonym used to protect the confidentiality of research participants. Similarly, any names of residents are also pseudonyms. This dissertation used a qualitative research design with data from in-depth interviews and participant observation. In this chapter I provide information on the site selection criteria, data collection, analytic strategy, the context of Las Flores, and my role as a researcher. I conclude with a brief discussion of how Las Flores provides a unique empirical setting to examine neighborhood experiences, race, and gender.

In planning this study, I chose the neighborhood based on specific race and class criteria. Maxwell (2005) discusses several aspects to qualitative research design including issues of sampling. Because qualitative samples do not use probability or random samples, selection of research locations and research participants uses a different logic. Maxwell describes purposeful or criterion-based selection as "a strategy in which particular settings, persons, or activities are selected deliberately in order to provide information that can't be gotten as well from other choices" (2005: 88). Selection of interview participants was also purposeful or criterion-driven through recruitment by seeking a gender and racial composition similar to the neighborhood at large, specifically regarding Latino and white participants and men and women.

Maxwell (2005) identifies establishing particular comparisons to illuminate the reasons for differences between settings or individuals as a goal of purposeful sampling. Given the research question and the analytic framework, which are congruent with these

goals, purposeful sampling was an appropriate approach. Congruent with Maxwell's

(2005) discussion of qualitative methods being particularly well-suited for certain

research goals, the purpose of this study was to better understand context, in particular

neighborhood context, and to better understand the meaning of neighborhood and the

meaning of race and gender.

<center>SITE SELECTION</center>

In this section, I detail the process of site selection by specifying the criterion

used to identify potential neighborhoods. I selected the neighborhood using 2000 U.S.

Census data and City of Albuquerque official neighborhood associations. I mapped

Census data on race and income to select one, middle-class neighborhood that included a

mix of non-Hispanic whites and Hispanics.[1] In order to narrow the list of potential

neighborhoods for this study, I first gathered Census data for class and race. I used the

variable median household income to guide selection of middle class neighborhoods. I

used the variables of non-Hispanic white and Hispanic for selection based on the racial

composition the neighborhood. Because the Census considers Hispanic an ethnic

category, not a racial category, Hispanics in this category can be of any race (such as

white, black, other). Using these two variables, I collected information for all of the

Census tracts in Bernalillo County. I then selected Census tracts that fell into the two

middle quartiles for median household income, which meant Census tracts that had

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[1] This research examines gender alongside race and class. However, unlike race and class measures, it is difficult to find appropriate measures of gender at the neighborhood level. This is mostly due to the fact that while there is significant variation in terms of class composition and racial composition at the Census tract level, there is much less variation in terms of gender composition. Therefore, only class and race were used for site selection.

median incomes between $29,130 and $52,299. Additionally, I selected Census tracts that had at least 60% of residents who were non-Hispanic white and Census tracts that had at least 60% of residents who were Hispanic (of any race).

Using this information, I mapped the Census tracts that fit within these criteria. Interestingly, there was very little overlap in terms of geographic area suggesting that there may be some level of de facto residential segregation in Albuquerque. Instead, the majority white, middle class Census tracts tended to fall on the eastern half of the city, and the majority Hispanic, middle class Census tracts tended to fall on the western half of the city. Using the selected Census tract data, I then matched which official neighborhood associations fell into each of the selected Census tracts. However, this proved to be cumbersome since the Census tracts and neighborhood boundaries rarely matched. To make the selection more feasible, I used the smaller unit of Census block groups.

I compiled the data on race and income for each block group within each of the Census tracts already selected. I then matched the Census block groups to maps of recognized neighborhood association boundaries. At this stage, I restricted the median household income category to include those neighborhoods that had at least one block group that was in the third quartile, which ranged from $37,581 to $52,299. I compiled a list of all possible neighborhoods and then collected Census block group data on all of the possible block groups into which the neighborhoods fell. In most cases, the neighborhood association boundaries encompassed two or more Census block groups, and these block groups did not always fall within the same Census tract. Averaging scores across multiple Census block groups for each neighborhood, I calculated the total

percent of the population that was white non-Hispanic, the total percent of the population

that was Hispanic, and the median household income for each neighborhood. This

narrowed my list of possible sites substantially, and many of the neighborhoods that had

been at least 60% Hispanic at the Census tract level actually became closer to 50% when

using the averaged block group scores. This became a point of interest, and therefore,

final selection of neighborhoods was restricted to those neighborhoods that averaged

between 50% and 59% Hispanic residents with a median income between $37,581 and

$52,299. Because the predominantly non-Hispanic white neighborhoods did not tend

toward a 50/50 split, none of these neighborhoods were included in the final list. In total,

I included five neighborhoods as possible sites for research. When looking at the split

between Hispanic and non-Hispanic Census tracts, all five neighborhoods fell into areas

that were predominantly Hispanic. However, as I noted, the averaged scores for these

five neighborhoods meant that Hispanics were not the strong majority, and instead the

split was closer to 50/50. I contacted neighborhood association representatives listed

with the City of Albuquerque from these five neighborhoods and looked for other local

organizations as points of entry. Ultimately, the Las Flores neighborhood was selected

based on access and entry via two neighborhood organizations—the official

neighborhood association and the local elementary school parent-teacher organization.

<div align="center">GAINING ENTRY</div>

In identifying potential neighborhoods, I was not a resident of any of these

neighborhoods. I did not have any personal contacts with residents of any of the potential

neighborhoods prior to the research. Therefore, my selection of the Las Flores

neighborhood relied upon identifying neighborhood leaders and gaining access. The Las

Flores neighborhood was selected based on access and entry via two neighborhood organizations—the official neighborhood association and the local elementary school parent-teacher organization (PTO). I approached leaders of both organizations and explained my research project. Both organizations allowed me access and entry to their public meetings, and leaders allowed me to introduce myself and recruit neighborhood residents for in-depth interviews.

I first contacted Elizabeth, the Las Flores Neighborhood Association president, in March of 2011 to briefly explain my project and to gather information on the Las Flores neighborhood. After a series of e-mails, we talked on the phone. During this conversation, I established rapport in a discussion of my own background, particularly drawing from my experiences of growing up in a rural, small town in Southern Colorado. After a lengthy conversation, Elizabeth said she would be willing to vouch for me even though we had not met in person. It would be more than a month later until I met Elizabeth in person, but she kept me informed of upcoming neighborhood association meetings. One of the difficulties in gaining entry into the neighborhood association was the lack of organization. During my first phone call with Elizabeth, she said there would be a neighborhood association board meeting in April but this meeting was not officially scheduled. After several e-mails and phone calls, the board meeting finally occurred at the end of May 2011. While I had met Elizabeth in-person at a prior event, this was the first interaction with the Las Flores Neighborhood Association and the first opportunity to meet neighborhood residents outside of the elementary school. I described my research project, and Elizabeth asked the board for approval for me to attend future neighborhood association meetings, both board meetings and general meetings. The

board had no objection, and in fact, the treasurer and secretary both stated that no approval was needed since the meetings were open.

Unfortunately, this was the only board meeting I attended with this particular group of board members. By July 2011, the Las Flores Neighborhood Association disbanded and re-formed. Elizabeth was still president but with entirely new board members. Because of my rapport with Elizabeth, I was privy to this re-formation and attended the July 2011 board meeting where the neighborhood association was officially re-formed by re-writing the bylaws and electing new board members. While my role was mostly as an observer, Elizabeth treated me as more of a confidante and shared her hopes for and frustrations with the neighborhood association. As such, from my initial interaction through the culmination of my field work, I had strong rapport with Elizabeth that provided me with important access to neighborhood association meetings and allowed me to recruit interview participants.

The second primary site for field work was the local elementary school in Las Flores, which I refer to as Flores Elementary. I gained entry to the school via the Parent-Teacher Organization (PTO). I learned of the Flores PTO from the school website, which listed the monthly meeting dates and times. I sent an e-mail to the address listed under contact information for the PTO on the website, and I attended my first PTO meeting in April of 2011. As this was still the initial stage of site selection, my original intention was to attend the meeting and introduce myself to the PTO president at the end of the meeting to explain that Las Flores was one of the neighborhoods I was considering for the site of my research. I quickly learned that Flores Elementary was a relatively tight-knit community and my outsider status was immediately noticed. Both before and during

the meeting, almost every meeting participant approached me and introduced themselves. Their common introduction was, "I don't think we've met. Do you have a student in the school?" While this introduction may have highlighted my outsider position, I did not feel like I was met with suspicion. In fact, I felt quite welcomed by the school principal and the PTO who expressed interest in my research, and this welcome and interest in my research project helped to solidify the selection of Las Flores as the site for my research. While the Las Flores Neighborhood Association struggled in terms of organization and establishing a clear membership base, the Flores Elementary PTO had a clear organization structure and the school had very active participation from parents. As such, Flores Elementary was a hub within Las Flores.

These initial points of access for the neighborhood association and the elementary school lead to my field work, mostly as an observer, within the neighborhood association and elementary school. These organizations also served as my primary sites of recruitment for in-depth interview participants.

PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION

My field work of Las Flores started in April 2011 through May 2012. During this year time span, I attended over 24 events where I took detailed notes at all neighborhood gatherings. The majority of these events were neighborhood association meetings and PTO meetings and events at the elementary school. For most activities, I noted the race and gender composition of attendees when possible. For the PTO and neighborhood association meetings, this was often possible by making a simple diagram of where everyone sat and identifying each person by gender and race/ethnicity. The race/ethnicity categories were my own assessments where I primarily drew from phenotypical cues to

identify attendees as white or Latino or other. The larger events at the elementary school

included activities with over 50 attendees and were often school-wide activities with all

of the students plus many parents and relatives. For these activities, I made a general

assessment of race and gender composition of adults and noted any specific comments

about race or gender. I took notes on the physical layout of the meeting spaces and also

on the context of the meetings. As much as possible, I also noted more informal

interactions between attendees or between myself and attendees. Because the majority of

events were meetings, I was able to write notes in a notebook during the meeting without

drawing suspicion or concern. These handwritten jottings and notes were then typed into

full sets of field notes for each activity. See Appendix A for full log of field note

activities.

I also wrote field notes after most interviews, particularly summarizing the

rapport I had with each participant. Because the majority, 26 out of 32, of the interviews,

occurred at the homes of participants, I also wrote notes about each home. These field

notes serve as additional information about each interview participant but are not a

primary source of analysis.

Neighborhood Association

A key site for my field research Las Flores Neighborhood Association. There are

specific forms that must be filed with the City of Albuquerque to track officially-

recognized neighborhood associations. Officially recognized neighborhood associations

become the liaison between the neighborhood and the city, particularly regarding zoning

issues. For instance, when a zoning hearing is scheduled, the city of Albuquerque

notifies the official contact person(s) from the neighborhood association. The

neighborhood association also has the opportunity to speak at such hearings via a designated representative. The Las Flores Neighborhood Association was first established with the City of Albuquerque in November of 1994.

During the course of my research, the Las Flores Neighborhood Association experienced a lot of transition. A neighborhood association board had been elected in November 2010 but the first meeting of this board did not occur until May 2011. Soon after the May 2011 board meeting, the former neighborhood association president, who was no longer on the board, realized the necessary paperwork had not been filed with the city or state and therefore deemed the neighborhood association disbanded. The new neighborhood president, who had been elected in November 2010, then re-formed the association with a completely new set of board members, re-wrote the bylaws, and filed the necessary paperwork with the city and the state. I gained access to the neighborhood association, via the president, in April of 2011 and was able to witness some of this transition including the writing of new bylaws. During the course of my field work, the re-formed neighborhood association had three board meetings and two general meetings between June 2011 and December 2011. By January of 2012, the new neighborhood association board was starting to diminish with the resignation of the vice president. I attended one more board meeting, but only two out of five officers were present. I also attended one general meeting in April of 2012, with again only the two officers present. During the course of my field work, the main accomplishments of the neighborhood association were conducting the three general meetings. I also observed one zoning dispute, which included discussion at a board meeting and a zoning examiner hearing

where the neighborhood association president spoke in opposition to the proposed zoning exceptions.

Elementary School

Unlike the Las Flores Neighborhood Association, the Flores Elementary School Parent Teacher Organization (PTO) was well-organized with a lot of parent participation. During the course of my field work, I attended PTO meetings. Each meeting had a printed agenda with a fairly routine schedule of reports by the principal, executive committee, and relevant announcements about upcoming school events. I also attended general school events, most of which were held during the school day and included all of the students and often a very large number of parents and adults.

Data from the Albuquerque Public Schools report that over 80% of students at Flores Elementary were Hispanic and 15% were white during the 2010-2011 school year. There is not a clear definition of for the category Hispanic. However, these numbers are quite different from the Census data I used to select the Las Flores neighborhood. Flores Elementary was often described as an exemplar school. In fact, during the course of my field work, the school won a prestigious national award. The award particularly targeted schools that were considered "economically disadvantaged," and for the 2010-2011 school year Flores Elementary identified 64% of the student body as economically disadvantaged. Compared to the nearby elementary schools that fed into the same middle school, Flores Elementary receives much higher average scores on state tests and assessments but also had much lower levels of economic disadvantage (as measured by the free and reduced meal rate) and English language learners than other local schools.

Overall, Flores Elementary sought to include all students into activities and as such the PTO in particular recognized that some families did not have the same financial resources. In this regard, the PTO took a class conscious position to ensure funds were available to students and provided funding for all students for field trips and other activities. Another notable class dynamic within the PTO was the socioeconomic status of the executive board and main volunteers. When I attended informal activities with this group, a topic of conversation included comparison between Flores Elementary and Marigold Elementary. Marigold Elementary is a private school located outside of the Las Flores neighborhood. The conversations about Marigold Elementary usually occurred between parents who lived outside the official school district boundaries for Flores Elementary. These parents had to file transfer requests in order to have their children attend Flores Elementary. The conversations where parents compared Flores Elementary to Marigold Elementary reflect both social and economic capital. Generally, the out-of-district transfers appeared to be of higher socioeconomic status and thus facilitated a certain middle-class status into Flores Elementary. Therefore, some of the middle-class status of Flores Elementary came not from residents of Las Flores but instead from families who lived outside the official school boundaries.

INTERVIEW DATA COLLECTION AND DEMOGRAPHICS

After gaining entry into the Las Flores Neighborhood Association and the Flores Elementary Parent-Teacher Organization, I recruited participants for semi-structured, in-depth interviews. I used purposeful sampling by asking for participants at these neighborhood activities. I also used snowball sampling to find residents who were not active in neighborhood activities. For snowball sampling, I asked participants to refer me

to other neighborhood residents and said I was specifically looking for residents who might not participate in the formal neighborhood activities.

In order to address a multifaceted range of neighborhood experiences and race and gender, I used a semi-structured interview guide. I received Institutional Review Board approval from the University of New Mexico for the interviews using informed consent in March of 2011. Each participant signed a consent form prior to the start of the interview (see Appendix B for full consent form). I also verbally reviewed the key aspects of consent prior to the start of each interview by telling participants that participation was completely voluntary, that they had the right to not answer any question they chose, that they could stop the interview at any point, and that I would keep their names and the name of the neighborhood confidential. The interviews consisted of five sections: boundary work-neighborhood; neighborhood experiences; intersectionality; inclusion/exclusion; and demographics (see Appendix C for full interview guide). All interviews were audio recorded and then transcribed. The interviews ranged in length from half an hour to three hours, with the average length being just over an hour. Most interviews were conducted at the participant's home. Other locations for interviews were public settings selected by the participant such as the library or a coffee shop.

In-depth interviews are well suited for developing detailed and holistic descriptions, integrating multiple perspectives, and describing processes (Weiss 1994). At the start of the interview, I told participants they were not restricted to yes or no answers and that they were welcome to elaborate on earlier responses if something later in the interview reminded them of additional things they would like to share. Therefore,

my interview questions were open-ended and allowed participants to answer in a manner that made the most sense to them (Weiss 1994).

One of the goals of this research project was to address both race and gender dynamics. Therefore, I sought both women and men participants and Hispanic and white participants with the purpose of a sample that was representative of the demographics within Las Flores. In total, I interviewed 20 women and 12 men. Fifteen of the participants were white and 14 were Hispanic. I also interviewed 3 participants who were "some other race." I use the term "some other race" to refer to participants who identified as neither white nor Hispanic. Because the neighborhood composition was a fairly even split of whites and Hispanics, only a small number of residents would be classified as neither white nor Hispanic. Therefore, I use the term "some other race" instead of the specific racial category in order to protect the anonymity of these participants. The range of age for participants was 30-96 years with an average age of 60. The participant who had lived in Las Flores the longest had been there for 64 years while the most recent participant had lived there for one year. The average length of residence was 18 years. I recruited 7 participants from the Flores Elementary Parent-Teacher Organization meetings, 15 participants from the Las Flores Neighborhood Association meetings, and 10 participants were referred via snowball sampling from other interview participants. Full demographic information for each participant is listed in Appendix D.

ANALYTIC STRATEGY

I used an inductive analytic strategy whereby relevant themes emerged from the data via a detailed coding, writing memos, and re-coding process. Each interview was

transcribed and field notes were typed. I then coded the transcripts and field notes using the qualitative data analysis software program ATLAS.ti. Throughout the coding and analytic process, I continually wrote memos, compared across codes, and compared across interviews or field notes.

In analyzing the interview data, I started with open coding, where each transcript was coded into several themes (Emerson, Fretz, and Shaw 1995; Charmaz 2006; Lofland, Snow, Anderson, and Lofland 2006). I did not code line by line but did read through each interview, often coding in "chunks" of passages around different themes. In this stage, I created around 70 individual codes and created code reports with a separate document containing all of the passages for each code. I then read through code reports and wrote memos for 30 key codes. These memos summarized how the code was used, what themes emerged from the code report, and questions to consider for further analysis (Charmaz 2006; Lofland et al. 2006).

The next stages of coding used a more focused coding strategy to sort codes into groups and subthemes (Lofland and Lofland 1995; Charmaz 2006). To address neighborhood experiences, I organized and analyzed the code memos and core codes around the theme of "neighboring." I originally coded neighboring very broadly in the open coding stage. Therefore, I re-read the codes relevant for neighboring and identified important subthemes and categories. I then wrote memos and continued to identify emergent themes that developed into the results presented in Chapter 3.

I also used a focused coding strategy to analyze codes by race and gender by sorting codes into groups. Using the "family" function in ATLAS.ti, I sorted interview transcripts into three categories by race of the interview participant: white, Hispanic,

other. I then created code reports sorted by race for the relevant codes, read sorted

reports, and wrote memos to identify themes of difference and similarity across race.

This analytic process developed the results presented in Chapter 4, whereby themes of

belonging, history, and attachment emerged as different between white and Latino

participants.

My analysis of the field note data proceeded in a similar manner where I started

with open coding that resulted in over 50 codes. I then read and re-read the code reports,

wrote memos, and identified important emergent themes (Emerson et al. 1995; Charmaz

2006). Overall, the field notes were not as conducive to analysis as many of my field

notes described the "business" aspects of the PTO and neighborhood association

meetings and did not include as many analytical insights about neighborhood meaning or

neighbor interactions. However, in re-reading the codes around "gender" and

"parenting," I identified how gender emerged as an important theme within my field

notes. I also examined themes of gender from the interview data by sorting the interview

codes by gender, again using the "family" function in ATLAS.ti to examine the responses

of men separate from responses by women. This process of coding and analysis related

to themes of gender developed into the results presented in Chapter 5.

The results chapters that follow incorporate direct quotations from interviews and

field notes to illustrate the particular themes that I identified as important. These

passages use the direct responses from interview participants, in their own words, with

only slight editing such as removing extra words or pauses. As such, these passages strive

for "relevance, readability, and comprehensibility" (Emerson et al. 1995: 187). Direct

quotations in field note passages reflect verbatim accounts of conversations. Most field

notes were summaries of what occurred not exact wording of what was said. When

presenting information from the interview data, I provide an identification number for

each participant. I chose to use identification numbers to maintain confidentiality in

accordance with the signed consent form associated with each interview, and this also

allows the reader to refer to the demographic table in Appendix D. The field notes used

pseudonyms to describe people present within a particular observation, which

corresponds to ethical standards of observation of relatively public meetings and

activities.

<div align="center">

SETTING

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Because New Mexico is a majority-minority state, it provides a unique context to

examine issues of race. Majority-minority states refer to states where non-Hispanic

whites are less than 50% of the total population. According to the 2010 U.S. Census, 41%

of New Mexican residents were non-Hispanic white while 46% were Hispanic (of any

race), 9% were American Indian, 2% were African American, and 1% were Asian.

While research often examines Hispanics as immigrants, only 10% of New Mexicans in

2010 were foreign born. This is lower than the national average of 13% foreign born and

also lower than other southwestern states with large Hispanic populations. For instance,

27% of Californians, 16% of Texans, and 13% of Arizonians were foreign born (U.S.

Bureau Quick Facts 2010). Census data on income and poverty are calculated for 2009-

2013. The household median income for New Mexico was $44,927, which is lower than

the U.S. average of $53,046. In terms of poverty, 20.4% of individuals in New Mexico

had incomes below the poverty line, which is higher than the U.S. average of 15.4%

(U.S. Census Bureau Quick Facts 2010).

Albuquerque is also a unique setting within New Mexico because it is one of the few metropolitan areas within the state. Albuquerque is the largest city within the state, and approximately 25% of the entire state population resided within the city of Albuquerque in 2010. According to the 2010 U.S. Census, 42% of Albuquerque residents were non-Hispanic white, 47% were Hispanic, 3% were African American, 5% were American Indian, and 3% were Asian. Similar to the state average, 11% of Albuquerque residents are foreign born. Based on the 2009-2013 estimates, the median household income for Albuquerque was $47,989, which was higher than the state average but lower than the national average. Similarly, 18% of individuals in Albuquerque had incomes below the poverty line, again lower than the state average but higher than the national average (U.S. Census Bureau Quick Facts 2010).

Simmons (2003) provides an historical overview of the founding of Albuquerque as a Spanish village within the larger New Spain territory in 1706. These historical origins included formation of farming and ranching communities along the Rio Grande River and conflicts with several Native American tribes including the Apaches, Navajos, and Tiwa Indians. In the early 19th century, Albuquerque and New Mexico became part of Mexico, and then through the United States annexation of Mexico and the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848, Albuquerque became part of the United States. As such, Simmons (2003) emphasizes the Spanish origins of Albuquerque and uses the term "Hispanic" interchangeably with Spanish but not with Mexican. This distinction also reflects contemporary ethnic dynamics within Albuquerque and New Mexico. For instance, in the 2010 U.S. Census, 48% of Albuquerque residents identified as Hispanic or Latino. However, of those residents who identified as Hispanic, 57% identified as

Mexican whereas 39% identified as "other Hispanic or Latino." Notably, almost half

(43%) of those identifying as "other Hispanic" identified as either "Spaniard" (24%),

"Spanish" (18%), or "Spanish American" (3%) (U.S. Census Bureau American Fact

Finder 2010). Based on research conducted in the 1980s, Gonzales (1997) found

"Spanish American" to be the most prevalent identifier, and while residents expressed

ambiguity over the meaning of Spanish American as an ethnicity, one crucial distinction

was Spanish American was not synonymous with Mexican.

These demographics reflect some of the unique contextualized racial formations

of Albuquerque and New Mexico. For instance, Gomez (2007) traces the history of how

New Mexico was granted statehood, particularly highlighting the importance of race and

racialization processes. By examining racial projects within New Mexico and between

New Mexico and the broader U.S. context, Gomez asserts Mexican Americans are a

racial group not an ethnic group. In particular, through the ratification of the Treaty of

Guadalupe Hidalgo, Mexicans living in newly claimed American territories were legally

defined as white but were socially defined as non-white and racially inferior. In this

critical race analysis of New Mexico history and statehood, Gomez (2007) addresses

racialization processes tied to specific historical, social, and geographic features of New

Mexico.

Another unique feature of Albuquerque is the geography and physical layout of

the city. Unlike classic Rustbelt cities featured in most sociological ethnographic

neighborhood studies, Albuquerque does not have a clearly identifiable central city,

industrial-based district. Instead, Albuquerque is more reflective of the Los Angeles

school of urbanism that addresses a postmodern organization of metropolitan areas

characterized be decentralization, sprawl, and more randomization of land-use development (Dear 2002). Moreover, Albuquerque's historical origins tied to farming and ranching shape the contemporary geography of the city (Gonzales 1993). Price (2003) identifies the Rio Grande River, the Sandia Mountains, and the West Mesa volcanoes as important geographic features of the city. While the city is characterized by more sprawl than urban density, these geographic features do contain growth on the east and west.

Las Flores is a unique setting with several important features including neighborhood history, rural aspects, and racial/ethnic and class diversity. According to the Las Flores neighborhood website, the neighborhood was originally founded as a village in the 1700s. In the mid-20th century, Las Flores was incorporated into the city of Albuquerque. As I will discuss in Chapter 4, many participants identified the neighborhood history as feature that they liked and a feature that made Las Flores unique from other areas in Albuquerque. The original village was often described as a primarily farming area with large open fields. Some of these farming characteristics remain in the present neighborhood such as irrigation ditches (or acequias), open fields, and a general semi-rural feel for a neighborhood that is part of the largest urban locale in the state of New Mexico. Many participants identified these rural features as unique to Las Flores and generally described positive evaluations of such features.

The City of Albuquerque planning department has one sector development plan for Las Flores that was created in the late 1980s. According to this document, the racial composition of Las Flores in the 1970s-1980s timeframe was 30% Anglo and 65% Spanish. The sector development plan does not indicate how these demographics were

collected nor does it provide a definition for the category "Spanish." However, these demographics do indicate a changing racial/ethnic composition in Las Flores with an increase in white residents over the past few decades. When I asked participants about the racial/ethnic composition of the neighborhood, the vast majority of participants identified it as a mix of white and Hispanic. Some participants noted that Las Flores had been a majority Hispanic neighborhood in previous decades but now it was more mixed with more white residents moving into Las Flores in recent decades. As such, Las Flores is a unique empirical setting to examine racial dynamics. Unlike most research on neighborhood and Latinos, Hispanic residents of Las Flores are not new immigrants. Instead, some Hispanic residents could trace their family history back to the founding of Las Flores as a village. On the other hand, white participants were more likely to be new to the neighborhood, reflecting some of the racial composition changes to the neighborhood. In this regard, the racial change in Las Flores was a shift from a traditionally Hispanic neighborhood to a more recent influx of white residents.

Because many sociological studies of neighborhoods and community focus on metropolitan areas in the East and Midwest, it is important to expand our research to other geographic locations. There are fewer studies on the southwestern or Sunbelt region of the United States. In particular, this region is important for studies of race and racialization because the black/white racial dichotomy may be less prominent in these regions. Therefore, researchers interested in race within the Southwest may shed light on racial dynamics other than the black/white dichotomy.

In selecting Las Flores as the focus of this dissertation, I sought a middle-class neighborhood. As previously described, I used Census data to identify middle-class

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neighborhoods within the city of Albuquerque. The category "middle-class" is difficult

to pinpoint but often include measures of income, education, occupation, and

homeownership (Patillo-McCoy 1999; Agius Vallejo 2012). For instance, the vast

majority of participants were homeowners (30 out of 32), which is a marker of middle-

class socioeconomic status.   In terms of income, measures were less exact because I

asked participants to identify what income category they fell into for the previous tax

year. In classifying participant responses, I identified three categories: low as those

participants reporting incomes below $30,000; middle as those participants reporting

income between $30,000 and $60,000, and high as those participants reporting income as

greater than $60,000. Using these collapsed categories, twelve participants were in the

low category, six were in the middle category, and thirteen were in the high category.

One participant declined to provide information on income. Over half of the participants

had a college degree or higher, but there was substantial variation across race and gender

categories. All of the white men were at least college educated but none of the Hispanic

men had a college degree. Three-quarters of white women had college degree or more

whereas for Hispanic women only a third had at least a college degree. Only two

participants did not have a high school degree, and both where Hispanic. Both were also

over the age of 75 at the time of the interview.

This variation in socioeconomic status indicators makes it difficult to conclusively

identify Las Flores residents as middle class. However, participants often described Las

Flores as a middle-class neighborhood although some described it as more blue-collar or

working-class. In particular, participants often differentiated between other areas of

Albuquerque that were viewed as more "elite" or "rich" and positively contrasted Las

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Flores with these areas. While class is not a key analytic concept for this dissertation, it is important to note that Las Flores is a middle-class neighborhood in some aspects but also has a certain amount of variation in socioeconomic status measures such as income and educational attainment. Participants identified class diversity as a positive feature of Las Flores and sometimes mentioned they liked having both mansions and shacks neighborhood.

<center>RESEARCHER ROLE</center>

As with all research, my data collection and analysis were shaped by my own positionality and role as a researcher in the field. In particular, my positionality as a woman in my early 30s likely aided my entry into the elementary school PTO. My positionality as a white, university student likely influenced my rapport with interview participants. My relationships with the leaders of the neighborhood association and PTO could have influenced my purposive sampling and recruitment of interview participants. While I used snowball sampling to help address some of these limitations, snowball sampling has limitations that depend on rapport established with research participants and limitations of who is most likely to be recommended via snowball sampling.

My field work may have been hindered by the fact that I was not a resident of Las Flores. As such, I was an outsider regarding neighborhood activities. While I attended neighborhood and elementary school events, I was an outsider whose primary role was as a researcher not a resident. As such, my field notes reflect my role as mostly an observer not a participant. Throughout my field work, I noted my own emotional reactions to activities and individuals in order to document my own reflexivity regarding my role as a researcher. For instance, in coding my field notes, I used the codes "researcher feelings"

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and "positionality" as indicators of my own reflexivity in the field. These codes results in 56 passages for "researcher feelings" and 42 passages coded as "positionality" reflecting my own reactions and responses to my experiences in the field.

My own social identities include being a white woman. These two social identities are particularly relevant given my research focus on race and gender aspects of Las Flores. My gender identity almost certainly aided my entry into the field, especially in regard to the elementary school since I was a woman of the appropriate age to have a child in the elementary school. In this sense, while my outsider status was immediately noticed, I was not confronted with any suspicion and instead was welcomed. Further, my gender, in particular, likely helped establish rapport with members of the Flores PTO. For instance, soon after attending my first PTO meeting, the PTO president, Alice, invited me to an informal gathering of parents who met at a local coffee shop after dropping their children off at school. This meeting included a handful of parents, most of whom were active in the PTO, but notably all were women. As such, it is likely that my entry into and rapport with the PTO members would have been different had I been a man. Instead, my positionality in terms of age and gender helped facilitate entry and also helped to establish rapport. During other school events, particularly the larger events such as student assemblies, I informally interacted with other parents who I did not know. These interactions almost always started with an introduction and a question of "What grade is your kid in?" As such, my presence was never questioned or challenged since in terms of gender and age, I matched the general expectations of who attends elementary school events.

For entry into the neighborhood association, my own childhood of growing up in a rural area of southern Colorado helped establish rapport with the neighborhood association president. While I was not native to New Mexico or Albuquerque, I had familiarity with particular rural aspects of water and land. I drew on my own background and personal interest in place features during conversations with the neighborhood association president. In particular, the neighborhood association president facilitated entry after a lengthy phone call in which my discussion of my research interests but also my own place identity resonated with her. My personal background also helped with rapport during interviews. In particular, several participants discussed the rural features of Las Flores and I shared my own experiences of living in a rural area and also discussed my previous research on the area where I grew up. In doing so, I drew corollaries between my hometown and Las Flores regarding place features.

Further, I believe my association with the university also helped facilitate my entry into the neighborhood association. My role as an outsider and researcher were often noted by the neighborhood association president as she would refer to me as the neighborhood association "intern." Again, my age likely helped me in presenting myself as graduate student but also my age likely contributed to the label of "intern." While I never identified myself as an intern, at neighborhood association events I often introduced myself as a student from the university and that I was researching the Las Flores neighborhood. This allowed me to attend activities without being a resident and also allowed me to visibly take notes at events. I was forthcoming about my role as a researcher not a resident in both the neighborhood association and elementary school, and I was never met with suspicion.

As I described previously, the neighborhood association was less organized than the PTO, and during my field work, the neighborhood association disbanded and then re-formed. This happened within the first two months of my field work. Because I established rapport with Elizabeth, the neighborhood association president, I was included in the re-forming of the neighborhood association and the subsequent activities. In this regard, my recruitment of participants via neighborhood association events may have been limited because of a clear division between the "old" and "new" neighborhood association boards and my relationship with Elizabeth as a key informant who spearheaded the formation of the "new" neighborhood association. However, I was able to establish connections with the "old" neighborhood association as well. Because I attended one board meeting with the previous neighborhood association, I recruited three participants affiliated with this group. During an interview with one participant, I was informed of recent developments about the neighborhood association being disbanded. These three participants also facilitated access to a previous neighborhood association president who also shared information with me regarding the dissolution of the neighborhood association. Therefore, while I had more regular contact with Elizabeth and while the majority of my field work was done with the "new" neighborhood association, I had access to both regimes. As such, my interview participants did not solely reflect the "new" neighborhood association.

My field work with the PTO did not identify or witness the same factions as the neighborhood association. This may reflect that the PTO was more organized and cohesive. However, my affiliation with the PTO board of directors may have shaped my recruitment of interview participants from the elementary school. The majority of

interview participants from the elementary school were recruited at the PTO meetings. While I did recruit some participants from larger school events, this recruitment was facilitated by the PTO president, Alice. Alice seemed to know all of the parents and teachers at Flores Elementary and would facilitate introductions by asking people if they wanted to participate in my research about the neighborhood. Therefore, my recruitment at the elementary school was certainly shaped by who was more likely and able to attend PTO meetings and who Alice was more likely to know and to introduce me.

As described previously, I also recruited participants via snowball sampling. I used snowball sampling to help address some of the limitations described above. In particular, my reliance on recruiting interview participants from neighborhood association and PTO meetings meant that I was less likely to interview residents who were not active in neighborhood events. I asked every interview participant if they knew of any other neighborhood residents who I should interview. I specifically asked for suggestions of residents who would be less likely to attend neighborhood activities. Almost one-third of my interview participants were recruited via snowball sampling. While snowball sampling has limitations, my goal was to have a fuller scope of neighborhood residents with varied neighborhood experiences, particularly in regard to participation in neighborhood events.

While I did have similar representation of white and Latino participants, I did have a notable skewed gender ratio of interview participants of 20 women and 12 men. The gender imbalance is partially reflective of my sampling strategy, particularly recruiting participants from the elementary school PTO. As I discuss in Chapter 5, this gender skew is a data limitation but is also reflective of important analytic insights about

the gender dynamics within the neighborhood, particularly regarding neighborhood activities. As I recognized that I was finding more women who were willing to participate in my research and interested in being interviewed, I specifically attempted to increase my sample of men. Toward the middle of my data collection, my snowball sampling strategy increased attention on asking participants for suggestions of neighborhood residents by noting that I had interviewed fewer men. However, even with this strategy, I was not able to recruit comparable numbers of men.

Just as my gender likely helped gain entry into the elementary school PTO, my gender may have influenced my recruitment strategies regarding men residents of Las Flores. I did not identify neighborhood activities that were predominantly organized by or included men. As a woman, I may not have recognized nor had access to these relevant neighborhood activities. Therefore, being the sole researcher on this project may have limited my data collection. Similarly, being the only researcher meant that my positionality may have affected the actual interview process. For a project interested in race and gender, it is important to acknowledge my positionality as a white woman may have influenced the rapport I had during the interviews. In particular, my lack of rapport with Hispanic men participants may reflect this positionality as this is the group of participants with whom I did not share either a race or gender identity. Of the interviews that were shortest and where participants provided very short, often yes or no, answers, these occurred with two out of the five Hispanic men I interviewed. As such, my data from men in general, and Hispanic men in particular, is less thorough and detailed, which made it less conducive to analysis of emergent themes.

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The lack of rapport with Hispanic men participants may have also reflected class differences. While I selected Las Flores as a middle-class neighborhood, not all of my participants could easily be described as middle-class. The differences in socioeconomic status did not necessarily map out clearly by race and gender, particularly regarding measures of homeownership or income. In regard to educational attainment, however, there was a more notable pattern of difference. In particular, none of the Hispanic men had a college degree but all of the white men participants were at least college educated. As such, the lack of rapport in interviews with Hispanic men may reflect not just my race and gender positionality but also may reflect class differences. Being a graduate student researcher from the university may have hindered rapport with this group of participants. Additionally, my interview guide may have reflected class-based assumptions that did not resonate with some participants.

<u>EMPIRICAL CONTRIBUTION</u>

Using the methods described in this chapter, I make an important empirical contribution to sociological research on neighborhoods, race, and gender. In particular, my selection of the Las Flores neighborhood provides a unique empirical setting. First, the context of a Latino-white neighborhood is distinct from the majority of neighborhood and race research that studies black-white dynamics. Second, because Latinos in Las Flores are not new immigrants, my results on the co-construction of race and neighborhood, may be a harbinger regarding the racialization of Latinos in the United States. Third, this dissertation makes a relevant empirical contribution by selecting Las Flores as a middle-class neighborhood since this is an under-researched setting for examining race and gender as well as neighborhood experiences.

In addition to the unique context of this research, the methods I employed offer important empirical contributions. Specifically, the use of in-depth interviews and field work allowed for a more rich description of neighborhood experiences. As such, my examination of neighboring, emotional connections, and neighborhood activities provides more depth and perspective of residents than survey data is able to capture. Finally, my research question focused on race and gender patterns of neighborhood experiences, and my inductive approach to analysis followed a rigorous process to develop the results in the subsequent chapters. While I do present results about race and gender, these results emerged from my data to highlight how neighborhood experiences were not uniformly patterned by race and gender. My inductive analyses lead me to results about the social construction of neighborhood via the symbolic meanings and interactions regarding neighboring. These results were not clearly patterned in terms of race or gender. However, I did find notable race differences regarding emotional connections to Las Flores and notable gender aspects of neighborhood activities in Las Flores.

CHAPTER THREE: THE SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF LAS FLORES

AND NEIGHBORING RESULTS

In this chapter, I focus the lens of the social construction of neighborhood on the neighboring component of neighborhood experiences within Las Flores. The inductive process described in the previous chapter lead me to identify several themes related to neighboring, and in this chapter, I present results on the informal interactions between Las Flores residents and the symbolic meaning given to neighbors. In particular, I present findings on how interview participants discussed neighboring behaviors and interactions. I then present results on participants' descriptions of "good" and "bad" neighbors as well as people who were not considered neighbors. To situate these results, I draw from research on the concept of "friendly distance" (Willmott 1986; Crow, Allan, and Summers 2002) and scholarship on the parochial realm (Lofland 1998; Kusenbach 2006) and place (Gieryn 2000).

I use friendly distance as an anchoring concept for this chapter to illustrate how the expectation of being friendly but respecting privacy guided interactions in Las Flores. I address how symbolic meanings associated with neighbors also reflect the concept of "friendly distance" from results on how participants described "good" vs. "bad" neighbors. Further, I discuss how these distinctions also contrasted with the ways participants described individuals who were not considered neighbors. As a whole, these results illustrate how shared space, shared interactions, and shared symbols gave meaning to Las Flores as a neighborhood and to residents as neighbors.

I also discuss how neighboring interactions helped to provide meaning of neighborhood by addressing the concept of the parochial realm as emplaced. Drawing

from research on the parochial realm (Lofland 1998; Kusenbach 2006) and place (Gieryn 2000), I discuss how the concept of "friendly distance" applies not just to neighbors but also to the social construction of place into neighborhood. I present results on how neighboring interactions helped establish a Las Flores as a parochial realm with particular types of interactions distinct from the public or private realms. These parochial interactions are also emplaced, which serve to define both individuals and space as neighbors and neighborhood. As such, neighborhood is constructed as a distinct realm that has particular types of interactions and these interactions occur within a specific place.

As discussed in chapter one, Cohen (1985) and Wilkinson (1991) discuss the social construction of community with an emphasis on how boundaries define who is and who is not part of the community and how interactions help to transform place into community. This chapter, therefore, provides a lens to better understand how community is fostered through shared interactions that lead to shared symbols to create boundaries of community. In the next section, I discuss the relevant literature on neighboring, friendly distance, and the parochial realm as emplaced. This literature is then used to situate my specific results, which are presented in five main sections on meeting neighbors, neighboring, good neighbors, bad neighbors, and not neighbors. I conclude the chapter by discussing how these results reflect the social construction of Las Flores.

<div align="center">NEIGHBORING AS FRIENDLY DISTANCE</div>

Neighboring generally refers to social interactions among residents within a neighborhood (Skjaeveland et al. 1996; Woldoff 2002; Farrell et al. 2004; Kusenbach 2006; Long and Perkins 2007). As a concept, neighboring addresses both social ties

between neighbors and behaviors such as exchange of social support and normative practices. Based on survey research, quantitative research examines distinct components of neighboring (Skjaeveland et al. 1996; Guest et al. 2006); predictors of neighboring (Skjaeveland and Garling 1997; Farrell et al. 2004); and neighboring as an independent variable that predicts outcomes such as well-being (Farrell et al. 2004) and attachment (Woolever 1992; Sundblad and Sapp 2011).

The results in this chapter are most in line with the qualitative research by Kusenbach (2006: 282) who defines neighboring as "a normative set of interactive practices." Similarly, other researchers use the concept "friendly distance" as the principle guiding neighboring interactions (Wilmott 1986; Crow et al. 2002; Stokoe and Wallwork 2003; van Eijk 2012). Friendly distance refers to the norms of being friendly with neighbors but also respecting privacy, and friendly distance reflects an interactional norm of neighboring since neighbors must negotiate between being friendly but not being nosy or intrusive (Crow et al. 2002).

Neighboring as friendly distance also includes a moral dimension, particularly for conceptualizations of "good" versus "bad" neighbors (Stokoe 2003; Stokoe and Wallwork 2003). In this regard, "good neighbors" engage in the proper interactions of neighboring by being friendly but not nosy and helpful but not intrusive. On the other hand, "bad neighbors" do not respect the boundaries of neighboring by encroaching onto private property (Stokoe and Wallwork 2003) or being unfriendly (Kusenbach 2006). Most research on friendly distance examines European contexts, particularly the United Kingdom (Willmott 1986; Crow et al. 2002; Stokoe and Wallwork 2003) and the Netherlands (van Eijk 2012). Therefore, my results demonstrate the applicability of the

concept of friendly distance to Las Flores and make an empirical contribution. Further, my results on the theme of "not neighbors," add to understanding of the social construction of neighborhood. In particular, I highlight how the symbolic meaning given to "bad" neighbors is distinct from that given to "not" neighbors, which demonstrates some of the difficulties of negotiating neighboring expectations that underpin the social construction of neighborhood.

As a unique type of interaction, Kusenbach (2006) situates neighboring as part of the parochial realm distinct from both the public and private realms. While interactions in private realms are often based on intimacy and closeness, interactions in public realms are often based on distance and inattention (Hunter 1985; Lofland 1998; Kusenbach 2008). The parochial realm bridges the public and private divide. By discussing neighborhood as a type of parochial realm, I address how neighborhood and neighbors give symbolic meaning to individuals who reside within a particular geographic realm but are distinct from family (who live within the same house) or strangers (who do not live in the neighborhood). Interactions within the parochial realm are based on expectations of "friendly distance" where neighbors are expected to be friendly but not intrude on privacy, so neighbors are not as intimate as friends or family who are part of the private realm but not so distant as strangers in the public realm. Acts of neighboring can reinforce the distinction between neighbor and stranger (i.e. friendliness) but also reinforce the distinction between neighbor and friend/family (i.e. distance). The symbolic meaning given to neighboring interactions can be ambiguous because some aspects of neighboring (i.e. helping) blur the distinction between friend and neighbor.

Neighboring can also be ambiguous because some aspects of neighboring (keeping an eye out) blur the line between neighbor and stranger.

Neighboring socially constructs space by defining the neighborhood as a particular place and by establishing the types of interactions that occur between neighbors. In regard to this spatial dimension, neighboring is a unique type of parochial interaction because individuals engage in neighboring with other residents living in close proximity. Stokoe and Wallwork (2003) note that while neighborhood research defines neighbors tied to physical proximity, the spatial dimension of neighboring is rarely the focus. Qualitative research on neighboring finds that most interactions between neighbors are particularly emplaced (Gieryn 2000). As such, neighbors interact within the parochial realm not the private realm meaning that they meet and talk outside of their personal residences (Stokoe and Wallwork 2003; van Eijk 2011; van Eijk 2012). Therefore, neighboring is emplaced in the sense of where neighbors interact within the physical boundaries of the parochial realm of the neighborhood. Furthermore, neighboring is emplaced in regard to the social construction of "good" versus "bad" neighbors since bad neighbors often violate the spatial order by encroaching onto private property of other residents (Stokoe and Wallwork 2003). Neighboring occurs not with all residents of Las Flores but instead within smaller subsections of the neighborhood. Neighbors live adjacent to each other, and there are particular expectations for interactions between residents that reflect the symbolic meaning of neighbors.

The results presented in this chapter elaborate on the connections between neighboring as friendly distance and how neighboring is tied to the parochial realm but also emplaced. First, the parochial realm is conceptualized as distinct from the public or

private spheres, and therefore, the parochial realm has particular interactional norms. Friendly distance is the key norm for interactions within the parochial realm and reflects the distinctions between both the public and private realms. Second, friendly distance is not just relevant to the general conceptual distinction between the parochial realm vs. the private or public realms. Instead, friendly distance is also about where interactions occur within the parochial realm. I refer to this as emplacing the parochial realm to illustrate that the expectations of friendliness and helpfulness occur within particular spaces within the neighborhood. Therefore, these results demonstrate the principle of friendly distance and how interactions and symbolic meaning of neighboring relate to parochial realm as emplaced. Importantly, the expectation of friendly distance is not always clear, and therefore symbolic meaning given to neighbors illustrates that neighbors are not just residents who live adjacent to each other. Instead, the symbolic meaning of good and bad neighbors contrast with those individuals who are not considered neighbors. This contrast serves to illustrate how neighborhood and neighbor are socially constructed and how these distinctions can be blurry. Therefore, the social construction of neighborhood identifies the boundaries of what and who is included (Cohen 1985), but sometimes these boundaries are ambiguous.

Instead of taking Las Flores for granted as a site for understanding neighborhood, I asked participants to describe their interactions with and the symbolic meaning given to neighbors. The results that follow address the social construction of neighborhood by presenting several emergent themes related to the neighboring component of neighborhood experiences. First, participants described how they met their neighbors. In particular, residents met each other by being outside at the same time, through intentional

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introductions and welcoming of new neighbors, or through growing up in the same

neighborhood and having shared acquaintances with fellow neighbors. In addition to

meeting neighbors, participants also discussed a variety of neighboring interactions and

behaviors. Overall, Las Flores residents described positive and friendly interactions with

neighbors. This included micro-interactions such as saying hi, helping neighbors if

asked, and generally watching out for each other and the neighborhood. While

participants described overall friendly interactions with neighbors, participants also noted

that they were not particularly intimate with their neighbors. I then present results on

how participants described good neighbors as engaging in neighboring, respecting

boundaries, and respecting culture whereas participants described bad neighbors as not

respecting boundaries or as deviant but also tolerable. Finally, I present results on

individuals who were not considered neighbors as either too distant or too unknown.

<u>MEETING NEIGHBORS</u>

Neighbor social ties emerge as residents meet and interact with each other. I

asked interview participants, "how did you meet your neighbors?" Participants described

meeting neighbors through unplanned interactions whereby both residents were outside at

the same time. As such, overlapping, shared space fostered introductions and social

interactions. Some participants also described intentionally meeting neighbors when new

residents were explicitly welcomed into the neighborhood. The third theme for meeting

neighbors includes participants who grew up in the neighborhood and therefore had

social ties to other residents because of shared history and shared social ties. Newer

residents also had direct social ties via introductions to longtime neighbors. As such,

these results highlight an understanding of community within the parochial realm

whereby residents are expected to interact with each other. These forms of meeting

neighbors serve to shape the parochial realm as distinct from the public realm where

introductions and unplanned interactions distinguish neighborly social relations as

distinct from interactions with strangers (Hunter 1985; Lofland 1998; Kusenbach 2008).

"Being Outside"

Most participants described informal, small interactions that facilitated meeting

their neighbors. This included being outside at the same time and saying hello. These

descriptions reflect the social construction of neighborhoods as residents are expected to

be friendly and cordial.

> Just being outside. Yeah, I mean mostly walking or biking. Being outside,
> trick or treating, met a lot of neighbors trick or treating because we had just
> moved in last August, so that was a big time that we were really actually
> out and talking to people. (#113, white woman)

> Just outside, just conversations. Just because of the vicinity, you know, the
> proximity to each other. (#116, "other race" man)

These descriptions of meeting neighbors through being outside and sharing the same

physical space at the same time reflect how daily patterns of life facilitate interactions

between neighbors. This is a particular feature of the parochial realm (Stokoe and

Wallwork 2003; van Eijk 2012) in which neighborhood residents share physical space in

a manner that is distinct from the public realm. As such, it is accepted and even expected

that neighbors will introduce themselves to each other.

Intentional Introductions

Some participants described more formal interactions when current residents

would intentionally introduce themselves to new neighbors, sometimes even bringing a

gift of baked goods.

When they move in we always make it a point, my wife will make some cookies or make a cake or something and then we go and introduce ourselves with them and we talk to them and we will take something and that's how we meet them. Because we actually think it's very important that we meet our neighbors and let our neighbors know that they have a friend in the neighborhood. So we do visit with them and my wife always bakes something and we take it over. (#104, Hispanic man)

This participant described intentional introductions to neighbors to explicitly welcome a new neighbor by visiting them and bringing them a small gift. These introductions and welcoming interactions serve to foster a particular understanding of neighbors and neighborhood. Participant #104 describes how he and his wife think it is important to meet their neighbors and implies that these intentional introductions serve to foster neighboring behaviors. In this regard, ideas about neighboring as watching out for each other and helping that will be discussed below are implied in descriptions about intentionally welcoming new residents into the neighborhood. Again, these interactions also serve to construct the neighborhood as a unique realm of social interaction where residents should be friendly and know each other. Unlike the public realm where individuals are not expected to interact or introduce themselves, residents within a local geographic space are expected to know each other and these intentional introductions serve to foster social ties between residents.

Shared History

The third theme around meeting neighbors referred to the history of Las Flores. People who grew up in the area already knew their neighbors or had a connection to a neighbor via family or school. Because Las Flores consists of older adult residents who also grew up in the neighborhood, some participants described knowing their neighbors from their childhood or from shared acquaintances as they were growing up in the area.

Even if these residents did not know their current neighbors from childhood, there are many overlapping social ties among older residents such as shared acquaintances via family networks.

> [Neighbors on the corner] are my brothers and sisters ages. They went to school with them. But as when we moved in, we talk and I knew them because their mother lived down the road. So we all go in school with their brothers and basically I went to school with their brothers and sisters. That's how we got to more less know all of them - it's a small - like I said it's a small old family type neighborhood. (#107, Hispanic woman)

As participant #107 describes, she knows local residents from shared social networks and shared history, particularly tied to the local schools. The shared history of growing up in the neighborhood and attending the local schools contribute to a general familiarity with other residents. Moreover, this shared history also leads to the understanding of the neighborhood as a "small old family type" such that both social and historical aspects become defining characteristics in the social construction of the Las Flores neighborhood.

Newer residents also talked about meeting a neighbor who had lived in the neighborhood for a long time and that this connection was often explicitly pointed out. Many of the participants who had lived in the neighborhood for less than ten years told me about a neighbor who had been in the neighborhood for a much longer time. As such, older residents were viewed as important gatekeepers and sources of information for newer residents.

> Well our neighbors on the other side of us, they've lived there forever apparently. And our landlord when we first were moving into this home, like went over to get them and introduce us to them as if you need anything, these are your people to go to. And that was very, very nice and they're an older couple sweet as can be [. . .] So typically it's just been random interactions except for the Martinez's where there was a specific introduction. (#127, white woman)

Newer residents also described how they were often introduced to particular long-time residents as neighbors. Participant #127 is a renter who was intentionally introduced to a couple who had lived in the neighborhood "forever." As such, the landlord made sure to introduce the newer resident to the longtime resident which contributes to understandings of Las Flores neighborhood as historic and fosters a respect for longtime residents and the history and culture of the neighborhood.

Meeting Neighbors and Social Construction of Neighborhood

Descriptions of how participants met their neighbors demonstrate the construction of neighborhood as a particular, place-based realm with distinct interactions. In particular, residents are expected to introduce themselves to other neighbors. Whereas in the public realm, individuals are not expected to interact with "strangers," in the parochial realm there is a shared understanding that residents should know each other. These interactions do not need to extend into the private realm or intrude on neighbors' privacy. Many neighbors meet each other by "being outside" at the same time not by intentionally inviting other residents into the privacy of their homes. As such, these interactions between neighbors serve to create the neighborhood as a place-based space of parochial interaction that is distinct from either the private or public realms. However, it is also implied that meeting neighbors, particularly through intentional introductions and welcoming activities, will foster neighboring more generally. The next section presents results on descriptions of neighboring interactions within Las Flores, particularly addressing the concept of friendly distance.

NEIGHBORING

In addition to descriptions as to how they met their neighbors, participants described various types of neighboring behaviors, and overall, participants described positive neighboring interactions. These interactions ranged from micro-interactions such as saying hi to helping neighbors if asked to generally watching out for each other. Most participants described friendly interactions but these interactions were not necessarily in-depth. In this regard, residents were "friendly but not intimate" with most of their neighbors.

Neighboring as "Saying Hi"

Similar to how participants met their neighbors, participants described interactions with their neighbors as saying "hi" when they were both outside and other small, informal interactions that foster familiarity and friendliness among neighbors.

> So, I define neighbors as people living literally next to me. [. . .] So, on our cul-de-sac, I know every single neighbor, say hi to them on a daily basis. (#101, Hispanic woman)

> Like I stop to talk to them for a while and stuff like that. They're mostly on this street older people, like not entirely, but there's quite a few people like above 60. So just by our schedules, when we're outside doesn't even, you know, align or match, or they spend time in their house or maybe in their back yard doing something, so I just don't see them that much. (#120, white man)

These descriptions reflect place-based, micro interactions between neighbors. Similar to how participants met neighbors, ongoing micro interactions between neighbors were unplanned, friendly interactions that occurred outside of the home. These interactions are positive and establish a familiarity and social tie between residents. As such, saying "hi" on a daily basis provides a social connection between neighbors and is in line with the expectation that residents should be friendly toward each other (Kusenbach 2006).

Similar to other symbolic interactionist research on neighboring, these friendly micro-interactions also have a particular spatial component as most interactions occur outside the privacy of individual homes (Stokoe and Wallwork 2003; van Eijk 2012).

Neighboring as Helping

Many participants described neighboring as helping. Responses to the question "what are you willing to do to help a neighbor" included a broad range of activities such as driving someone to the store, taking care of pets and house for neighbors who were out of town, providing support during times of need, and loaning small items such as tools or food. When asked if participants had actually done any of these activities for a neighbor, many participants noted that the range of helpful activities they had done was smaller than what they said they were willing to do.

> I would do anything to help a neighbor, pretty much. I mean, that wasn't illegal. I mean seriously, I mean if someone were to ask me, they're not asking me because they're taking a survey, they're asking me because they need help. So I would do whatever it is that I needed to do to help them. [. . .] Move stuff, help move furniture or whatnot, deliver vehicles, drop somebody's vehicle off at the shop, "can you pick me up?" "yeah," whatever, things like that. Pick up something at the grocery store if you're going. (#112, Hispanic man)

This participant's willingness to help a neighbor underscores a particular expectation of neighboring whereby if asked, residents should be willing to help as much as they are able. This response also implies that the person asking for help is actually in need. As such, there is a shared understanding that neighbors help each other and that residents who ask for help will not exploit or intrude by asking for too much. Participants also highlighted helping in relation to children and sharing information.

> You know, watch their kids always comes to mind since I've got kids. So, bring food if they need, things purchased or made for them if they're ill, help with yard work if they're ill or need help or shoveling snow kind of

thing. Take them if they need rides to places. Just company in general, being company for someone. And most of the things I think was like if somebody's sick and needs me. Or like if somebody is new into the neighborhood I like to, because I've moved so much, I really like to offer my, you know, help if they need help with who's a good sitter, who's good like lawn guy or a good pool guy or just kind of those kind of things too. (#113, white woman)

Many participants stated they were willing to help with anything they were able if asked. In this sense, participants conveyed a sense of responsibility and reciprocity that comes with living in the same neighborhood. It is expected that local residents will help when asked but it is also implied that fellow residents will not ask for too much of their neighbors. Helping also included taking care of children, welcoming new residents, and sharing information. The willingness to help if asked also reflects symbolic expectations of neighboring such that neighbor friendliness extends to helping but only if asked so as to not intrude into personal matters.

Neighboring as Watching Out for Each Other

The third prominent theme of neighboring behaviors consisted of watching out for each other and keeping an eye on the neighborhood. In this regard, neighboring as watching out for each other constructs the neighborhood as a type of community. Keeping an eye out implies the prevention of social problems by knowing what is happening within the neighborhood. Furthermore, neighbors are expected to watch out for each other as a form of neighboring but this does not mean intruding into private affairs.

So whenever we are going to go someplace we let them know. We stop our mail. We stop our paper and they keep an eye on the house. And the same with us when they are going they let us know and we keep an eye and pick up their mail sometimes if they are going for a couple of days. (#104, Hispanic man)

This participant's discussion of watching out for neighbors is particular to keeping an eye

out one each other's houses if a resident is out of town. These neighboring behaviors

establish a shared concern for property within the neighborhood and serve as protective

factors against outside intrusion such as criminal activity or other social problems that

might occur in unoccupied houses. Participants also discussed watching out for each

other by providing emotional support and help.

> Well, all of that, keeping an eye on their home, getting their mail, checking
> their houses. I've watched some kids before, taking turns with the children,
> babysitting, and just one thing we like to do is there's somebody sick or
> whatever, you can make them a meal and take it to them. With sick people,
> you lose somebody, go the services for them and give them a card or you
> know make sure you send them flowers and show your sympathy, that way,
> those kinds of things I think are important. When they're sick or they're ill
> or help them any way you can. I try to offer even to take them in a store,
> pick stuff up for them, those kinds of things, but most of the time they don't
> want you to, but it's nice to offer. (#109, Hispanic woman)

For participant #109, watching out for each other includes both keeping an eye on other

residents' homes but also being aware of neighbors' struggles or hardships. Therefore,

watching out for each other extends to knowing if a neighbor is in need of emotional

support or other forms of help. The next passage demonstrates how even if neighbors are

not particularly friendly or helpful, there is still a shared interest in watching out for each

other.

> Just kind of keep an eye out. I would be happy to participate in
> Neighborhood Watch, but I'm not gonna start it. I've been in them before
> and I thought it was nice. As a matter of fact, this is the most hostile block
> I've ever lived in. Everywhere else everybody knew everybody else and
> then the kids all played together. There aren't very many kids here now so
> that might be part of it, too [. . .] I don't feel like I need to be invited to their
> parties or invite them to mine, that kind of thing, but I would nice if they
> were, but it's not that way. (#125, "other race" woman)

This participant describes an individual willingness to be helpful but describes her actual interactions with other residents on her block as "hostile." Even with this overall negative evaluation of her neighbors, participant #125 still tries to keep an eye out and is even willing to participate in a more organized neighborhood watch. Neighborhood watch programs require organization and social interaction that does not currently exist on her block and she is unwilling to spearhead such a project. However, the understanding of neighbors as watching out for each other is still present. Therefore, even with more negative evaluations of other residents, the neighborhood is still constructed as a unique setting whereby residents should at least keep an eye out.

"Friendly but Not Intimate"

While participants discussed neighboring as generally positive and friendly interactions with other residents, a final theme around neighboring described relationships between residents as "friendly but not intimate." Similar to existing literature on the "friendly distance" between neighbors, these responses specifically address interactional dimension of the social construction of neighborhood (Crow et al. 2002; van Eijk 2012). As such, neighbors are expected to be friendly but also respect privacy. Interactions between residents are not necessarily prolonged or personal nor do interactions need to extend into each other's homes in order to foster positive neighbor relationships.

> Generally fine. Friendly but not intimate. [. . .] I don't spend a great deal of social time with them. I mean occasionally we'll have a group of six or eight of us who get together and have a few hors d'oeuvres and a bit of wine but maybe once or twice a year. I spend much more time with friends I would call more intimate from outside the neighborhood, people I used to work with, my late wife's business partner and her husband. (#106, white man)

Keep a general awareness of what's going on with their home. I don't mean being nosy, I mean just noticing whether something's open, the door's open or something's awry or their newspaper gets left for more than a day. (#129, white woman)

While these participants described positive relationships with their neighbors, these relationships were not particularly intimate and not nosy. Therefore, neighboring involves the balance of not being too distant or too friendly.   These friendly interactions and general knowledge of other residents are enough for the neighborhood and neighboring to be considered generally positive.

Some participants described more distant relationships with neighbors. These interactions were not so distant as the "bad" or "not" neighbors I will discuss later. The next passage reflects a more distant relationship between neighbors but still implies a certain degree of friendliness and recognition of neighbors.

Even people I actually kind of know, I kind of forget their names. But like this guy across the street, like I know what he does for a living, I know what he's doing at his house all the time and stuff. But I don't really know what his name is and his wife's name, and it's the same with a couple of other neighbors. Like I see them out and about, but I don't know if I'd recognize them if I saw them out of context at all, just because they're sort of older folks and I've only seen them out like just a handful of times. I've been here like six years, and I've seen them five times, you know, something like that. (#120, white man)

Participant #120 is friendly with his neighbors but their interactions are limited and in fact they do not even know each other's names. Instead, these interactions are particularly place-based to the extent that participant #120 recognizes other residents as "belonging" within the setting of the neighborhood but would not necessarily recognize them beyond this place setting. This speaks to the social construction of community within a physically bounded space.

Neighboring did not need to extend into the private residences of neighbors to be

considered overall positive. As such, neighborhood was socially constructed via shared

meanings and friendly interactions that occurred outside of the home. Participant #131

described maintaining the boundaries of privacy within the neighborhood.

> Of course, if I see them, I will say hi or will wave. Sometimes we'll chat. Sometimes I'll pass on information. I do go into their homes. Probably I go into their homes more than I allow them into mine. And that's just a privacy thing because of issues that have to do with a sense of, I want to say it's a sense of ownership, but that's not the word I want to use. But a proprietary sense. So some of them think, oh, they live in this house [. . .] And so then it's like, oh, they took our place. And you have to watch out who you let into your, I have to watch out who I let in. (#131, white woman)

Participant #131 lives in a historical house that is recognized within the

neighborhood as a unique home. For this reason, some residents of Las Flores

might encroach upon the separation between private and parochial by viewing the

house as part of the neighborhood and not private property. Therefore participant

#131 specifically protects her privacy by being even more selective of whom she

invites into her home. While neighboring interactions between residents often

occur outside of the home in the parochial realm, this participant is even more

protective of her own home and privacy because of a perception that her house is

of the neighborhood. As such, this passage highlights how neighboring is not just

the balance between friendly yet not intimate but also emplaced. Neighbor

interactions are distinct from the public sphere but also do not need to extend into

the private realm.

Neighboring Interactions

Participants described neighboring as an array of interactions and behaviors.

Overall, interactions between residents of Las Flores were friendly and helpful. By

mutually watching out for each other, residents construct the neighborhood as a place-

based parochial realm. In this sense, neighboring as being friendly, helping, and keeping an eye out all served to distinguish the parochial realm from the public realm of disinterest. However, participants also discussed how neighboring interactions are not particularly intimate, and in this regard, these results highlight the concept of friendly distance. Neighbors are not expected to have extended, regular, planned interactions. Nor should neighbors intrude on each other's privacy or be nosy. Therefore, neighboring consists of interactions that are friendly but not too friendly.

Overall, these different interactions from meeting neighbors to watching out for each other represent a particular understanding of neighboring. Neighboring is also emplaced, which serves to socially construct space into neighborhood via interactions. Specifically, people living in physical proximity are assumed to be cordial and friendly. This does not mean that neighbors need to be particularly intimate such that neighboring does not need to extend into private residences to be considered overall positive. However, it is implied that residents living in Las Flores neighborhood will offer help if asked and that overall the neighbors are friendly and most interactions are positive. As van Eijk (2012) notes, the expectation of friendliness is spatially bounded to particular, localized geographic boundaries that link residents. These descriptions of actual neighboring behaviors and interactions between residents reflect a particular symbolic meaning given to neighbors. This is also reflected in how participants described characteristics of good neighbors and also how certain participants described those residents who were bad neighbors and people who are not considered to be neighbors.

<u>GOOD NEIGHBORS</u>

The themes of neighboring behaviors tie into how participants described "good" neighbors. Participants described "good neighbors" as residents who engage in appropriate neighboring behaviors and were similar to the themes presented in the previous section. In particular, good neighbors are friendly, helpful, and watch out for other neighbors. In some cases, this may extend into more private interactions if local residents are both neighbors and family or if neighbors are friendly enough to go into each other's homes. Good neighbors can also include those residents who are friendly within the physical space of the neighborhood such as saying hi when residents are outside. However, participants also described the symbolic aspects of neighboring when they described good neighbors as not being too nosy and not overstepping boundaries of privacy. Some participants also discussed a particular culture of Las Flores neighborhood and the importance of respecting and understanding that culture.

Good Neighbors Know Boundaries

While many participants described good neighbors as engaging in appropriate neighboring interactions, some participants addressed the symbolic component of neighboring when describing good neighbors as respecting boundaries. Participants described good neighbors as friendly, but good neighbors are not so friendly as to intrude on other residents' privacy.

> Someone who's a good neighbor is considerate of the neighborhood, meaning maintains their property, takes care not to be excessively noisy and if there is going to be excessive noise like a party, they're going to go ahead and mention it to you. They don't trespass. Where we live, our property line goes across the ditch, and the ditch is actually on our property. It's really nice to know that people aren't just walking back in there. So, I'm not saying people just walk into my house or into my yard, but just is respectful of the boundaries of the house, of the home, of the property. And

they're nice. They're fun. They're interested. I don't necessarily need to be their best friend, but you know they're cordial. (#101, Hispanic woman)

To me a good neighbor is somebody that you need help, when they see that you need help that they'll come over and ask, let me do this for you, let me help you without you having to ask them. Or like I said when something's happened that you see there's an ambulance or somebody's breaking into their house, you know you alerted the police or they have given you numbers to call you call them, so to me that's somebody that's a good neighbor, it's not that you're basically super close, to where you're always together, but if you can help each other you do that. (#107, Hispanic woman)

These participants describe how good neighbors are friendly but not necessarily "best friends." As such, there is an expectation that residents will be cordial with each other but good neighbors do not need to be particularly intimate or spend extended amounts of time together. Expectations for good neighbors are also emplaced due to physical proximity. Good neighbors help and are available in an emergency but are not "super close." However, good neighbors respect physical boundaries by not "trespassing" onto private property.

Participants also described good neighbors specifically referring to respecting boundaries and privacy. Therefore, good neighbors also meant respecting privacy by not being too nosy or too noisy:

Well, a good neighbor, kind of always knows what's going on yet stays out of your business. So kind of that little cliché. A good neighbor, you know, might be willing to help in a crisis with kids or something. Cares about their home and their family and their community so that they are participating and being a good member of the community.   They're not like manufacturing drugs or dealing or some of those kind of things. They're upstanding citizens. (#113, white woman)

To me a good neighbor is somebody who respects boundaries including with their music. A good neighbor is somebody who should feel free to ask for assistance in some manner whether it be helping them move something, recognizing different people's physical limitations. Come in and feed the cat if I'm gone. But I also go back to that thing of limits [. . .] Well,

respecting privacy number one but also acknowledging that something that this neighbor does may affect in an adverse manner somebody's sleep. (#106, white man)

These participants describe how the symbolic meaning of good neighbors includes respecting privacy and also being aware of other residents. The physical proximity of neighbors leads to encroachment of physical boundaries via loud music. As such, there is a delicate balance between engagement with other residents so as to know if they are engaging in criminal behavior but also respecting privacy by staying out of each other's private affairs. As I discuss in the later results on bad neighbors this delicate balance is tricky and some deviant behavior of bad neighbors is tolerated so as to not be too nosy. The respect for privacy and this symbolic meaning of neighboring lead to the social construction of community and shared norms within the physical boundaries of the neighborhood.

Good Neighbors Respect Culture

Two participants described good neighbors within the specific context of Las Flores. In addition to describing general characteristics of good neighbors as friendly and keeping up property, these participants also described how good neighbors respect the culture and values of the neighborhood. As such, these participants construct a particular understanding of Las Flores neighborhood that extends beyond just "friendly distance" between neighbors.

Good neighbors, friendly and considerate of his or her neighbors in terms of noise and keeping up the yard. Because most of us are permanent residents here, who aren't renting, try to keep our houses up and the yards clean and all that but that's not true of a lot the renters that come and go. So I really don't like it when the renters have a lot of trash in their yard, and garbage and a lot of traffic in and out, and loud noise, and fighting, there's

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been a few that fight. So pretty much just being considerate of the rest of us especially the rest of us that are here permanently and have been here for awhile and don't plan on going any time soon. I know that if I moved into an old neighborhood where people lived for a long time I would try to fit in and conform a little bit and not cause problems for any neighbors. And the people who are there that you know you can ask for help if you ever need like I've locked myself out a few times and this was before cell phone days when I'd have go and use a telephone or something it's nice to know you have neighbors that you can trust to help you out like that. (#121, Hispanic woman)

Okay. Well, I think for me a good neighbor . . . it involves that sense of community where you work with each other and if I was able to help someone, I would help them. And I would like to know that there's a reciprocal. . . And where there's acceptance, not tolerance, but acceptance. I think in this specific situation, because of, I mean, the one thing that became very apparent to me, and this again shows the difference between California versus here is, here, when people move into this area, it's for the atmosphere. That's really what they're buying into but they don't really understand the culture. (#131, white woman)

In these passages, both participants described residents who moved into Las Flores but did not understand the culture or did not respect the values of the neighborhood. Participant #121 characterizes Las Flores as a neighborhood of long-time, permanent residents and contrasts this understanding of the neighborhood with residents who rent and who do not care for the property. She indicates that newer residents should try to fit into the norms of the neighborhood and as such implies that renters or short-term residents are not socialized into the neighborhood's values. Participant #131 contrasts Las Flores neighborhood with other locations and describes how residents of Las Flores move into the neighborhood for the "atmosphere" without understanding the "culture." In this regard, she also highlights how understanding the "culture" of Las Flores includes accepting residents and the values of the neighborhood as they are. She indicates opposition to processes of gentrification or appropriation of the Las Flores by residents who do not understand the culture.

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Symbolic Meaning of Good Neighbors

As these results demonstrate, participants characterized good neighbors as friendly but also respecting privacy. In this regard, descriptions of "good neighbors" highlight the symbolic meaning given to neighboring, which underpins understanding of Las Flores as a neighborhood. Good neighbors should be friendly and helpful. However, good neighbors should also respect privacy and are not expected to be particularly intimate. Good neighbors must negotiate the interactional norm of being friendly but also maintain boundaries of privacy, and similar to the results on neighboring interactions, the results for good neighbors reiterate the concept of friendly distance. These descriptions of good neighbors also speak to the social construction of neighborhood and neighbors. In particular, the descriptions of good neighbors as respecting the culture of Las Flores indicate a particular understanding of the neighborhood whereby good neighbors respect the values of Las Flores instead of trying to change the neighborhood. Similarly, definitions of good neighbors as friendly and helpful indicate a particular understanding of neighborhood and neighbors whereby residents living in a general shared space are expected to engage in neighboring behaviors within the parochial realm. These neighborly relationships and interactions do not need to extend to the private sphere. Instead, good neighbors are cordial within the setting of the neighborhood but do not encroach into private spheres unless asked or invited.

BAD NEIGHBORS

The results about good neighbors imply symbolic meaning associated with residents who are considered bad neighbors. While I did not specifically ask how participants defined "bad neighbors," participants described characteristics of bad

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neighbors in response to the question "Is there anyone you wish did not live in your neighborhood?" Overall, participants described people who they wished did not live in the neighborhood by referring to specific residents who were "bad neighbors." As such, bad neighbors include residents who are too loud and inconsiderate of their neighbors, residents who engage in criminal behavior, or residents who do not take care of their property to the extreme that it affects neighbors. A few participants described people who were bad neighbors but not to the extreme that participants did not want those residents living in the neighborhood.

Reiterating the results on neighboring and good neighbors, participants described residents who did not engage in appropriate neighboring as people who they wish did not live in the neighborhood. In this sense, not being friendly or being inconsiderate constituted bad neighboring behaviors. Bad neighboring behaviors included playing music too loud or otherwise being noisy and inconsiderate to other residents. Bad neighbors were also residents who did not engage in proper interactions of neighboring by being too distant and not friendly. However, the results for bad neighbors also addressed some of the ambiguity in neighboring since the symbolic meaning of bad neighbors did not necessarily lead to consistently bad interactions between neighbors. Participants described certain individuals who they wished did not live in the neighborhood but also described a certain acceptance of these bad neighbors. These types of bad neighboring interactions were not extreme enough to claim that bad neighbors should not be able to live in Las Flores.

Participants also described residents who were deviant as people they wished did not live in the neighborhood. These descriptions were less specific to a particular

resident and the types of deviant behavior extended beyond just unfriendliness.

However, even deviant neighbors were tolerated to the extent that they still engaged in

some forms of neighboring or were not particularly threatening to individual participants.

> And I don't know. I don't know if he, like, did drugs on top of the alcohol
> but he would make these, like, noises. I used to wonder if he, like, did
> heroine or something because he just was kind of freaky. He'd get real
> alone in the summer and we like had the windows and doors open and he
> lived across the ditch from us, he'd get really loud and just belligerent. It's
> just funny noises. I remember when we first moved there it just drove me
> crazy and then finally one night I was just like, "Shut up, will you?!" And
> he was just like, "Sorry neighbor!" He yelled back, "Sorry neighbor!" I
> mean it was hilarious. So even though, I was a little worried about the
> company he kept, I really liked him and I, you know, I felt for him in some
> way but, yeah. So I don't know. I just wish he didn't have company. I
> don't mind him living there, I guess. I don't know. You know it's just what
> makes a community. Everybody has broken people in it and it doesn't mean
> you don't want them. They just take you from your comfort zone I guess. I
> don't know (#113, white woman)

This participant describes her neighbor as deviant and attributes it to some type of drug

use. Her description also includes an interaction whereby neighboring occurred. In this

sense, her neighbor's deviant behaviors extended beyond the private realm of his house

into the parochial realm. However, when she asserted that he was engaging in

inappropriate neighboring behaviors, he responded by apologizing and reaffirmed the

proper interaction between neighbors as being friendly. As such, participant #113

reflects on this interaction with amusement and does not deem her neighbor's behavior as

so deviant as to want him removed from the neighborhood.

Similarly, participant #135 described a neighbor who was considered to be the

local drug dealer. In general, he was considered to be a bad neighbor because he engaged

in illegal activity and other residents knew he engaged in such activity.

> Well, the drug guy. You know, if he left, you know, it would be fine [. . .]
> Well, because you never know if one of those people could end up being

the loony one, you know, and a weirdo or something. So it does bring a
lot of traffic and we want to build a wall down that street so that, like, our
three families, you just don't have to look at it when he comes down,
when they come down the road. (#135, "other race" woman)

While this participant stated she would prefer that a neighbor who engages in illegal

behaviors such as dealing drugs did not live in the neighborhood, throughout the

interview she described a certain degree of tolerance for this type of deviant neighbor.

Her preference would be that he did not live in the neighborhood, but this preference was

not so strong as to actually seek out law enforcement. The dislike of the deviant neighbor

was not tied specifically to his illegal activities as such but instead reflected an

understanding of how this neighbor violated the understanding of neighboring by inviting

unfamiliar and possibility unsafe people into the neighborhood.

Symbolic Meaning of Bad Neighbors

Overall, bad neighbors were residents who did not engage in proper interactions

of neighboring, often by being unfriendly or distant. In this regard, bad neighbors were

the flip side of good neighbors who respected boundaries. However, bad neighbors were

also residents who were deviant, even to the point of engaging in criminal activity.

Interestingly, while some participants could identify a specific resident who engaged in

deviant activities, participants also did not express a strong interest in removing these bad

neighbors from Las Flores. Instead, participants described a certain tolerance of bad

neighbors. As such, the symbolic meaning attached to bad neighbors did not necessarily

lead to bad neighboring interactions. Participants did not want to encroach so far into

private matters of bad neighbors to the extent of wanting bad neighbors to be removed

from the neighborhood. Therefore, bad neighbors did not engage in proper interactions

neighboring but were still symbolically defined as neighbors. As such, bad neighbors

still contribute to a shared meaning of neighborhood and neighbor in regard to particular

neighboring interactions within the emplaced parochial realm. The next section

addresses a more distant neighbor in what I refer to as "not" neighbors. While bad

neighbors are still considered neighbors, there are people who were described as not

neighbors.

<div align="center">NOT NEIGHBORS</div>

A third type of neighbor that emerged from the interview data included

descriptions of what I refer to as "not neighbors." I asked participants, "Is there anyone

that you see in the neighborhood that you do not think of as neighbors?" Responses

about individuals who are not considered neighbors included residents who were

unfriendly and basically unknown or individuals who seemed to be deviant, criminal, and

somehow did not "fit" into the neighborhood. As such, not neighbors did not necessarily

refer only to actual residents of the Las Flores neighborhood but included people within

the physical boundaries of the neighborhood who somehow did not belong. In this

regard, not neighbors reinforce both the symbolic and interactional dimensions that

construct neighbors as people who belong as residents of Las Flores neighborhood. Not

neighbors also reflects some of the previous themes, particularly highlighting the

ambiguity of symbolically defining residents too far outside the expectations of

neighboring interactions.

Not Neighbors as Unfriendly

Similar to descriptions of "bad neighbors," some participants described not

neighbors as residents who did not engage in neighboring by being unfriendly.

Neighbors are local residents who are friendly and helpful and there is an implied

connection among people who live in the same local space. Residents who fail to engage

in even the micro interactions of saying hi or introducing themselves are therefore not

considered neighbors.

> Yeah, okay. I've never just said one word to them, and I've never seen. Sometimes I go and pass houses, I see little kids; but I've never seen their parents in there. And I just don't even know exactly who they are in a sense. And when I was walking or I ride my bike certain areas, I was just like, I have no idea who stays there; it could be anyone. So I don't feel like they're really my neighbors. (#116, "other race" man)

> I don't think of any of them as neighbors. [. . .] Well, I don't really feel like I have any connection. I feel so very unconnected. But that's more this block than anything else. I'm actually friendly with the woman across the street but she is actually not in my neighborhood association and not in my neighborhood because [official street boundaries] and she's on a couple over and when I walk by to go to the store, we often have a chat. But she's the only one I talk to around here on any kind of regular basis. (#125, "other race" woman)

> I think of them as neighbors. However, I don't go out of my way. There's a, there's several people I could think of just in the moment, just come to mind. They're just not, they don't come across as being too friendly. But I consider them neighbors even though I don't connect with them. I would still have no problem offering them a cup of sugar if they asked me for that or whatever the case may be. (#101, Hispanic woman)

These descriptions of not neighbors indicate the spatial dimension of neighboring. Not

neighbors are residents who live near each other but are not friendly. This is more

extreme than the bad neighbors who at least have some interactions with other residents.

For participant #125, she engages in neighboring interactions with another local resident

but the officially-recognized spatial boundaries of Las Flores neighborhood do not

include the other resident as living within the symbolically-defined neighborhood.

Therefore, neighboring interactions occur within a specific place-based realm and include

being friendly or recognizing each other to form some type of neighborly connection.

Even when residents are not friendly or not engaging in even minimal neighboring

interactions, the implied understanding of what it means to be a neighbor can still be present. As participant #101 described individuals who she did not consider to be neighbors, she notes that she would still help them if asked. In this regard, participant #101 is still willing to engage in neighboring behaviors even with fellow residents who have not been particularly friendly. Again, the concept of helping if asked as part of appropriate neighboring is addressed. In this sense, asking for help would foster some type of neighbor interaction and then the expectation of helping as appropriate neighboring follows. However, as long as not neighbors are so unfriendly as to fail to engage any neighboring interaction, then help is not offered and symbolically these residents are not considered neighbors.

Not Neighbors as Deviant or Unknown

The second theme with regard to people who are not considered neighbors addressed individuals within the neighborhood who were either unknown or deviant. As such, these individuals did not fit into the neighborhood. This is distinct from the descriptions of specific neighbors who were considered "bad neighbors" because they were deviant. Whereas "bad neighbors" were generally known to be residents of the neighborhood, "not neighbors" were too unfamiliar and therefore suspicious as potential deviants.

> And occasionally you see a homeless person somewhere you know along one of the ditches or walking up Flores Street or something, somebody who's obviously homeless and obviously of the homeless ilk that are probably somewhat psychologically damaged, PTSD or some other psychological problem. And there are a lot of homeless people that are absolutely fine; it's just that they're homeless. But these guys are fine too except they can be a bit dangerous because of their psychological condition not because of their homelessness. (#106, white man)

> I don't know it's interesting. Probably two or three weeks ago, I happened

to notice two people walking down our street and I thought, "Those are interesting characters." Maybe because like one like had a backpack and I've just never see either one of them and they were middle-aged men and it just didn't seem right. And within like five minutes like three or four Sheriff's cars headed down and I don't know if people called and said, "We have somebody who doesn't belong here," I don't know. I didn't go down to find out and I haven't asked anybody. I think you can tell if somebody is or not. [. . .] Yeah what makes it scream that they were, I don't know? Because it's not like it's a race thing, it's not like an age thing. It's just that I haven't seen them. I mean, it's people I haven't seen before and, I don't know, we pretty much know everybody. (#113, white woman)

These descriptions of "not neighbors" indicate that individuals who belong within Las Flores neighborhood are not homeless or criminal. However, these responses also describe the difficulty of pinpointing what constitutes not fitting in enough to not be considered a neighbor. Participants imply that not neighbors do not live in the neighborhood, which distinguishes between not neighbors and bad neighbors. The other characteristics that lead to suspicion of individuals within the neighborhood who do not belong are more difficult to pinpoint. As such, the distinction between neighbor and not neighbor is not always clearly defined. Not neighbors are unknown and therefore potentially threatening. Bad neighbors fail to engage in proper neighboring interactions but not neighbors fall outside of the symbolic meaning given to neighbors. In this regard, bad neighbors reinforce the symbolic meaning associated with neighboring interactions and serve to socially construct neighborhood and neighbor. Not neighbors, on the other hand, are more difficult to clearly identify because the symbolic meaning is much less clear between neighbor versus not neighbor. Again, not neighbors also address a place-based aspect of neighboring because not neighbors are located within a particular space of the neighborhood and yet viewed as not belonging by either being unknown or unfriendly.

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CONCLUSION: NEIGHBORING AND SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF LAS FLORES

In this chapter, I presented results around the neighboring component of neighborhood experiences and described how these results reflect the symbolic and interactional dimensions of the social construction of neighborhood. In particular, I demonstrated how the social construction of neighbor revolved around the norm of friendly distance whereby residents are expected to be friendly but also not intrude on each other's privacy. I also highlighted how this norm of friendly distance is emplaced, meaning that the expectations of residents are tied to a limited geographic scope of spatial proximity. Further, the emplacement of neighboring means that friendly interactions often occur outside the personal residences of neighbors such as saying "hi" by the mailbox thereby addressing the parochial realm. My results also demonstrate the symbolic dimension of neighboring to demonstrate how Las Flores residents distinguished between good, bad, and not neighbors. Good neighbors engaged in the proper neighboring interactions whereas bad neighbors violated some of the norms of neighboring, usually by being unfriendly or disruptive of shared norms. In contrast to bad neighbors who were recognized as being part of the neighborhood, individuals identified as "not neighbors" were too distant and therefore unknown to other residents. As such, these individuals were deemed as not belonging within the neighborhood.

This chapter contributes to literature on neighboring by applying the concept of friendly distance to Las Flores. In doing so, I provide an empirical contribution since most research on friendly distance has studied European-context. These results also provide empirical evidence of neighborhood experiences by addressing how friendly

distance is particular to the parochial realm and emplaced thereby focusing a lens on the social construction of neighbor and neighborhood via neighboring.

These results focus on the neighboring dimension of neighborhood experiences to address the social construction of neighbor and neighborhood. These results demonstrate how themes neighboring within Las Flores was not varied by race or gender, and in this sense, these results were more general to Las Flores residents. However, I did identify particular patterns of neighborhood experiences that did vary by race and gender. In the next chapter, I address how interview participants provided different understandings of belonging and history tied to race. I then discuss how gender was relevant to neighborhood activities and highlight how women, in particular, experienced the neighborhood as mothers.

CHAPTER FOUR: EMOTIONAL CONNECTIONS AND THE CO-CONSTRUCTION OF NEIGHBORHOOD AND RACE RESULTS

In this chapter, I present results on the co-construction of race and neighborhood. In particular, I focus on the emotional connections component of neighborhood experiences and demonstrate differences in how white and Hispanic participants described feelings of belonging, uniqueness of neighborhood tied to historic features, and neighborhood attachment. These results reflect a focused analysis for racial patterns in the interview transcriptions. After coding all of the interview transcriptions, I used the ATLAS.ti "family" function to group interviews by the race of the respondent and then read code reports separated by race. This analytic process lead to the emergence of a clear racial pattern regarding codes related to emotional connections to the neighborhood.

To situate these results, I develop the concept of "racialized boundary work" in line with my conceptual framework emphasizing symbolic and interactional dimensions of the co-construction of race and neighborhood. The themes of emotional connections, particularly sentiments toward the neighborhood, most articulate the symbolic meaning given to Las Flores, but I also identify how emotional connections to Las Flores connections reflect different underpinnings of neighborhood attachment in terms of either social or place features. Moreover, the results on emotional connections reflect different underpinnings of belonging fostered by interaction as acknowledgement compared to long-term, familial interactions.

In analyzing the emotional connections, I found a notable pattern of racial differences, and I link the racial differences to a racial system that shapes the lived experiences of race. I define racialized boundary work as how the symbolic meaning

attached to neighborhood reflects racial differences and how the social locations of actors differently positioned in a given racial system shape the understanding of neighborhood. Specifically, two main racial patterns emerged in the themes around emotional connections to Las Flores for white and Hispanic participants. First, there are differences around the theme of "belonging" whereby whites articulated belonging as acknowledgement and Hispanics articulated belonging as deeper, familial connections. Second, there are differences around themes of "neighborhood history" and "attachment" whereby whites emphasized place features tied to history and attachment and Hispanics discussed family/social ties tied to history and attachment. In the next section of this chapter, I situate these results within the literature on emotional connections to neighborhood, race scholarship, and draw from theories of boundary work to develop the concept of racialized boundary work. I then present three main sections of results describing racial differences in sense of belonging, neighborhood history, and neighborhood attachment. I conclude this chapter with a discussion of how these results illustrate the co-construction of neighborhood and race.

EMOTIONAL CONNECTIONS AND RACIALIZED BOUNDARY WORK

This chapter addresses the emotional connections dimension of neighborhood experiences. Emotional connections refer to evaluations of and sentiments toward the neighborhood. In particular, I address three main results on emotional connections to Las Flores related to: 1) sense of belonging, 2) neighborhood uniqueness/neighborhood history, and 3) neighborhood attachment. There is debate on the underpinning of emotional connections to place in terms of whether place is separate from social interaction. In other words, do people form attachment to place based on the physical

dimensions or is place attachment mostly related to social interaction (Trentelman 2009; Scannell and Gifford 2010; Lewicka 2011)? In situating my dissertation within this debate, the concerns over the underpinning of emotional connections may reflect an emphasis on either the symbolic meanings of place or the social interactions within place (Scannell and Gifford 2010). This distinction is not necessarily mutually exclusive since symbolic meaning can be imbued with cultural and social meaning (Stedman 2003). However, my results demonstrate a distinction in emotional connections to Las Flores in terms of emphasis on place versus social dimensions, and I find this distinction varied by race.

Race and neighborhoods are often examined in the context of both understanding the urban environment and understanding racial inequality. In particular, research addresses historical and contemporary patterns of residential segregation (Massey and Denton 1993; Charles 2003) as an important contributing factor and outcome of racial inequality. Most research on race and neighborhood experiences examine black-white comparisons in terms of neighboring (Lee et al. 1991; Woolever 1992; Woldoff 2002; Small 2007; Greif 2009).   Race has been under theorized in existing research on neighborhood attachment and research that does include race variables mainly examine black-white comparisons. For instance, Woldoff (2002) measured attitudinal attachment as consisting of sentiment toward and evaluation of the neighborhood and found differences between black and white respondents. In research that included Hispanics, Grief (2009) found Hispanics reported less neighborhood attachment but this was mostly on account of differing neighborhood contexts, whereas Oh (2004) found that no significant differences between whites and Latinos in regard to a multidimensional

measure of neighborhood attachment. I extend the research on emotional connections to more fully incorporate race by engaging with scholarship on race and the racialization of Latinos and developing the concept of racialized boundary work as the anchoring concept to address the co-construction of neighborhood and race.

To situate my results on racial differences in emotional connections, I draw from sociology of race scholarship on racialization and racial system (Bonilla-Silva 2001; Feagin 2014; Omi and Winant 2015). I situate my results within the racial system approach from Feagin (2014) and Bonilla Silva (2001). A racial system approach emphasizes "societies in which economic, political, social, and ideological levels are partially structured by the placement of actors in racial categories or races" (Bonilla Silva 2001: 37). Omi and Winant's (2015) concept of racial formation also addresses the social construction of race and the racial symbolic meaning attached to groups through the process of racialization. Bonilla-Silva (2001: 37) states "In all racialized social systems the placement of actors in racial categories involves some form of hierarchy that produces definite social relations among the races." In this regard, whites are the dominant and privileged group in American society (Feagin 2014). To apply racial formation to Las Flores provides an empirical contribution because I demonstrate that neighborhood meaning is different for whites and Latinos. As such, I link my results to the racial system that structures different symbolic meaning and interactions for white and Latino residents. In doing so, I demonstrate how neighborhood is given meaning via race because of the racial differences in emotional connections to Las Flores. Moreover, I demonstrate how race is given meaning via neighborhood by discussing how Las Flores

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provides an important context for racialization, thus focusing on the meso level of racial formation (Saperstein et al. 2013).

While most research on race and neighborhoods examines black-white differences, my research focuses on Hispanics and whites.   While whites are the privileged group in the American racial system, Latinos are often marginalized or viewed as "off-white" (Glenn 2002; Gomez 2007; Feagin 2014). However, there is some inconsistency about the racialization of Latinos. Hispanics, particularly Mexican-Americans, have been defined as legally white but socially viewed as non-white (Betancur 1996; Gomez 2007). The official federal guidelines on measuring race do not include Hispanic as a racial identity (Roth 2012). In many regards, this inconsistency of whether Hispanics are a racial group highlights the social construction of race and demonstrates that racial categories are not based in any essential or biological quality.

I draw from scholarship on the racialization of Latinos to frame my results on emotional connections to the neighborhood. In doing so, I conceptualize Latinos as a distinct racial group from whites. Gomez (2007) addresses the racial formation of Mexican Americans in New Mexico and claims that Mexican Americans occupy an "off-white" position in the racial hierarchy, specifically tracing the history of Hispanics as legally white but socially nonwhite (see also Massey 2009). Gomez (2007) demonstrates the racial project of New Mexico statehood by reviewing the contentious debate that New Mexico did not have a large enough white population to become a state. Similar to Gomez's (2007) description of Mexican Americans as off-white, other scholars use the term "intermediary group" (Feagin 2014) or "racially ambiguous" (Cheng 2013). Overall, these concepts emphasize a black-white dichotomy that underpins the racial

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system within the United States (Feagin 2014). As such, the placement of Latinos within the racial hierarchy falls in-between as not black but not white. Bonilla-Silva (2004) predicts a shift from a biracial to a tri-racial system with a decline in proportion of white Americans therefore resulting in a new racial category of "honorary whites" distinct from the "collective black." However, Bonilla-Silva's (2004) claim may be overreaching in the sense that the intermediary category is not new. Therefore, my results are most in line with the work of Gomez (2007) and Feagin (2014) who situate the experiences of Latinos within the United States as a racialized intermediary group.

Gonzales (1997) finds this ambiguous status in his results drawing from qualitative interviews with Hispanics in Albuquerque, New Mexico during the early 1980s. In this research, Gonzales (1997) examines the meaning of a "Spanish American" identity prevalent within New Mexico. He finds most participants expressed a degree of ambiguity over the meaning of Spanish American and most used a "categorical awareness" definition whereby Spanish American was described as being not Mexican, not white, or not black. As such, Spanish American was defined as "residual, based on what one was not, coupled with awareness of surface traits observable in other groups" (Gonzales 1997: 131). More recently, Dowling (2014) examined the racial identity of Mexican Americans in Texas. While Dowling found that the lived experience for the majority of her participants included being racialized as non-white, she examined the ways in which participants claimed a racial identity using the U.S. Census classifications. The key determinant of whether participants identified as white or "some other race" was whether they expressed a racial ideology in line with colorblind discourse or an ideology in line with antiracism. Even participants who identified as white reported being

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racialized as nonwhite and experiences of racial discrimination (Dowling 2014). My

results build from this literature on the racialization of Latinos.   I found patterns of

difference between Hispanic and white participants in how they discussed their emotional

connections to Las Flores. In addressing the co-construction of race and neighborhood, I

situate these results within the scholarship on the social construction of race and

scholarship on emotional connections.

Finally, a note about terminology, in this chapter, I use the terms "Latino" and

"Hispanic" interchangeably. Latino has become the more prevalent term in academic

scholarship, often tied to criticisms of Hispanic as a state-created, external label

(DeGenova and Ramos-Zayas 2003; Mora 2014). Other terms used in scholarship

include the growing prevalence of "Mexican American" (Gomez 2007; Massey 2009;

Dowling 2014), particularly for research in the Southwest where the majority of

Hispanics identify as Mexican American. In New Mexico, Mexican American is not as

widely embraced (Gonzales 1993, 1997) and according to the 2010 Census, 57% of

Hispanics in Albuquerque identified as being of Mexican origin while another 39%

identified as "other" Hispanic (U.S. Census Bureau American Fact Finder 2010). In

describing the specific results to emerge from my data, I often use the term Hispanic as

this was the most prevalent term used by participants themselves in how they self-

identified. Therefore, while most academic scholarship now uses the term Latino more

than Hispanic, I use the terms interchangeably, and in particular use the term Hispanic as

most representative of how the research participants self-identified.

Racialized Boundary Work as Anchoring Concept

I use the concept of racialized boundary work to frame my results on the racial differences in emotional connections to the neighborhood by drawing from scholarship on boundaries connected to scholarship on race. Lamont and Molnár (2002) distinguish between symbolic boundaries and social boundaries. Symbolic boundaries are the social constructions of difference whereas social boundaries are "objectified forms of social differences manifested in unequal access to and unequal distribution of resources and social opportunities" (Lamont and Molnár 2002: 168). Symbolic boundaries and social boundaries can be spatialized and racialized (Lipsitz 2007; Neely and Samura 2011). Similar to Cohen's (1985) discussion of community boundaries as relational because people determine similarities through a relational comparison to differences, Neely and Samura (2011) address how meanings of space and race are relational in how space is imbued with racial meaning and how racial meaning is constructed via spatial arrangements. For example, residential segregation reflects a white spatial imaginary that emphasizes exclusiveness and exchange value (Lipsitz 2007). Research by Pulido and Pastor (2013) also demonstrated that residential composition may influence racial identity. Specifically, they found that Latinos living in more segregated areas with higher proportions of people of color are more likely to identify as some other race while Latinos living in suburbanized areas are more likely to identify as white (Pulido and Pastor 2013).

I apply the concepts of race and space, boundaries, racial formation, and racial system to develop the anchoring concept of "racialized boundary work." As such, I define racialized boundary work as both a symbolic boundary and social boundary

(Lamont and Molnár 2002). Generally, I refer to racialized boundary work as the differences in how white and Hispanic residents experience their neighborhood, particularly focusing on emotional connections to Las Flores. For symbolic boundaries, I focus on the differences in how white and Hispanic residents describe sense of belonging, neighborhood history, and attachment. For social boundaries, I discuss how an unequal racial system shapes these different conceptualizations of emotional connections to the neighborhood.

These results illustrate the co-construction of neighborhood and race by demonstrating how neighborhood is given meaning via race (i.e. different understandings of neighborhood for whites vs. Hispanics) and how race is given meaning via neighborhood (i.e. different neighborhood experiences reinforce racial differences within a racial system). Empirically, racialized boundary work refers to the racial differences in emotional connections to Las Flores. In particular, these emotional connections draw on different symbolic meanings of neighborhood (place vs. social) and different interactions within the neighborhood (acknowledgement vs. long-term interactions). In this regard, my results reflect both the symbolic and interactional dimensions of the social construction of neighborhood and race. The remaining sections present results on three themes of racial differences in emotional connections tied to sense of belonging, neighborhood uniqueness, and neighborhood attachment.

SENSE OF BELONGING

During the interviews, I asked participants if they felt a sense of belonging in the neighborhood and then followed-up with the question "what do feelings of belonging mean to you?" In coding these responses, I sorted responses into three categories—one

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for white participants, another for Hispanic participants, and a third for participants who were neither white nor Hispanic. In comparing these responses, three themes emerged regarding racial differences in feelings of belonging. For white participants, sense of belonging was described as individual and equated with simple acknowledgement. For Hispanic participants, sense of belonging was described as being more deeply rooted in the neighborhood, particularly regarding family history. Finally, participants who were neither Hispanic nor white described feelings of not belonging in the neighborhood.

Sense of Belonging for Whites

Many white participants addressed sense of belonging from an individual perspective. In particular, white residents described belonging as being recognized or acknowledged. For instance the following passages provide examples of these responses:

> Well people know who you are. People talk with you. People care about you and your family. People might notice things out of the ordinary [. . .] if there is something not right like. For instance, if you just got out of the car and you were on crutches your neighbors would ask you, "What's wrong?" "What's going on?" Or that kind of thing. (#113, white woman)

> Well, I think being acknowledged as a resident, as somebody who lives here and takes care of his place, some friendliness towards neighbors as I see them. (#106, white man)

In these passages, participants address a general recognition from other neighborhood residents, and this recognition conveys a sense of belonging. Therefore, small, micro-interactions are important for maintaining this general sense of belonging. Acknowledgement from neighbors is relevant to belonging both from the individual perspective of the specific resident and for the general atmosphere of the neighborhood that is conveyed. In these understandings of belonging, participants convey meaning of neighborhood and construct Las Flores as a neighborhood where residents belong if they

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are acknowledged by other residents.

White participants described feelings of belonging as acknowledgment during individual interactions between neighbors. However, these sentiments of belonging also reflect white privilege within the broader societal context. White privilege as a concept and theories of whiteness highlight how whites are located within the broader racial system of the United States (McIntosh 1998; Feagin 2014). As such, white privilege refers to individual level advantages that whites may receive (McIntosh 1998) but also the historical and contemporary structures that have resulted in unearned advantages to those racialized as white (Feagin 2014).

In applying the concept of white privilege to the racial differences in belonging, these results reflect some of the unique features of Las Flores. First, the history of the neighborhood is one that has a foundation in Hispanic culture. As described in chapter two, Las Flores traces back to the 1700s when it was an agricultural village. Most participants described the history of Las Flores as Hispanic and described Hispanic and white as separate categories in classifying the racial/ethnic composition of Las Flores. Furthermore, some longtime residents noted that there had been a relatively recent transition of more white residents and that Las Flores is now more integrated. In Las Flores, whites are newcomers into a neighborhood that was founded centuries ago. However, to feel included whites only need some sense of acknowledgement and not a deeper connection to neighbors or to the history of the neighborhood. This individual feeling of belonging can be viewed as white privilege in the sense that whites are considered the "norm" and are the dominant group in American society. Therefore, their presence is not necessarily questioned or viewed suspiciously. An emphasis on

individual-level feelings of belonging as recognition is tied to a more general societal

privileging of whites whereby whites are less likely to be required to "prove" they belong

to receive broader, group recognition. Within the contemporary U.S. racialized system,

these privileges often do not extend to non-whites in American society.

Sense of Belonging for Hispanics

For Hispanic participants, sense of belonging was tied to longevity in the

neighborhood, particularly growing up in the neighborhood. Hispanic participants also

addressed belonging as having family history in the neighborhood and that they felt they

belonged because this is where their family lived. These sentiments are demonstrated in

the following passages:

> Well, belong because you were brought up in this neighborhood - that's belonging. I'm not sayin' that my neighbor next door doesn't belong here. He belongs here when he came here. He belongs here. I belong here because I was raised here. And this was my neighborhood my lifetime. (#110, Hispanic man)

> Just the fact that I'm a permanent resident, you know, I never have thoughts of some day going anywhere else except a mile and a half. And then, just the connection that I have with the property having been in my grandmother's family so long. I kind of want to keep the property in the family. (#121, Hispanic woman)

For Hispanic residents, sense of belonging was more implicit and deeper than just

acknowledgement by other residents. Belonging meant being rooted in the

neighborhood, which often included having family connections to and within the

neighborhood. In this regard, Hispanic residents had a deeper claim on belonging.

Juxtaposed with white residents, we can see that white residents might be seeking

"acknowledgement" from these Hispanic residents who have been in the neighborhood

for generations. Therefore, there is interplay between white and Hispanic feelings of

belonging that reflect notions of relationality (Glenn 2002; Lipsitz 2007; Neely and

Samura 2011).

While Hispanic participants described a deeper sense of belonging, this can also be interpreted within the broader racial system. With a general climate that is hostile to Hispanics, that treats Hispanic and illegal immigrant as synonymous, and that generally presents Hispanics as "forever foreigners," Hispanic residents might need to make a stronger statement of belonging than white residents. Hispanics are often considered "off-white" and therefore do not receive the same advantages of being the privileged group within the racial system (Gomez 2007; Feagin 2014). Therefore, Hispanic residents have to "prove" a legitimate and deeper claim to the neighborhood because it is not enough to just be acknowledged on an individual level. In this sense, deeper feelings of belonging help to solidify Hispanics' position as intrinsically part of the neighborhood and this sense of belonging cannot be contested as easily as a lack of acknowledgment by fellow residents.

Sense of Belonging for "Some Other Race"

Three participants identified as neither white nor Hispanic. Given the very small number of residents in Las Flores who fall into neither category and in order to maintain confidentiality, I refer to these participants as "some other race." This classification speaks to some of the unique dynamics of the Las Flores neighborhood. Las Flores has a fairly even mix of Hispanic and whites, but what about those residents who do not fall into either of these main groups? In analyzing responses by these participants, a notable pattern emerged that was distinct from both white and Hispanic responses specifically around the theme of sense of belonging.

The three participants who I classify as "some other race" described negative

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feelings about the neighborhood. In fact, these were the only participants who

specifically stated they did not feel a particular sense of belonging in the neighborhood.

> Again it's a very micro pocket that I feel like I belong; but otherwise, no, I don't feel like I belong into this broader scope of the neighborhood. (#116, "other race" man)

> Well, I guess I don't feel that this is a neighborhood that's full of pride in being the flagship neighborhood, or anything we do that really stands out, because it seems to be really hard to get people to participate in anything, which I haven't been familiar with before. . . So yeah, I don't feel specifically excluded. I just don't feel it's a cohesive neighborhood. But I know, from what other people have said that are Board members that a lot of other neighbor blocks or cul-de-sacs are a lot friendlier. When my daughter first moved out, she moved to a house about six blocks away and her neighbors were friendly. So it's the luck of the draw. (#125, "other race" woman)

As these responses indicate, these participants did not feel a particular closeness to their

neighbors or their neighborhood. In particular, the lack of feelings of belonging is based

on not being especially friendly with their neighbors. However, these participants also

describe their feelings as particular to their specific location within the neighborhood.

For instance, participant #116 says he does feel like he belongs on his particular block but

these feelings do not extend to the larger neighborhood context. In contrast, participant

#125 described her block as "the most hostile block" she has ever lived on and that this

was a reason she participated in the neighborhood association in order to meet friendlier

neighbors. These two participants do not live in the same general region of the

neighborhood, but this does speak to a very localized neighborhood experience. For

participant #116, he has not found a way to connect with other neighbors beyond the

block he lives on. For participant #125, she has found a way to connect with other

neighbors, but the people who live adjacent to her are the ones who shape her general

impression of the neighborhood.

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While I do not want to claim these three participants are representative of all residents who are neither Hispanic nor white, they do provide an important contrast to the two main groups within the neighborhood. In this regard, these responses demonstrate racial formation within the specific local context of Las Flores. The fact that these three participants are the only participants who specifically stated they do not have a sense of belonging in the neighborhood does provide important insights into studies of race and neighborhoods. In particular, as scholarship tries to address racially integrated neighborhoods, it is important to acknowledge that even racially integrated neighborhoods may have majority groups and minority groups. In this sense, integrated neighborhoods might include more than one majority group and this is important for addressing both racial harmony and racial conflict. Therefore, these three participants provide some insights about integrated neighborhoods and the experiences of those residents who are not part of either majority group.

Racialized Boundary Work and Sense of Belonging

As a form of racialized boundary work, these results on the theme of sense of belonging demonstrate a clear racial pattern of difference in how participants described belonging. Descriptions of sense of belonging conveys the meanings given to Las Flores as a neighborhood, particularly in regard to the symbolic dimension. These descriptions also reflect the interaction dimension by addressing how belonging is tied to interactions within the neighborhood, either as individual acknowledgment or deeper social ties. The racial differences in descriptions of sense of belonging within Las Flores reflect symbolic boundaries as racialized and the interactional component reflect the broader racial system. In this sense, the racialization of sense of belonging reflects white privilege and

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the off-white status of Hispanics. For whites, belonging as acknowledgement reflects the privilege to fit in and be considered the norm even in a neighborhood that historically was Hispanic. For Hispanics, belonging is tied to claims of territoriality that run deeper because the social location of off-white status is much more precarious. These themes of racial difference in emotional connections as symbolic were also present in descriptions of neighborhood uniqueness and neighborhood attachment.

NEIGHBORHOOD HISTORY

A second important theme distinguished by race to emerge from the interviews was that of history. Las Flores has a long history as a village that existed prior to neighborhood incorporation into the city of Albuquerque. In fact, as I described my research, introduced myself, and recruited participants at various neighborhood gatherings, many people told me about some of the history of the neighborhood. One way this was conveyed was when I asked people if they would like to participate in my research, and they said they had not been in the neighborhood long enough but they had a neighbor who had lived in the neighborhood for several decades. In this sense, many residents expressed a sentiment that "authentic" neighborhood experiences were tied to living in Las Flores for several decades. It seemed that many residents understood my research as a history project even though I never described it as such. However, it was assumed that if I was interested in Las Flores, then I must be interested in the history of the neighborhood.

In addition to the ways people understood my research, history also emerged as a theme that participants addressed in the interviews. While I did not specifically ask questions about the historic aspects of the neighborhood, several participants addressed

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the history of the neighborhood, particularly in response to the question "do you think this neighborhood is unique?" As I sorted codes around neighborhood uniqueness, the theme of history emerged as different for white and Hispanic participants. For white participants, history was tied to geographical features of the neighborhood whereas for Hispanic participants history was often related to their own personal and family history within the neighborhood. In this regard, neighborhood history for Hispanic participants is based on social and family ties whereas for whites history was tied to architecture and place features.

Neighborhood History for Hispanics

When describing the neighborhood as unique, Hispanic participants addressed the history of Las Flores as a unique feature. In particular, they described their own history in the neighborhood and how they could trace their family history to the original founding of Las Flores as a village prior to the incorporation into the City of Albuquerque. In addition, participants also described their own personal and family history as similar to other neighborhood residents and that Las Flores is unique because many of the "original" families still have descendants in the neighborhood.

> Yes, the reason I think it is because of the fact that most of the old families - their relatives, their grandchildren, their great grandchildren, their sons and daughters all more or less stayed in the same neighborhood. And even myself, now that I take my grandchildren to school, or when I took my own children to school, I had friends that I went to school with that I ended up staying in the neighborhood and they bring their own children or their grandchildren to school. So we meet up again there at school so just small community that we all decided to stay in it. (#107, Hispanic woman)

> Unique in that some of the original settlers of Las Flores, when it was a tiny village, some of the descendants of those families still live here. And then quite a few of the houses are the old house from the days when my mom was a child. We can go down this road . . .sometimes descendants of the older families that are still living there and since then the houses have been remodeled and all that

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and my mom can still tell me their family names, the surnames of all the people that lived in the different houses. (#121, Hispanic woman)

These passages highlight how Hispanic participants addressed family and personal history within the neighborhood. In this regard, these participants described the neighborhood as unique because people had known each other for a long time and because these relationships between neighbors extend across generations. Hispanic participants often described how they came to live in the neighborhood through familial connections. In particular, some participants described a distinct pathway to homeownership because they bought land from a family member who had inherited land from previous generations. Therefore, while these participants did address the historic features of the neighborhood, for them, history really encompassed their own history in the neighborhood. Particularly, the village origins of the neighborhood extend to the contemporary neighborhood where residents have a shared history, shared social interactions, and shared sense of history and family.

Neighborhood History for Whites

White participants also described the historic features of the neighborhood as unique aspects of Las Flores. In describing the history of the neighborhood, white participants described a certain recognition of Las Flores as historic but this was not necessarily based on their own personal or family history. Instead, white participants often described the historic buildings or a generalized concept of neighborhood history.

I think it's mostly the history of it. There's some very historical homes, especially along [Flores Street], a lot of those could be on the National Landmark or whatever they call that. (#102, white man)

Well, just because it's such a historic neighborhood, it's one of the oldest neighborhoods in the city, and that's reflected in some of the architecture. (#106, white man)

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I think that Las Flores is distinct in the fact that it does have the history and the way that it's set up. Other areas [don't] have the same feel as this neighborhood just because a lot of homes are newer or they've been completely redone. It just has a different feel. (#127, white woman)

In these responses, the historic features of the neighborhood are described as architectural not personal. Several white participants lived in houses that were older, and they described how they chose to live in these houses and made renovations in a manner that maintained a certain history of the building. While white participants addressed the history of Las Flores as a unique feature, they did not have the same personal connection to that history. However, in a sense some of these residents are trying to maintain the history of the neighborhood, particularly when it comes to the architecture. Therefore, these residents are not necessarily in favor of gentrification or changing Las Flores but instead are social preservationists (Brown-Saracino 2004). In this regard, white participants' connection to the neighborhood history is more place-based and trying to maintain a certain architecture of Las Flores whereas Hispanic participants' connection to neighborhood history is more social and trying to maintain certain familial aspects of Las Flores.

Neighborhood History and Race

These results demonstrate the importance of neighborhood history for the symbolic understanding of neighborhood uniqueness Las Flores. In this regard, Las Flores is given meaning tied to an emphasis on historical features. Moreover, these historical features were given different meaning for white and Hispanic residents. While Hispanic residents emphasized social and family dimensions of history, white residents discussed architectural and place features. In this regard, racialized boundary work

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illustrates the racial differences in symbolic meaning of neighborhood history. This distinction also emerged in descriptions of neighborhood attachment.

<div align="center">NEIGHBORHOOD ATTACHMENT</div>

The different understandings of neighborhood history as architectural versus family history also emerged as differences in how participants discussed attachment to the neighborhood. I asked participants if they felt attached to their neighborhood and then followed up with "what does attachment mean to you?" Again, an emergent theme was how white and Hispanic participants described neighborhood attachment differently. White participants often talked about attachment as place-based attachment whereas Hispanic participants described attachment based on personal history and family.

Attachment for Whites

White participants described neighborhood attachment as more place-based instead of social. As such, they did say they were attached to Las Flores but the underpinning of the attachment was tied to the physical features of the neighborhood such as the rural-aspects, architecture, and distinction from other areas in Albuquerque.

> Well, because of all of the things about the neighborhood that I find very pleasing. I wouldn't want to live farther from the river. I wouldn't want to live in the tract on the other side of the river. There are, you know, big, very nice developments of new houses, but I don't want to live there. I just like where I am very much. I like to be able to walk around down the ditch. I like the sense of age. Even though my house is only like 20 or 30 years old, it's not exactly ancient, but I like being surrounded by a lot of older houses. (#119, white woman)

Another participant described his attachment to Las Flores as rooted in his attachment to his house. His house is a historic house, and after the interview, he gave me a tour of the house pointing out the original rooms and renovations he has made.

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> I'm proud of the neighborhood. I'm comfortable in the neighborhood. I certainly have an attachment to this house which is a big part of it because this house is something special to me. A lot of it's because I've done a whole lot of work in it. But all those things create that attachment. (#106, white man)

Attachment to the neighborhood was particularly strong in regard to the house. The work that Participant #106 did on the house was substantial but also done in a manner to preserve some of the historic features of the house, resonating with similar themes from the previous section.

Attachment for Hispanics

Hispanic participants described attachment as more social than place-based. Again, the themes of family and personal history were prominent in their responses about attachment. Hispanic participants did not negate the importance of place but instead described their place attachment as rooted in a family history within the neighborhood so that place was inferred with social and family meaning.

> Well, I personally feel a real historical connection because my grandparents settled here so long ago and owned some of the property that they eventually sold or gave to their children but I really feel a connection when I can say that property used to belong to my grandfather, this property belonged to my grandmother. I just feel rooted here. This is where I need to be, especially since my mom stayed in the neighborhood all of her life too. (#121, Hispanic woman)

> The fact that I was bought up here. The fact that my daughter lives next door. The fact that my siblings live in this, in proximity. Most of us live around here, there's some that live outside, that live other places in Albuquerque, but it's just that feeling of staying around the area where we were born, where we were brought up. (#123, Hispanic woman)

For these participants, attachment to Las Flores is rooted in family. While there is a particular place-based component to their attachment, it is not to the physical features of the neighborhood like white participants described. Instead, these participants described

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an attachment to place because of family and the trajectory of previous and future generations of family living within Las Flores.

Neighborhood Attachment and Racialized Boundary Work

Descriptions of neighborhood attachment address how residents gave meaning to Las Flores, reflecting the symbolic dimension of the social construction of neighborhood. Similar to the descriptions of neighborhood history, the racial differences in descriptions of neighborhood attachment reflect a distinction between place and social features. Neighborhood attachment scholarship identifies place and social dimensions as distinct, but research tends to focus on the social dimensions more than the place-based attachment (Lewicka 2011). My results expand on understandings of neighborhood attachment as multidimensional in the differences between social interactions within the neighborhood separate from symbolic meaning of place. Further, this distinction aligned with racial differences in that white residents of Las Flores emphasizes place-based attachment while Hispanic residents emphasized familial-based attachment to people.

These results illustrate racialized boundary work by demonstrating both symbolic and interactional dimensions to attachment. Moreover, the racial differences in these dimensions to attachment reflect the uniqueness of history of Las Flores discussed in the previous section. While these results clearly identify racialized symbolic boundary work in the construction of neighborhood, racialization is also tied to the larger racial system. As such, white residents' attachment based on place features may reflect their newcomer status and that place-based attachment can develop more quickly than social attachment (Lewicka 2011). Moreover, the themes of family and social ties as the underpinnings of Hispanic residents' attachment reflects the particular context of the Las Flores

neighborhood with a long history as a primarily Hispanic neighborhood. These symbolic differences reflect the racial patterns of residence in Las Flores. However, racialization is not neutral within an unequal racial system that privileges whites. Therefore, the emphasis on roots and family history for Hispanic residents also reflects the off-white status of Latinos within the United States. Similar to the sense of belonging as acknowledgement described white residents, the descriptions of place features as underpinning attachment highlight how emotional connections to neighborhood may be characterized by white privilege. White privilege allows emotional connections to develop without the level of personal connection and claims of family history within the neighborhood.

CONCLUSION: CO-CONSTRUCTION OF RACE AND NEIGHBORHOOD

The results presented in this chapter address the co-construction of race and neighborhood by focusing on the emotional connections dimension of neighborhood experiences. In analyzing participants' descriptions of sense of belonging, neighborhood history, and neighborhood attachment, I identified a clear pattern of racial difference. These results demonstrate the co-construction of race and neighborhood with a particular focus on the symbolic dimensions but also offer some insights on the interactional and social dimensions. In particular, I use the concept of racialized boundary work to refer to both symbolic boundaries of racial difference in emotional connections and social boundaries to situate these differences within the larger racial system. As such, racialized boundary work articulates the co-construction of race and neighborhood by demonstrating the different emotional connections to Las Flores for Hispanic and white residents and how these differences reflect racialized social identities.

These results reflect the co-construction of neighborhood and race in several ways. The results about emotional connections illustrate how Las Flores' residents symbolically constructed the neighborhood. In particular, this social construction of neighborhood revolved around place and social features as well as interactions with other residents that contributed to feelings of sense of belonging. Importantly, the social construction of Las Flores was somewhat distinct for white and Hispanic residents in regard to points of emphasis. Therefore, these results also address race as a social construction. By drawing on theories of racial formation (Omi and Winant 2015) and systemic racism (Feagin 2014), I illustrate how the localized context of Las Flores reflects the larger racial system. In particular, I am not claiming that the differences in emotional connections are tied to some inherent difference between whites and Hispanics. Instead, I situate these results within the racial hierarchy where whites are the privilege racial group and Hispanics occupy an off-white or intermediary position in the hierarchy. Therefore, racial differences in emotional connections reflect the social construction of race because residents are differently located within the broader racial system.

One concern over the interpretation of these results as reflective of the social construction of race is the racial differences in length of residence. These results are partially specific to the context of Las Flores as a historically Hispanic neighborhood and the differences in average length of residence. The average length of residence for Hispanic participants was 30 years compared to 11 years for white participants. While there is a range for both groups, there were more white participants who had lived in the neighborhood for less than five years and more Hispanic participants who lived in the

neighborhood for over 30 years. Importantly, some of the white participants who

addressed belonging as acknowledgement or emphasized a place-based attachment lived

in the neighborhood for over 15 years. On the other hand, newer Hispanic residents, who

lived in the neighborhood for less than 10 years, did not emphasize familial connections

or a deep-rooted attachment. Therefore, these results on racialized boundary work may

be limited to the unique context of Las Flores in terms of racial composition and history.

However, I also contend that this reflects important insights about social and symbolic

boundaries as racialized.

I demonstrated that white and Hispanic participants described different

neighborhood experiences particularly regarding sense of belonging, neighborhood

history, and neighborhood attachment. Taken together these results highlight symbolic

boundaries, but these results also need to be interpreted within the broader racial system

that creates social boundaries and inequalities between racial groups. In developing the

concept of racialized boundary work, I address how these racial differences reflect the

social construction of neighborhood most clearly via the symbolic meaning given to Las

Flores but also through some of the specific interactional dimensions within the

neighborhood. Moreover, I demonstrate that racial differences in emotional connections

to Las Flores reflect both symbolic and social boundaries. By symbolic boundaries, these

results illustrate the differences in white and Hispanic participants' descriptions of the

neighborhood, but these racial differences did not extend to specific incidents of

exclusion or conflict. However, I contend that these racial differences are reflective of

general social boundaries, and in particular, I connect these results to the broader

structures of a racialized system. As such, social boundaries are shaped by the broader

racial system that provide a general lens from which to understand the specific

neighborhood experiences described above.

Given a racial system whereby whites are the dominant group, these results

highlight how white privilege is prevalent (McIntosh 1998). In particular, defining sense

of belonging as being acknowledged is a privilege that nonwhite groups often do not

experience. On the other hand, Hispanics are located in a precarious position in the racial

system. With controlling images of Hispanics as "illegal immigrants," issues of

belonging and citizenship are more contested. Therefore, the results presented above

illustrate how Hispanic residents establish their right to belong by tracing a deeper history

within the neighborhood. Therefore, these results reflect symbolic boundaries of

difference in how sense of belonging was described, but these symbolic boundaries also

reflect a larger social boundary and racial hierarchy.

Furthermore, these differences in sense of belonging are related to the differences

in understandings of history and attachment. For white residents, place is more

prominent than social features of the history of Las Flores and as a source of attachment.

For Hispanic residents, place is meaningful because of the rootedness in family and social

relationships. The separation of place and social features of neighborhood attachment

and neighborhood history addresses racialized boundary work by demonstrating symbolic

differences tied to different social boundaries within Las Flores. As Las Flores

transitioned from a mostly Hispanic neighborhood to a neighborhood with a mix of white

and Hispanic residents, there are differences in the meaning of neighborhood between

newer and older residents that reflect racial differences. This form of racialized boundary

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work regarding distinctions between social and place-based neighborhood features is an area that should continue to be explored in further research.

This chapter focused the lens on emotional connections to neighborhood and the co-construction of neighborhood and race via racialized boundary work. While the results on neighboring did not find clear racial differences, I found notable racial differences in the emotional connections dimension of neighborhood experiences. I now turn to the third component of neighborhood experiences, specifically neighborhood activities, and my analysis revealed an important gender dynamic within Las Flores activities.

**CHAPTER FIVE: NEIGHBORHOOD ACTIVITIES AND THE CO-
CONSTRUCTION OF NEIGHBORHOOD AND GENDER RESULTS**

In this chapter, I focus the lens on the co-construction of neighborhood and
gender by addressing the results related to neighborhood activities. In the analysis of my
field notes, gender emerged as an important theme within the neighborhood activities I
observed. Gender was most prominent during the Flores Elementary School Parent-
Teacher Organization (PTO) meetings but was also notable during some of the Las Flores
Neighborhood Association meetings. I connect the gender themes that emerged during
neighborhood activities to interview data on gender and neighborhood expectations. As
such, these results highlight both interactions and symbolic meaning of neighborhood
activities and how neighborhood activities were gendered. To help situate these results, I
discuss theories on the social construction of gender, motherhood scholarship, and the
systemic model of community.

The results of this chapter highlight two themes. First, neighborhood activities
were gendered in terms of the gender composition and discussions about gender. The
gender composition was most stark within PTO meetings where the executive committee
and majority of participants were women. Moreover, in planning activities, gender
emerged as a theme. In particular, themes around motherhood emerged in discussions
about planning neighborhood association activities. The second gender theme was tied to
expectations within the neighborhood that varied by gender. Importantly, the themes of
motherhood are reiterated in how women participants discussed their gender identity and
gendered expectations within the neighborhood. For men participants, even though the
vast majority were parents, gender expectations were not tied to parenting. Instead, men

described more ambiguity regarding gender expectations tied to hegemonic masculinity. While some participants described hegemonic masculinity in terms of strength and protection, many men participants described a degree of ambiguity or rejection of strict hegemonic masculinity.

These results demonstrate the co-construction of neighborhood and gender. First, the results on neighborhood activities demonstrate how gender emerges within interactions (West and Zimmerman 1987) and how neighborhood activities provides a social relational context for the social construction of gender (Ridgeway and Correll 2004b). In this regard, the gendered composition and the ways in which women experienced the neighborhood as mothers reflect the social construction of gender. Moreover, these experiences are also reflective of the social construction of neighborhood, particularly the symbolic meaning of neighborhood as an extension of the private sphere whereby women's roles as mothers extends beyond the home into the parochial realm. By focusing on the neighborhood activities component of neighborhood experiences, I address the social construction of neighborhood via interactions and symbolic meaning. In the next section, I situate my results by incorporating theories on the social construction of gender, motherhood, and the systemic model of community. I then present results about gender in three main results sections. First, I present results from my field work in the elementary school followed by a section on the neighborhood association activities. In the third results section, I link these results with interview data regarding gender identity and neighborhood expectation for both women and men participants. I conclude this chapter with a discussion on how these results illustrate the co-construction of neighborhood and gender.

GENDER, SYSTEMIC MODEL, AND MOTHERING

This chapter focuses on neighborhood activities as the third component of neighborhood experiences. Neighborhood activities are involvement with neighborhood organizations and address more formal aspects of neighborhood experiences compared to the informal neighboring component addressed in chapter three. Swaroop and Morenoff (2006) identify dimensions of neighborhood organization as a typology of formal and informal organizations classified as either instrumental or expressive. In this regard, my conceptualization of neighborhood activities is most similar to the category of formal instrumental participation within the local community (Guest 2000; Swaroop and Morenoff 2006). Instrumental organizations have goals related to neighborhood well-being such as "protecting property values or ensuring the high-quality education of children" (Guest 2000: 604). In this sense, neighborhood activities refer to activities that serve some purpose beyond just the social interaction of neighboring. My field work primarily focused on neighborhood activities within two main organizations: the local neighborhood association and the local elementary school.

Participation in and planning for neighborhood activities represent a particular understanding of the Las Flores neighborhood. Within the elementary school activities, Las Flores was constructed as a neighborhood that is a community for families to come together around a common goal of quality education of children. Importantly, this understanding of Las Flores was facilitated by the planning of events by the Flores Elementary Parent-Teacher Organization (PTO), and the PTO planning reflected gendered aspects. Discussions within the Las Flores Neighborhood Association (LFNA) reflected a similar construction of the neighborhood around instrumental goals.

However, the LFNA was less cohesive in terms of purpose and organization. Concerns about participation and neighborhood problems were at the forefront of the LFNA meetings, but these concerns were not as clearly addressed. Importantly, within discussions on the concerns about participation and problems, gender emerged as relevant. Meeting planning centered around how to draw in families and concerns were raised about the physical space of the neighborhood thus addressing issues of motherhood. In this regard, within both organizations, certain gender components of neighborhood activities emerged as an extension of mothering.

Neighborhood activities most clearly represent the interaction dimension of neighborhood experiences. Because neighborhood activities are generally more formal, they represent a different type of interaction than neighboring. Neighborhood activities are generally more instrumental in that they have more clearly defined goals and purposes beyond just interactions between residents. While neighborhood activities clearly address the interaction dimension of neighborhood experiences, I also address the symbolic dimension. Moreover, my results address how gender emerged within the neighborhood activities and the symbolic meaning associated with gender expectations. I, therefore, incorporate scholarship on gender and neighborhoods and sociological theories of gender to discuss neighborhood activities.

In particular, I draw from the "doing gender" perspective (West and Zimmerman 1987) and gender within social relational contexts (Ridgeway and Correll 2004b). Doing gender refers to gender as a situated accomplishment of interactions (West and Zimmerman 1987). As such, the doing gender perspective emphasizes how gender emerges in interactions and is not a fixed biological trait. Ridgeway and Correll (2004b:

511) address gender as a social construction via social relational contexts, which are situations where individuals "define themselves in relation to others in order to act." If gender is particularly salient to a social relational context, then gender inequality is more likely because gender beliefs are more likely to be in line with hegemonic masculinity. Therefore, Ridgeway and Corell (2004b) emphasize both gender difference, where men and women are distinct categories, and gender inequality where men and masculinity are perceived as higher status than women and femininity.

Kusenbach (2006) reports that gender is found to be a unanimous result in regard to neighboring research. In particular, women are consistently found to engage in more neighboring than men. Wellman and Wortley (1990) find gender to be the only individual characteristic associated with social support. Neighborhood-level studies often include gender as a control variable, but even when gender differences are statistically significant, there is little focus specifically on how gender matters for neighborhood processes (Woolever 1992; Ross et al. 2000; Woldoff 2002; Swaroop and Morenoff 2006; Flaherty and Brown 2010).

Two important studies to more fully incorporate gender as important to understanding neighborhoods are research by Campbell and Lee (1990) and Rountree and Warner (1999). Congruent with previous studies, Campbell and Lee (1990) found that women participate in more neighborhood activities. Even after controlling for marital and socioeconomic status, women neighbor more than men. However, the types of neighboring activities varied by gender. While women were more likely to engage in neighboring activities considered forms of emotion work, such as discussing problems, and women overall had higher numbers of total contacts, there was no gender difference

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in the frequency or intensity of relations with neighbors. Rountree and Warner (1999) found men's and women's social ties were fairly similar in terms of size, however, they did find gender differences in the effects of social ties on social control. Namely, only female social ties had a significant effect on controlling violent crime. Furthermore, they found an interaction effect between social ties and neighborhood conditions, whereby female ties interacted with percentage of female-headed households within the neighborhood. The crime control effects of female ties were strongest in neighborhoods with fewer female-headed households.

Drawing from theories of gender, my results reflect how gender is socially constructed within neighborhood activities and neighborhood expectations. As such, neighborhood serves as the social relational context for my dissertation research, and I identify specific characteristics of neighborhood activities where gender was more salient (Ridgeway and Correll 2004b). In this regard, gender emerged in interactions within neighborhood activities. Further, I address the symbolic dimensions of gender by addressing how residents understand the normative conceptions of gender and how they discussed the rules for gender interaction within the neighborhood. I link these themes about the symbolic meaning associated with gender in terms of neighborhood expectations. I found that symbolic meaning of motherhood was particularly relevant for women, which reiterated the themes from neighborhood activities. Further, men expressed more ambiguity around gender expectations with a mix of hegemonic masculine characteristics alongside a certain distancing from hegemonic masculinity. Therefore, these results illustrate the co-construction of neighborhood and gender by highlighting gender interactions within neighborhood activities and symbolic meaning

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tied to gender expectations within the neighborhood. In doing so, I link theories of gender with scholarship on the systemic model of community and motherhood.

An important concept related to community is the systemic model developed in response to earlier theories of community that proposed increased urbanization and density would decrease community attachment (Wirth 1938). Instead, the systemic model defines local community as "a complex system of friendship and kinship networks and formal and informal associational ties rooted in family life and on-going socialization processes" (Kasarda and Janowitz 1974: 329). While the systemic model emphasizes socialization and kinship ties, research using this framework rarely invokes gender as a key variable of interest. For instance, neighborhood effects research based on the systemic model posits length of residence as the key variable of interest alongside other social disorganization variables such as economic disadvantage, ethnic heterogeneity, and residential instability (Shaw and McKay 1942; Sampson and Groves 1989, Bursik and Grasmick 1993). Length of residence or residential instability are proposed as core systemic model variables because ongoing socialization processes of local community require people to be in the same place over time.

Building on this research, I argue that gender matters for understanding neighborhood activities because of the assumptions about socialization and informal control within the systemic model. Parrado and Flippen (2010) specifically address the systemic model and gender when examining risking behaviors within immigrant communities with skewed gender ratios. Parrado and Flippen (2010: 1062) state, "While it has not received a systematic treatment in the literature on neighborhood effects, we argue that this instrumental role of women also extends to local communities. Women's

presence in the neighborhood can contribute to a sense of family and community that might discourage men from participating in risk behaviors." Gender is also relevant to the systemic model because socialization within the community is key to the systemic model of community, but there is little discussion about how these socialization processes are often gendered. While Sampson et al. (2002) describe research on gender differences for social ties and posit that this is a relevant issue for future research, they do not theorize how gender could be incorporated into theoretical understandings of community and neighborhood.

Overall, women are more responsible than men for socialization of children (Wharton 2012). In this regard, the systemic model of community should incorporate gender as a key variable of interest. For instance, parenting and childcare are often gendered with women engaging in more direct contact and supervision of children (Hochschild 1989; Jacobs and Gerson 2004). Campbell and Lee (1990) posit that society's gender roles account for why women engage in more neighboring than men. Gender roles expect women to be nurturers and engage in emotional caretaking while men are considered providers. Similarly, other researchers address how gender roles and gender socialization are relevant for gender differences in social capital (Warr 2006) and social networks (Song 2012). Building from this scholarship and tied to my specific results, I incorporate scholarship on motherhood to expand the systemic model to more fully incorporate socialization processes as gendered.

Most research on motherhood examines the tensions between work-family. As such, normative conceptions about femininity as caretaking and mothering are considered to conflict with normative conceptions about the ideal worker. Research examines how

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women are held accountable to these normative conceptions of femininity by studying

work-family conflict. Ridgeway and Correll (2004a) address motherhood as a distinct

status category from gender. As such, they posit gender inequality within the workplace

is even more pronounced for women who are mothers. Motherhood as a status

characteristic refers to how mother/nonmother are categories of distinction where

"widely-held cultural beliefs associate greater status worthiness and competence with one

category of distinction than another" (Ridgway and Correll 2004a: 684). In particular,

motherhood as a status characteristic revolves around "widely held stereotypes" that

associate mothers with "lower status significance" and "less general competence at the

things the count most in society" (Ridgeway and Correll 2004a: 688). The stereotype

most relevant is that of intensive mothering. Intensive mothering refers to the cultural

expectation where mothers should prioritize children over everything else and be ever

present in their child's life (Hays 1996; Arrendell 2000; Ridgeway and Correll 2004a;

Bianchi, Sayer, Milkie, and Robinson 2012; Damaske 2013).

In this regard Ridgeway and Correll (2004a) address how normative conceptions

about intensive mothering conflict with conceptions of paid labor force participation, and

in contemporary American society, economic value is a sign of status. By addressing

motherhood as a status characteristic, they address how motherhood compounds gender

inequality to economically disadvantage women who are mothers, and therefore,

motherhood is a devalued category of distinction in comparison to nonmothers. Because

Ridgeway and Correll (2004a) focus on motherhood as a status characteristic within the

paid labor force, it is less clear how motherhood as a status characteristic may be relevant

for neighborhood experiences. However, there is a small body of research that has

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examined the neighborhood context for work-family issues (Swisher, Sweet, and Moen 2004; Sweet, Swisher, and Moen 2005; Minnotte, Pedersen, and Mannon 2013; Young and Wheaton 2013).

Drawing on data from middle-class, dual-earner couples from upstate New York and perceptions of their neighborhoods a family-friendly, Swisher et al. (2004) found that neighborhood composition and gender influence these perceptions. Using the same data source, Sweet et al. (2005) examined perceptions of neighborhood family-friendliness tied to decisions to move into a neighborhood and assessments of attractive features of a neighborhood. This research found differences in parental status and gender differences influenced decisions about moving into a neighborhood. Sweet et al. (2005) interpret these results as reflective of gendered conceptions of parenting that influence perceptions of neighborhood whereby women were attracted to features corresponding to caretaking roles and men were more concerned with neighborhood features associated with financial provider roles. In this regard, scholarship on motherhood demonstrates connections between gender and socialization processes, and I draw from this scholarship to expand on the systemic model of community as gendered.

My results address how neighborhood is socially constructed through neighborhood activities and expectations. Importantly, I demonstrate that neighborhood activities were gendered and discuss the ways in which gender emerged during neighborhood meetings. I connect these results to the systemic model to provide an analytic contribution that offers insights on processes of ongoing socialization. In doing so, I draw on theories on the social construction of gender and scholarship on mothering and apply them to the neighborhood context. The results that follow demonstrate the co-

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construction of neighborhood and gender within neighborhood activities. I present results on interactions in neighborhood association meetings and at the local elementary school, particularly the Parent-Teacher Organization. I identify how gender emerged during some interactions, and how, in particular, motherhood was highlighted. I then elaborate on these themes of motherhood with interview data on gender identity and neighborhood expectations.

Finally, a note on terminology and conceptualization. I conceptualized gender as a social identity not a biological or essentialist identity. As such, I use the terms "men" and "women" instead of male and female to reinforce this emphasis on gender as a social construction. In asking research participants about gender, I asked questions to elicit responses about gender identity not just biological sex. Therefore, these results about gender dynamics within Las Flores are not assumed to be about biological differences between males and females but instead to represent the different social locations, expectations, and identities of men and women, and thus the social construction of gender.

<u>ELEMENTARY SCHOOL AND GENDER</u>

Gender was particularly prominent during my participant observation at Flores Elementary School. While the large school events generally had a mix of fathers and mothers and men and women, women were overrepresented in the planning of such activities. In particular, the Flores Elementary Parent Teacher Organization (PTO) had a noticeable skewed gender ratio. The executive board of the PTO consisted of all women except for the school principal. The PTO meetings often included over 75% women participants. Therefore, much of the planning and organizing of school activities was

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done by women. In this regard, the PTO was often an extension of "mothering," whereby

women are more involved with direct care of children. In this regard, the PTO is similar

to research about community activism as an extension of mothering (Naples 1998; Martin

2002).

An example of the gendered dynamics of planning PTO events came early in my

field work where I was invited to attend an informal gathering of a group of parents at a

local coffee shop who met up in the morning after dropping the kids off at school. At this

meet-up, there were six parents, all of whom were women and included the president,

vice president, and treasurer of the PTO along with at least two parents who were actively

involved with subcommittees for the PTO. Therefore, while this was more of an informal

gathering and not a specific formal PTO meeting, there was discussion of official PTO

business regarding the planning of the PTO-sponsored teacher-appreciation event. The

following discussion between Daisy, a Hispanic woman and the PTO vice president, and

Alice, a white woman and the PTO president, about an upcoming teacher appreciation

event reflect how gender became salient.

> Daisy said she was planning to decorate with flowers and Alice explained
> to the group that Daisy had found plastic flowers at the dollar store and
> Alice had said to buy them. Daisy said the decorations would be feminine
> and worried about the male teachers. The group proceeded to try to list
> which men would be in attendance, and in the end it seems that they listed
> only four men in total who were teachers/staff at the school and would
> attend the event. The conversation about the teacher appreciation even then
> turned to food and where to order food from. The suggestions were about
> barbeque and some of the women commented that the men would like
> barbeque. Daisy said her husband would like barbeque and meat and how
> this could balance out the decorations. (4-17-2011 Field Notes)

This activity reflects gender dynamics in terms of the gender composition of participants

who were all women as well as the way gender emerged as a topic within this activity. It

is notable that the planning of the PTO events involved all women, and women who were available to meet up in the morning of a school day. The recognition that the planning of events might be too "feminine" and an attempt to balance the more feminine characteristics with food deemed more masculine illustrate the manner in which gender was noticed and openly discussed by participants.

The expectation of mothers as the primary participants within the PTO was notable during the interview with participant #112, a Hispanic divorced dad with two daughters attending Flores Elementary. This participant actually lived outside of the Las Flores neighborhood, but he was active in school activities. In describing gender expectations, he highlighted how it was often considered unusual for a dad to be such an active participant:

> *Do you think that there are certain expectations of you because of your gender at the school?* I think there are certain stereotypes that you're not expected to be doing because of my gender. *What are you not expected to be doing?* Helping. Being there. [. . .] People will say, "Wow, you're, like, you're always here" or "I know you from the school." And then you - of course just see it. I mean, I go there and I help at the school and when it's, you know, eight women and two guys, it's like it's not very common for the dads to be so involved in the school as much as the women tend to be involved in the school. [. . .] Being male I think it's foreign for people to see, for myself in particular, a dad as involved as I am. People say "you are a really good dad!" and I say, "I don't understand what you're saying because this is my definition of what a dad should be doing." So that's all relative, you know. Maybe another person's definition is I should drink beer on Sundays and I drop them off at school and they do their homework and go to bed, you know. I am involved with my daughters. I make sure their homework is done. I help them if they need to. I read to them at night. To me that's what a good dad is. So I think that's foreign to some people. I think when people ask how things happen for me I think that actually is looked at differently, but not in a negative way. [. . .] So when it's me bringing potluck to the school there's 15 moms going "There's a dad bringing food?" You know, it definitely makes me feel, not weird but like, almost like in a proud type of way. This is what should be happening because they are my kids and this is my school with them. So I think almost it's like "that's kind of weird," but it's not weird in a bad way it's weird in

a good way. (#112, Hispanic man)

While this participant described the expectations of dads, he also describes gender

expectations within the school and understanding of gender in the neighborhood. As

such, participant #112 is the exception within the school because as a father he is actively

involved with his daughters and also notably in the gender minority of participants at

PTO activities.

These results demonstrate how gender emerged during PTO activities. Moreover,

these results specifically highlight how the theme of motherhood was relevant to

neighborhood activities. Because the systemic model of community emphasizes the

importance of local ties rooted in family life and ongoing socialization, themes of

motherhood could be important to understandings of socialization and community.

However, the systemic model is rarely considered a gendered theory of community.

Themes of motherhood were present even in participant #112's experiences within the

PTO as an active participant in school activities reflecting how symbolic meaning about

family life and children's socialization are often associated with mothers more than

fathers. Therefore, symbolic meaning associated with women as mothers served as a

backdrop to PTO activities and gender was salient within these interactions.

<div align="center">NEIGHBORHOOD ASSOCIATION AND GENDER</div>

Themes of parenting and family life also emerged during planning of

neighborhood association activities. For instance, the Las Flores Neighborhood

Association board meetings included discussion about planning the general meetings.

These discussions revolved around issues of increasing attendance and participation at

the general meeting. Elizabeth, a white woman and the neighborhood association

president, described her vision for the general meetings as including a mix of "fun" and "business" activities. Elizabeth raised this issue of increasing participation and attendance through appealing to families and having something for everyone. She discussed the need for entertainment and bringing in local talent. Other board members did not always embrace this strategy. For instance at one board meeting, Kimberly, a white woman and the secretary, pointed out that residents of the neighborhood lived in the neighborhood because of the school and already knew about the local appeals. In response, Elizabeth said that it was important to balance both the business aspects like elections and bylaws but also having fun activities so that everyone gets a little bit of something.

The concern of balancing fun and business came up a several board meetings when planning a general meeting was discussed. Often, the discussion of "fun" activities centered on activities for children so that families would be involved with the neighborhood association. In planning the October 2011 general meeting, the neighborhood association board discussed different locations. For this meeting, the president arranged for "fun" activities such as face painting, learning about the Day of the Dead, and making chile ristras. During the board meeting, the discussion about location centered on whether to use the local community center, which would require having the fun activities in a separate room from the business meeting, or to use a senior center located outside the official neighborhood association boundaries that had a larger room where both activities could occur in the same space. Kimberly, a white woman, explained her opinion on which space would be better based on being a mother:

> Kimberly said that she thought it would be better to have one big room. She
> said that she would feel more comfortable if she could attend the meeting

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but also keep an eye on her daughter. She said even with her husband there, they would still have to tag team and that it would be more comfortable if she could at least see her daughter. Kimberly spoke to Samuel, the vice president, and said wouldn't he want to be able to keep an eye on his daughter. He said that he thought his daughter would really like the crafts part and that it would be easier if he could be the in the same room as where she was. Elizabeth said she thought it would be okay if Kimberly's husband was there and then they could take turns. Kimberly explained that this wouldn't work very well. (9-20-2011, Neighborhood Association Board Meeting)

In this discussion of how to physically arrange the general meeting, parenting was prominent. Kimberly's concern addressed the issue of being able to fully participate in the meeting while also parenting. She sought confirmation from Samuel, the other parent with school-aged children on the neighborhood association board. While Samuel expressed agreement with Kimberly's opinion, he did not indicate strong feelings one way or the other. The resolution was to hold the meeting in one, large space with craft activities and discussion of neighborhood concerns in the same area. As it turned out, none of the board members brought their children to this meeting, and in fact, only one child was present at the meeting. However, the planning of the meeting around families and how to facilitate parenting and neighborhood association participation was a concern. In this sense, this planning reflects some notions of the neighborhood association as not just an instrumental, goal-oriented organization but also an extension of the family (Martin 2002). Therefore, as gender emerged as relevant to discussions of planning neighborhood association activities, symbolic meaning of motherhood was also present.

Physical Space and Mothering

The issue of parenting, and more specifically mothering, also emerged during discussion of neighborhood concerns. On two separate occasions, women raised

concerns about the sidewalks in Las Flores. In particular, both Lori and Kimberly raised

concerns about not being able to push strollers on the sidewalks.

At the August 2011 general meeting, there was conversation with the city

representatives, including the local city councilor, and Las Flores residents raised

concerns about the streets and traffic. During the conversation about concerns over the

streets, Lori, white woman and new resident, raised a specific concern as a mother:

> Lori said that she has had people honking at her when she's walking the
> stroller. She said the sidewalks are not designed for a stroller so she has to
> walk in the area in the road. She said not the bike lane but the other area.
> She said it was scary. Kimberly also said that you couldn't walk a stroller
> on the sidewalks. She also mentioned her father who had Parkinson's and
> can't walk on the sidewalks. (8-2-2011, Neighborhood Association
> Meeting)

During the meeting, these concerns were not specifically addressed. Both Kimberly and

Lori had brought their children to the meeting. Lori brought her baby and breastfed

during the meeting. Kimberly, the neighborhood association secretary, brought her

daughter. This meeting occurred prior to the meeting described above and there were not

specific "fun" activities or activities aimed at children. The issues of sidewalks and the

difficulty of navigating the sidewalks with a stroller reflect a specific gendered concern

about the physical layout of the neighborhood.

In the neighborhood association board meeting following the August general

meeting, Kimberly again raised concerns about the difficulties of walking the

neighborhood and specifically mentioned the problem of the sidewalks with having a

stroller.

> Kimberly asked if anyone had seen a new streetscape in a different part of the
> Albuquerque. She said that the city had put in sidewalks that were wider and
> then also had a green space between the sidewalk and the road. She said that
> you couldn't park on the street. Elizabeth made a comment about how there

didn't used to be sidewalks and that she didn't grew up with sidewalks. Kimberly seemed a bit frustrated and said she didn't grow up with sidewalks either. Elizabeth said something about how things used to be. Kimberly responded by saying that the background of how it looked is never gonna be like that again. She said there are certain conditions and you live in a city. Elizabeth talked about riding her bike and some of the difficulties. Kimberly talked about frustration of not living in a walkable area. She said she knew people who didn't walk their kids to school because it was too hard to walk in the area, even if they lived very close by. (9-20-2011, Neighborhood Association Board Meeting)

While Kimberly raised her concern about sidewalks specifically as tied to navigating the neighborhood and pushing a stroller, the conversation during the board meeting highlighted some of the tensions around place and the history of Las Flores. As such, this conversation was not resolved nor did the neighborhood association follow up on these concerns. However, these concerns around sidewalks and changes to the sidewalks reflect both a tension of history versus change within Las Flores alongside a specific gendered experience of the neighborhood. As mothers, Kimberly and Lori both experienced the physical layout of Las Flores in a manner that was difficult to navigate because the layout did not allow for pushing strollers. In this regard, the use of space reflects the co-construction of neighborhood and gender as mothers expressed difficulty in navigating the physical space of the neighborhood.

While existing scholarship discusses gender and space in regard to the public realm and concerns for women's safety within the public realm, the concerns about strollers and physical space of the neighborhood are slightly different. For instance, Gottdiener (1994) states the association of home with femininity and with women is tied to gender socialization in which women are responsible for the home and duties within the home. Therefore, gender socialization includes aspects of spatial relations. However, Gottdiener (1994) also describes how the association of women with the private sphere of

home constrains women's activities and safety. He notes that women do not have the same freedom of movement as men and the public realm becomes a site of possible danger for women. My results around issues of place and gender do not center around physical safety in the sense of danger except for a general concern about traffic. However, the daily routine of mothers pushing strollers within Las Flores reflects gender socialization and gender expectations. In this regard, these results extend beyond the assumption of public space as threatening and dangerous to women as women and instead focus on the use of space by women as mothers that is distinct from the use of space by men. As such, the specific physical conditions of the neighborhood affected mothers in a distinct manner. These concerns reflect motherhood distinct from gender (Ridgeway and Correll 2004a), and the concerns about navigating the sidewalks with strollers could have been a concern specific to parents compared to nonparents. However, it is notable that these concerns were raised by women within the neighborhood association meetings. Although slightly different than the results from the PTO activities, the results about the Las Flores Neighborhood Association demonstrate how motherhood was a prominent theme.

NEIGHBORHOOD GENDER EXPECTATIONS

In addition to the field note data, I also draw from the in-depth interview data to elaborate on the themes of gender and neighborhood expectations. During the interviews, I asked participants about their gender identity and if they thought other people in their neighborhood expected certain behaviors because of gender. Both men and women described particular gendered expectations and these expectations were different by gender. Women participants addressed gender and neighborhood experiences tied to

motherhood whereas men described expectations tied to physical strength and fixing and

building things. Notably, all but four of the 32 interview participants were parents. The

four participants who did not have children included one man and three women. Of the

28 participants who were parents, ten had children under the age of 18, and three of the

ten were men.

When asked to describe how they identified in terms of masculinity and

femininity and what those terms meant, women often described feminine characteristics

in terms of mothering and nurturing.

> *And you, you mentioned kind of being a mother is important to you. What does that kind of mean?* More of a nurture person. My role as the mom, and being a full time mom. I'm like the center - as my kids have gotten older I'm like their base, the central thing. Like, all things about the kids come through here. I'm like the conduit. So my husband doesn't know when their appointments are, when their classes are, when their, you know, play dates or stuff. I mean yeah, sure occasionally they'll tell him or whatever, but as far as the details of their lives it's all right here, and it's pretty much been that way since they were born because I was the one responsible for the care and feeding mostly. [. . .] Of course, my husband's really involved and he knows what's going with them and he interacts with them a lot and that kind of thing but as far as the details and day to day life, you know, it's all right here. (#113, white woman)

This participant addresses the concept of intensive mothering (Hays 1996; Arendell

2000). Even though her husband is an involved father, as a mother, she is still more

directly responsible for childcare and day to day caretaking.

In addition to gender identity, women also addressed mothering in response to the

question of neighborhood expectations based on gender. In this regard, responses about

gender expectations within the neighborhood reflect assumptions about femininity,

marriage, and family. Participant #129 contrasted the expectations she faced as a

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divorced, single mother in Las Flores compared to her previous neighborhood in

Albuquerque:

> They know I'm a mom. They know I'm divorced and there's a whole set of conceptions that go along with being a single mom with kids. But I don't think I was ever negatively impacted by that, by my neighbors. *Did you ever feel kind of negative receptions outside of your neighborhood?* Oh absolutely. With the old neighborhood I lived in [different area of Albuquerque], yes. It was like I was pariah the minute I asked for a divorce. That's a very, very middle class. Any threat to the standard husband and wife, two kids' stabilities is going to be immediately responded to. [My current landlady's] a very strong traditional Catholic and she knew that I also had been brought up Catholic and had been a practicing Catholic and that I was divorced. It just so happened that some of their children were adults and had been through some divorce. In fact, we had conversations through the years about how hard that is. Had they not had that experience, I don't know if they would have necessarily rented to me. I know that sounds funny, but I have to admit after getting to know them, that is, I think it mattered quite a bit that they had had that experience and had to go through that with their own children and open themselves up to knowing that a divorced woman wasn't the old cliché of whatever that is. (#129, white woman)

As participant #129 describes, she encountered specific gender expectations tied

to being divorced and being a mother. As a renter, she attributes her ability to live

in Las Flores tied to her landlady's understanding of divorce and that this

understanding may not be universal across the neighborhood.

In the following passages, participants #103 and #101 describe specific

gender expectations of mothers and wives within Las Flores. Both participants

address an older demographic within the neighborhood and how older residents

have stronger gender stereotypes of what men and women should do.

> I would say the big difference that I, the one thing that pertains to me is that I am very opinionated, and I have very strong ideas about the way things should be done. And this is probably an example of that in our neighborhood. So, our friends across the street for example, the Chavez's, they're about 10 years older than us, maybe a little more. We waited later to have our children, so we still have little ones at home, but their kids are

already out of college. But you know we'll be talking about things around the house, and Mr. Chavez will defer to my husband for his opinion about how certain things are to be done. And because my husband could care less most of the time, he just defers to me. . .And I think that is unusual for most husbands to defer to their, I mean in our social circles it's, I've noticed it, that it's unusual. (#103, Hispanic woman)

And then do you think of other people in your neighborhood expect certain behaviors from you because of your gender? Absolutely. *And can you tell me a little bit more about that.* Being the mom. . . There was expectations previous to me being pregnant to have a child. There was expectations of me getting married. There was expectations of me now taking care of the children from the neighborhood. However, given that I know the folks in the neighborhood, they are of an older generation, and that's what they're wives and moms did and so that was what their expectation of me is. However, they're very open and caring, so they don't judge me negatively. However, it kind of seems interesting the reason that we were able to move into that neighborhood was because my salary allowed it, not my husband's, so that was a huge. (#101, Hispanic woman)

Participant #103 describes gender expectations of wives as more passive and husbands as head of the household. She contrasts these expectations with her own experiences whereby her husband defers to her, especially regarding things related to the house and yard, but she also feels her relationship with her husband is not the norm for the neighborhood. For participant #101, she describes expectations specifically around motherhood. Participant #101 previously worked in a mainly male-dominated field of engineering where expression of femininity was often devalued. She described a transition from being career-focused to becoming a stay-at-home mother and that this decision was difficult but now she cannot imagine returning to her previous occupation. In this sense, participant #101 now mainly identifies as a mom and recognizes the neighborhood expectations of mothering. However, she also notes that her previous job defied some of the gender stereotypes, and in particular she was previously the financial provider and earned enough income to allow her and her husband to afford to move into

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Las Flores.

For women, femininity was symbolically tied to mothering and nurturance. These symbolic meanings were notable in perceptions of neighborhood expectations and the manner in which gender was relevant to interactions between neighbors. The themes of motherhood within neighborhood activities are also articulated in the interview responses. For women, the meaning of neighborhood was tied to symbolic meaning of femininity with expectations of mothering and nurturance. Thus, these results reflect the co-construction of neighborhood and gender.

Neighborhood Gender Expectations for Men

While the most prominent gender theme to emerge was about neighborhood activities and expectations of women as mothers, I asked men participants about gender identity and gender expectations within the neighborhood. Aside from the response from participant #112, men's responses were not related to parenting. Instead, men described gender expectations within the neighborhood tied to fixing things or physical strength.

> People who know me expect a certain thing. They know that I'll fix things, I will protect them if they're afraid, or, you know, I will do something. *And do you think that that could be attributed to your gender?* My gender and size, probably. (#124, white man)

> Well, I have a woman neighbor across the street who will ask me to help her with some things but that's just more a matter I think of physical strength. I can lift stuff, she can't. But other than that I don't particularly expect to be expected to be anything. (#106, white man)

In these responses, men describe particular gendered interactions with neighbors with expectations of men as protectors and physically strong. Men also described interactions with neighbors around shared interests such as cars and construction. As such, these

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responses match normative conceptions about masculinity. However, men also described a certain rejection of hegemonic masculinity.

Men identified neighborhood expectations around masculinity as physical strength and protection, which are generally in line with definitions of hegemonic masculinity (Kimmel 1994; Connell 2005; Connell and Messerschmidt 2005). However, in describing their own gender identity, many men described a certain rejection of hegemonic masculinity by identifying as masculine but not "macho."

> I don't know. I sure do not consider myself as a macho. *And what does that mean when you say not identifying as being really macho?* That's something that some men think that they are the sole, they are whatever they say is exactly what is out there. [. . .] That whatever they would say or want to have it that would be the sole word. It couldn't be like if I was to say something and my wife would say well why don't we do something different. To me it would be that we would change it. It wouldn't be that something I would say is the law. [. . .] Even with my sons and I have one daughter and if I say something and they say, "well Dad why don't we do it this other way" that's good enough for me. My work is not something that I would say well that's the way it has to be and that's the right way and there is no other way. (#104, Hispanic man)

> I'm not macho, that's for sure. I don't know how I would describe myself. *What does macho mean to you?* Somebody that's, a woman's supposed to walk behind the man. A woman's place is in the home and raise the babies and stuff like that. That's my description of a macho man. (#108, Hispanic man)

Notably, Hispanic men described a rejection of the term "macho." As such these participants are distancing themselves from machismo that is often viewed as a core characteristic of Hispanic culture (Torres, Solberg, and Carlstrom 2002). In this regard, the passages above describe more egalitarian relationships with their wives. These responses reflect a particular gender identity that is family-based whereby masculinity is not synonymous with macho and masculinity is defined as more egalitarian and less hegemonic.

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White men participants also rejected hegemonic masculinity in describing their gender identity as a mix of both feminine and masculine characteristics.

> I'm a man but I certainly accept the fact that I have what some people would refer to as feminine traits. I mean I like beauty. I love to work in the garden, I love and I'm not ashamed of it. I'm not a particularly masculine guy in terms of I could care less about sports or tools or any of that stuff. [. . .] Well, a lot of men describe their masculinity in terms of their prowess at sports or their sexual prowess or any of that and I don't think that defines who I am. (#106, white man)

> I'm not all masculine, I guess. Ah, 60/40. [. . .] Or 70/30, somewhere in there. *What does that mean to you to think of somebody who is all masculine?* Maybe somebody that doesn't care about other people's feelings. I care way too much about people's feelings. I used to be a supervisor, and that was just such a horrible trait to have that you really need to control as a supervisor or a manager or something like that, like being very empathetic towards people. I'm way too empathetic. And I don't know if way too is the right way to say it, but just so I associate that with maybe not being feminine, but just, to me, is not necessarily a masculine thing. I like to talk and listen. I think of that as being very female, feminine. I don't know why this makes me so self-conscious. I like to cook and you know, clean, a certain amount of cleaning. I like gardening. So I think of those as being sort of feminine things. Masculine things that I like would be like, you know, working on cars and digging holes and things like that, like, you know, deconstructing things and reconstructing things, I guess, you know, whether it's doing stuff in the house or outside or whatever. So building things, cutting down trees, you know, whatever. (#120, white man)

These responses again reject a narrow, hegemonic definition of masculinity by highlighting characteristics deemed more feminine. As such, by asking participants how they viewed themselves, these responses illicit more depth and blurring of the masculine-feminine dichotomy than a simple yes/no response about masculine vs. feminine traits. In these responses, men participants describe themselves more fully as blurring the dichotomy and embracing both feminine and masculine characteristics. However, these responses also maintain the dichotomy by clearly identifying certain characteristics as masculine, such as building and mechanical aspects, and other characteristics as

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feminine, such as emotion and beauty.

Overall, these results around masculinity highlight two important themes. First, in contrast to women participants, men rarely described gender expectations around parenting. Again, it is notable that 11 out of the 12 men participants had children, but gender expectations were much more in line with traditional masculine characteristics such as physical strength. Second, men overall did not fully embrace hegemonic masculinity and traditional masculine characteristics. Instead, many men participants rejected notions of machismo or described themselves as both masculine and feminine. In this regard, the shift toward more egalitarian gender relationships could carry over into the neighborhood and could be relevant for the systemic model of community. If men reject the constrained symbolic meaning that associates fathers with breadwinners and masculinity tied machismo, this could lead to more participation in neighborhood activities. As such, this is tied to the neighborhood association trying to increase participation and meeting attendance by drawing in families not just individual residents. While these strategies are not inherently gendered, the manner in which assumptions about motherhood were salient shapes neighborhood activities in Las Flores.

CONCLUSION: GENDERING THE NEIGHBORHOOD

This chapter demonstrated the co-construction of neighborhood and gender through results on neighborhood activities in Las Flores. Within neighborhood association and PTO activities, gender was a notable theme. Because neighborhood activities incorporate more formal interactions with Las Flores, they included assumptions and goals about neighborhood as community. Gender, particularly the symbolic meaning of motherhood, emerged as a relevant theme that shaped these

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neighborhood activities. Specifically, I found gender was important in the planning of neighborhood activities and particularly within the PTO, the majority of participants were women. Further, participation and planning of neighborhood activities reflected notions of gender and intensive mothering (Hays 1996). Motherhood was also relevant to navigating the physical space of Las Flores demonstrating the gendered experiences of neighborhood. I elaborated on these themes of motherhood by linking field note data with the interview data. Women participants described neighborhood gender expectations tied to mothering, whereas, with the exception of participant #112, men did not discuss parenting. Instead, men's neighborhood gender expectations reflected both traditional masculinity and a degree of ambiguity over hegemonic masculinity characteristics.

These results illustrate the co-construction of neighborhood and gender in regard to the social construction of neighborhood within neighborhood organizations and the emergence of gender within these interactions. In particular, the PTO and the neighborhood association activities both constructed Las Flores in a distinct manner. For the PTO, the focus was often on Las Flores as a community guided by a common purpose of educating and caring for children. For the neighborhood association, the focus was not always as clear, but Las Flores was constructed as a neighborhood where residents could socialize and work toward common goals of neighborhood improvement. In this regard, these formal neighborhood activities provided certain goals that also shaped the meaning given to Las Flores. Importantly, however, my results illustrate how gender emerged within these neighborhood activities. As such, women were key organizers of neighborhood activities and the social construction of Las Flores reflects this gendered

aspect of on-going socialization. Moreover, drawing from the doing gender perspective (West and Zimmerman 1987), my results also demonstrate the social construction of gender as an emergent property within interactions. It was not just that women were predominant in the organization of neighborhood activities. Instead, gender was socially constructed most clearly in the manner with which themes of motherhood emerged within the neighborhood activities. These themes of motherhood were gendered such that women experienced Las Flores as mothers, but men, even those who were parents, did not identify fatherhood as particularly relevant to neighborhood activities or expectations. In this regard, my results on neighborhood activities and the manner in which gender emerged within interactions reflects Ridgeway and Correll's (2004b) concept of social relational contexts as sites to examine the social construction of gender.

Because gender is under-examined in research on neighborhoods, this chapter provides important insights about how gender could be relevant to the systemic model of community. Specifically, women experienced their neighborhood as mothers and as such mothers participate in neighborhood activities as an extension of the family, use public space within the neighborhood as mothers, and describe certain gender expectations specifically tied to femininity as mothering. These themes of motherhood are relevant to the systemic model because mothering is key to on-going processes of socialization.

Therefore, women's experiences as mothers within neighborhood activities and use of neighborhood space provides insights into the on-the-ground processes of neighborhood effects and differences in local communities with regard to socialization and social control processes. While research finds support for the systemic model through measures of length of residence, this does not account for actual processes of on-

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going socialization. Active involvement in the PTO and activities within the elementary school are a form of neighborhood socialization. Similarly, emphasis on the neighborhood association as family-oriented is another important agent of neighborhood socialization. These activities in Las Flores were particularly gendered as women were most responsible for planning and organizing.

While this chapter emphasizes how women as mothers are important components of understanding neighborhood activities, I also addressed how men described gender expectations within Las Flores. In particular, men identified both traditional gender roles such as masculinity as strength and protection alongside a rejection of hegemonic masculinity. These results demonstrate that gender is not just a theme for women and their neighborhood experiences but that men are also gendered. In connecting the results on rejection of hegemonic masculinity, there are possibilities for expanding notions of masculinity to include more direct socialization. Therefore, while I argue that the systemic model does not fully engage with gender as important to on-going socialization processes, I am not claiming these on-going socialization processes are only about women. Instead, scholarship needs to fully integrate how gender is important to neighborhood processes, which means both men and women may be important to these processes. As Roundtree and Warner (1999) illustrate, women's social ties interacted with neighborhood conditions and led to different effects on the social control of crime. My results illustrate how one aspect of women's roles within the neighborhood could contribute to specific socialization processes since women experienced their neighborhood as mothers in particular. However, future research needs to continue to

examine these gender dynamics and needs to address both women and men to disentangle

the gender effects and processes relevant to neighborhood activities.

CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSION ON THE SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF

NEIGHBORHOOD, RACE, AND GENDER IN LAS FLORES

This dissertation set out to address the following research question: for a middle-class neighborhood with a relatively even mix of both whites and Latinos, what are the patterns of neighborhood experiences in terms of race and gender? To answer this question, I collected qualitative data using in-depth interviews of residents and observation of neighborhood activities. I used an inductive analytic strategy to identify emergent themes from these data, and I identified three main results. In regard to neighboring, I addressed the concept of friendly distance and the symbolic meaning of "not" neighbors. In regard to emotional connections, I found a pattern of racial difference and developed the concept of racialized boundary work. For the neighborhood activities component, I found important gendered aspects related to motherhood in particular and linked these to the systemic model of community.

In this concluding chapter, I provide a review of these core results and main analytic insights. I then discuss how this research contributes to existing literature on neighborhood experiences followed by a discussion of the limitations of this research. Tied to the limitations, I return to my conceptual framework to review the concept of intersectionality and how my results provide implications on the co-construction of race and gender. Finally, I conclude with the implications of this research and suggestions for future research to examine neighborhood, race, and gender.

<u>KEY FINDINGS</u>

In chapter three, I presented results on the neighboring component of neighborhood experiences and described how these results reflect the symbolic and

interactional dimensions of the social construction of neighborhood. In particular, I demonstrated how the social construction of neighbor revolved around the norm of friendly distance whereby residents were expected to be friendly but also not intrude on each other's privacy (Willmott 1986; Crow et al. 2002). I also highlighted how this norm of friendly distance is emplaced, meaning that the expectations of residents are tied to a limited geographic scope of spatial proximity. Further, the emplacement of neighboring means that friendly interactions often occur outside the personal residences of neighbors such as saying "hi" by the mailbox thereby addressing the parochial realm. My results also demonstrate the symbolic dimension of neighboring to demonstrate how Las Flores residents distinguished between good, bad, and not neighbors. Good neighbors engaged in the proper neighboring interactions whereas bad neighbors violated some of the norms of neighboring, usually by being unfriendly or disruptive of shared norms. In contrast to bad neighbors who were recognized as being part of the neighborhood, individuals identified as "not neighbors" were too distant and therefore unknown to other residents. As such, these individuals were deemed as not belonging within the neighborhood. Importantly, this neighboring dimension of neighborhood experiences did not show a distinct race or gender pattern and instead provided the general context of Las Flores as a neighborhood.

The second set of results emerged around racial differences in emotional connections to Las Flores. In particular, I identified three racialized patterns related to sense of belonging, neighborhood history, and neighborhood attachment. I developed the concept of racialized boundary work to address how these racial differences reflect the social construction of neighborhood and demonstrated that racial differences in emotional

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connections to Las Flores reflect both symbolic and social boundaries (Lamont and

Molnár 2002). By symbolic boundaries, these results illustrate the differences in white

and Hispanic participants' construction of the neighborhood as social vs. place-based and

belonging as acknowledgement vs. a deeper sense of belonging. I contend that these

racial differences are reflective of general social boundaries, and in particular, I

connected these results to the broader structures of a racialized system (Bonilla-Silva

2001; Feagin 2014). As such, symbolic boundaries are shaped by the unequal racial

system, which provides an important contextualization from which to understand the

differences in neighborhood experiences.

My third results chapter demonstrated the co-construction of neighborhood and

gender from results on neighborhood activities in Las Flores. Within the neighborhood

association and elementary school Parent-Teacher Organization (PTO) activities, gender

was a notable theme. Because neighborhood activities address more formal interactions

with Las Flores, they included assumptions and goals about neighborhood as community.

I, therefore, draw on the Kasarda and Janowitz's (1974: 329) systemic model of

community that conceptualizes community as "a complex system of friendship and

kinship networks and formal and informal associational ties rooted in family life and on-

going socialization processes." Gender, particularly the symbolic meaning of

motherhood, emerged as a relevant theme that shaped these neighborhood activities.

Specifically, I found gender was important in the planning of neighborhood activities,

and particularly within the PTO, the majority of participants were women. Further,

participation and planning of neighborhood activities reflected notions of gender and

intensive mothering (Hays 1996). Themes of motherhood also emerged during

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discussions of the physical space of the neighborhood and gendered neighborhood

expectations for women. Moreover, while 11 out of 12 of the men I interviewed were

parents, fatherhood was not an emergent theme related to gender expectations. Instead,

men's neighborhood gender expectations reflected both traditional masculinity and a

degree of ambiguity over hegemonic masculinity characteristics (Connell 2005; Connell

and Messerschmidt 2005).

<div align="center">CONTRIBUTIONS TO NEIGHBORHOOD LITERATURE</div>

This dissertation makes important contributions to the literature on

neighborhoods, particularly expanding on understandings of neighborhood experiences.

My conceptual framework included three bodies of sociological literature on the social

construction of: 1) neighborhood and community, 2) race, and 3) gender. To bring these

distinct areas of scholarship together into a productive conversation, I emphasized the

interaction and symbolic dimensions of the social construction of neighborhood, race,

and gender. Drawing from Cohen (1985) and Wilkinson (1991), I incorporated concepts

of symbolic boundaries and interactions as crucial to understanding neighborhood as

community. I then linked this scholarship with sociological theories of racial formation

(Omi and Winant 2015) and racial system (Bonilla-Silva 2001; Feagin 2014) to address

how race is socially constructed via interactions and symbolic meaning. I also discussed

how the social construction of race is linked to racial inequality. The third body of

scholarship draws from sociological theories on the social construction of gender,

particularly the "doing gender" approach that focuses on how gender emerges during

interactions (West and Zimmerman 1987) and gender as a social system and status

characteristics tied to gender inequality (Ridgeway and Correll 2004b). By incorporating

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these three bodies of literature, I developed a conceptual framework of the social construction of neighborhood, race, and gender that focused on interaction and symbolic dimensions. Specifically, my research demonstrates the manner in which interactions within and symbolic meaning of neighborhood are linked to race, which I referred to as co-construction of neighborhood and race. Similarly, my research demonstrates the co-construction of neighborhood and gender, which refers to the manner in which symbolic meaning and interactions within the neighborhood are tied to gendered symbolic meaning and interactions. These contributions are important because they add to the theoretical toolbox of neighborhood studies.

I linked this conceptual framework to my empirical research by developing my core analytic concept of neighborhood experiences. In developing the concept of neighborhood experiences, I draw on existing scholarship about neighborhoods as sources of distinct influences on individual residents (Unger and Wandersman 1985; Greif 2009; Woldoff 2002). In particular, I conceptualized neighborhood experiences as consisting of three dimensions: 1) neighboring; 2) emotional connections; and 3) neighborhood activities. I identified how each of these components reflected both interaction and symbolic dimensions.

In this regard, an important contribution of this dissertation was providing a unique analytic framework in which to examine neighborhoods by addressing three core features. First, I focused on the social construction of community. Second, to link social construction of neighborhood with the social construction of race and the social construction of gender, I identified two main points of similarity within the literature. Namely, I focus on interactions and symbolic meaning. Third, I developed the analytic

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concept of neighborhood experiences to examine the social construction of neighborhood and identified important results connecting neighborhood experiences to race and gender.

Building from this conceptual framework, this dissertation also makes important empirical contributions. First, I selected Las Flores as a unique empirical setting to examine neighborhood experiences, race, and gender. Las Flores was selected as a middle-class neighborhood in Albuquerque, New Mexico. Because research on neighborhoods tends to focus on economically disadvantaged neighborhoods, Las Flores provides a distinct empirical setting. Moreover, Las Flores provides an important context for addressing racial dynamics because the neighborhood has a fairly even mix of both Latino and white residents. Because most empirical research has examined racial dynamics within neighborhoods by focusing either on black-white comparisons or on Latinos as new immigrant groups, Las Flores provides a distinct setting to examine the social construction of race. Not only is Las Flores a racially mixed neighborhood, but Latino residents were not recent immigrants. Instead, the neighborhood was a historically Hispanic neighborhood and whites were more often the newcomer residents.

Beyond the unique setting of this research, my results demonstrated the manner in which different components of neighborhood experiences reflected the social construction of neighborhood. In particular, I made important empirical contributions by identifying links between the co-construction of neighborhood and race and the co-construction of neighborhood and gender via distinct neighborhood experiences.

<u>LIMITATIONS</u>

As with any research, there are limitations to this study. While I demonstrated important empirical insights regarding neighboring interactions, race and emotional

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connections, and gendered aspects of neighborhood activities, my results should not be generalized to all contemporary neighborhoods. Instead, these findings should serve as an extension of existing theories on the social construction of neighborhood, race, and gender and provide insights from a distinct empirical setting.

My sampling strategy sought to include a cross-section of Las Flores residents, but I do not claim that this sample is representative of all Las Flores residents. In particular, my sample may be over representative of residents who are most active in neighborhood activities. I used snowball sampling to specifically recruit participants who were less involved with these activities, but snowball sampling required at least some type of social tie between Las Flores residents. While my results demonstrate the relevance and prominence of neighboring in Las Flores, it is possible that those residents who are more distant than friendly and have no or very limited social ties to other neighbors would provide different perspectives on neighboring. Therefore, the snowball sampling strategy sought to broaden the range of participants, but I was unable to find many research participants who were isolated or felt excluded from the neighborhood. To truly assess the breadth of neighboring, future research should combine both qualitative and quantitative data with random sampling to fully explore the range of neighborhood experiences.

Given the unique history of the Las Flores neighborhood, these results may not reflect a prototypical middle-class, integrated neighborhood. My results apply the concept of racialized boundary work to residents' emphasis on the history in Las Flores. However, the historic features of Las Flores are unique, and therefore, history may not be significant for other neighborhoods. Similarly, the transition from a predominantly

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Hispanic to a more racially mixed neighborhood is a unique feature of Las Flores. In this regard, I do not claim that racialized boundary work applies to all historic neighborhoods nor do I claim that all racially mixed neighborhoods have the same neighboring dynamics as Las Flores. Instead, future research should continue to explore how these processes take shape in other contexts. Particularly, history within Las Flores was a prominent feature of place but racialized boundary work may emerge in other neighborhoods with different place features. In this respect, my results demonstrate the applicability of a boundary work approach with regard to racial differences in symbolic meanings given to Las Flores and how these are tied to a racial system. This approach should be applied to other neighborhoods to more fully understand the links between racialized symbolic and social boundaries with respect to place meaning.

Another limitation with my research is the skewed gender ratio of my research participants. In line with Warr (2006), I claim this is not solely a limitation but also a point of analysis and reflective of gendered neighborhood processes. Future research should examine gender with a broader sample of residents. However, unlike most existing research where gender is included as a control variable, my results indicate that gendered processes and outcomes should be more fully integrated into studies of neighborhood processes. In particular, my results call for the further examination of gender and neighborhood organizations as well as gender and processes of neighborhood socialization.

<center>CHALLENGES OF INTERSECTIONALITY</center>

This dissertation project originally set out to incorporate theories of intersectionality into neighborhood scholarship. In this regard, the under-examined

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component of my conceptual model is the co-construction of race and gender. The co-construction of race and gender emphasizes the manner in which meanings of race are gendered and meanings of gender are racialized (Collins 1993; Baca Zinn and Dill 1996; Pyke and Johnson 2003). In this regard, race and gender are intersecting identities at the micro level and interlocking social structures of inequality at the macro level (Collins 1993, 2000; Baca Zinn and Dill 1996). Unfortunately, I was unable to fully unpack the manner in which the social construction of neighborhood reflects the co-construction of race and gender. In particular, while both race and gender emerged as relevant results, I did not fully engage in "intercategorical analysis" (McCall 2005: 1786), which "focuses on the complexity of relationships among multiple social groups within and across analytic categories." Intercategorical analysis would entail analysis of complex groups such as similarities and differences between Latina women, Latino men, white women, and white men. As I described in chapter two, data limitations were the main challenge to looking for both race and gender patterns simultaneously. Specifically, I had a gender skewed sample of interview participants. Furthermore, my rapport was the least developed with Hispanic men participants. As such, to fully analyze responses across race and gender categories was not a feasible analytic strategy.

While clear race-gender results were not prevalent, likely due to data limitations, I do want to propose some possible connections between intersectionality and neighborhood experiences. In particular, I want to highlight two themes related to my data and findings. First, I provide insights about the theme of neighborhood history and how Hispanic women most emphasized the role of family. Coupled with the results

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around gender and parenting, I posit some possibilities for future research. Second, I discuss the intersections with class to further address an intersectionality approach.

My results on race and emotional connections particularly highlight how Hispanics described deeper roots to Las Flores which was reflected in social underpinnings to neighborhood attachment and understanding of neighborhood history tied to family. While my data did not allow a full analysis of this theme by gender, it is notable that Hispanic women, in particular, addressed the importance of family as part of their connection to Las Flores. Further, my results on gender demonstrated that women participated in neighborhood activities and used neighborhood space as mothers whereas men did not address fatherhood as key to their neighborhood experiences. In combining these results, there are possibilities for intersectionality as important to understanding neighborhood. In particular, intersectionality scholarship demonstrates that women of color may have different familial and communal relationships than white women (Baca Zinn 1990; Collins 2000). However, much of this research focuses on marginalized communities, particularly the intersection of class, race, and gender in lower-income neighborhoods. My results highlight possible connections between race and gender in a more middle-class setting whereby there are still group differences between Hispanic women, Hispanic men, white women, and white men. As such, Hispanic women may be important purveyors of the neighborhood, especially in regard to definitions of and values in Las Flores. This may be in contrast to the way neighborhood definitions and values are transmitted by other neighborhood residents. As such, a fuller intercategorical analysis could explore the significance of race-gender dynamics in regard to neighborhood history and socialization processes as not just gendered but racialized.

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Another dimension of intersectionality that I was not able to fully analyze is how class and socioeconomic status intertwines with race and gender. My research of a middle-class neighborhood sought to hold class constant instead of examining class variation in neighborhood experiences. However, not all research participants nor all residents were middle class. Definitions of middle-class are broad and varied, but I did assume that Las Flores as a middle-class neighborhood was different from both more upper and more lower class neighborhoods. Some of my results around gender and race reflect a middle-class orientation. For instance, most of the executive committee of the Flores Elementary PTO were stay-at-home mothers with husbands who were the main financial providers. As such, how events were planned and executed at the school may reflect not just a gendered dynamic but also a specific class position. Another example of class as a relevant analytic category is the pathway to homeownership within Las Flores. While the vast majority of research participants were homeowners, there was some distinction in how Hispanic residents owned homes on land that had previously belonged to a family member compared to white residents who bought homes without any direct ties to the property. Future research could more fully examine the intersection of race and wealth tied to neighborhood experiences. Because I did not include class as a key variable of interest and did not ask detailed questions about class status, I cannot fully analyze the class dynamics of Las Flores. However, the possible interconnections between class, race, and gender should be explored in future research.

While intersectionality was an important concept that originally guided this research project, I was unable to fully engage in intercategorical analysis. The emergent results most clearly mapped onto race and gender as separate themes. However, these

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results provide important implications that future research should continue to explore. Namely, with fuller, intercategorical data, researchers could look for emergent themes on the co-construction of race and gender and how the patterns of neighborhood experiences are simultaneously reflective of racialization and gendered interactions and symbolic meanings.

SIGNIFICANCE AND IMPLICATIONS

This dissertation provides important insights on contemporary neighborhoods. In particular, I provided three main contributions to scholarship on neighborhoods. First, I bridged the literature on the social construction of neighborhood with literature on the social construction of race and the social construction of gender. In doing so, I identified interactions and symbolic dimensions as two relevant concepts that link these distinct bodies of literature. Second, building from existing research, I developed the concept of neighborhood experiences as a multidimensional concept encompassing neighboring, emotional connections, and neighborhood activities. In particular, I demonstrated the usefulness of neighborhood experiences as an umbrella term to study the social construction of neighborhood. Third, my specific results on neighborhood experiences demonstrated the co-construction of neighborhood and race and the co-construction of neighborhood and gender. In doing so, I demonstrate both the usefulness of my conceptual framework and the manner in which the multidimensional concept of neighborhood experiences can capture distinct elements. In particular, I found that both white and Hispanic residents of Las Flores expressed emotional connections to the neighborhood but that the underpinning of these connections varied across racial group. Moreover, I found that neighborhood activities were gendered in regard to planning of

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events, and importantly, that women particularly highlighted motherhood as important to neighborhood activities and neighborhood expectations.

The significance of this research demonstrates the analytic insights that can be garnered from incorporating neighborhood, race, and gender scholarship into empirical research. Moreover, I contribute to existing literature on neighboring by examining Las Flores as an interesting empirical setting because it is a middle-class neighborhood with both Latino and white residents located within Albuquerque, New Mexico. As such, my results on neighboring interactions tied to "friendly distance" (Crow et al. 2002) and distinctions between good, bad, and not neighbors provide an important empirical contribution. Specifically, these results demonstrate the applicability of friendly distance to non-European contexts. Further, while I emphasize the results on race and gender, it is important to remember that gender and race can be more or less salient within a given context or experience. Therefore, my results on neighboring demonstrate that norms of being friendly but respecting privacy cut across race and gender divisions.

The results of this research provide several possibilities for future research and sociological theory. First, research and theory should continue to address the dynamics of neighborhood tied to race and gender. In particular, I encourage scholars to more fully unpack how race and gender are not just individual-level variables or a strict compositional effect. Instead, my results demonstrate the dynamic interconnections between neighborhood experiences and the social construction of race and gender. Concepts of racial formation (Omi and Winant 2015) and racial system (Feagin 2014) should continue to be applied to research on neighborhoods. Moreover, neighborhood experiences, particularly distinct underpinnings of emotional connections, should

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continue to be contextualized within studies of racial inequality. For instance, are there other patterns related to social vs. place features that are racialized? How might these features reinforce or challenge racial inequality in terms of housing, segregation, or other neighborhood effects? Moreover, this dissertation is an important contribution regarding the racialization of Latinos and the unique context of Albuquerque and New Mexico. As such, the dynamics within Las Flores may be a harbinger of Latinos within the United States. Future research should continue to explore these racialized processes via understandings of symbolic meanings of neighborhood alongside situating symbolic meanings within the larger social dynamics of a racialized system. Research on other racial groups and neighborhoods with other racial histories and racial compositions can more fully explore racialized boundary work.

While there is a body of scholarship examining racial inequality tied to neighborhood conditions and segregation, there is a notable dearth of scholarship on neighborhoods that incorporates gender. Instead, gender is often "added" as a control variable within neighborhood research (Smith 1974; Woolever 1992; Ross et al. 2000; Woldoff 2002; Swaroop and Morenoff 2006; Ferree, Khan, and Marimoto 2007). As such, gender is rarely conceptualized as multilevel, and gender processes are obscured when gender is measured as a simple dichotomous individual-level variable. My results provide important insights regarding the gendering of neighborhood activities. Instead of viewing motherhood as a biological identity, gender scholarship emphasizes how motherhood is a social identity (Wharton 2012; Damaske 2013) and status characteristic (Ridgeway and Correll 2004a). I provide one avenue for future research regarding motherhood and the systemic model of community. Because the systemic model is a

foundation for a significant body of research (Sampson and Groves 1989; Bursik and Grasmick 1993; Sampson, Raudenbush, and Earls 1997; Parrado and Flippen 2010), my results encourage researchers to consider how on-going socialization processes may be relevant beyond measures of length of residence. Future research should continue to think about the processes component of on-going socialization, and based on my findings, gender is crucial to understanding these processes. For instance, are there aspects of fatherhood that are tied to neighborhood and vice versa? For neighborhoods without an elementary school, are the gender and parenting aspects as prominent? Are there variables that can capture gendered aspects of neighborhood and therefore allow for comparisons across a breadth of neighborhoods? How are gendered assumptions about family and childcare relevant to understanding the systemic model? If family processes are changing, would this also be reflected in changes to neighborhood processes?

Finally, I end with suggestions for future research that can build from the limitations of this dissertation. In particular, this project started with a focus on intersectionality and an interest on the co-construction of race and gender. However, my research was unable to truly conduct an "intercategorical" intersectional analysis (McCall 2005). I encourage future research to continue to think about race and gender as interconnected along with other important social identities and social structures such as class, sexuality, and nationality. To do so qualitatively almost certainly requires research teams since a crucial limitation of my research was tied to access and rapport with men residents, particularly Latino men residents of Las Flores. While it was beyond the scope of a dissertation research project to include multiple researchers and multiple neighborhood sites, I encourage scholars to strive for full intercategorical research

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designs that incorporate multiple social groups varied by both race and gender. One important research design strategy would include research teams for qualitative data collection to have rapport across different groups of residents. Further, quantitative data should also incorporate both race and gender as reinforcing concepts and processes instead of as unrelated independent variables.

In her 2009 presidential address to the American Sociological Association, Patricia Hill Collins proposed a re-conceptualization of community as an important political construct and sociological concept because community could be connected to both "elite" and "ordinary people." Moreover, as a ubiquitous concept, community provides possibilities for understanding social inequality but also challenging social inequality. While community and inequality may both take the "changing-same" pattern, I am particularly compelled by the invitation to question and challenge the ever present use of community from a sociological perspective (Collins 2010). It seems particularly fitting that Collins' address came at the same time as I developed a dissertation research proposal. My results reflect a starting point for integrating themes of community into not just neighborhood research but also race, gender, and intersectionality scholarship. Now, as I conclude this dissertation project, I am rejuvenated by the call to commit to social justice and "use community in innovative and imaginative ways" (Collins 2010: 26).

Field Notes Log

Date	*Activity*	*Affiliation*	*Number of Pages (single spaced)*
4/5/2011	Elementary School PTO Meeting	PTO	6
4/12/2011	Informal meeting with people after school at elementary school	PTO	2
4/15/2011	Informal Meeting at coffee shop with elementary school people	PTO	3
5/3/2011	Elementary School PTO Meeting	PTO	7.5
5/5/2011	Neighborhood Coalition Meeting		5
5/16/2011	Notes from Interview #103	Interview	1.5
5/19/2011	Elementary School Young Authors Night	PTO	5
5/21/2011	Neighborhood Association Board Meeting	Neighborhood Association	9
5/22/2011	Jewelry Party		3
5/30/2011	Interview #105	Interview	2
6/1/2011	Interview #102	Interview	2.5
6/2/2011	Neighborhood Coalition Meeting		8
6/7/2011	E-mails from Former Neighborhood Association President	Neighborhood Association	4
6/8/2011	Phone Call with Neighborhood Association President	Neighborhood Association	4
6/9/2011	Interview #107	Interview	1
6/13/2011	Phone Call with Neighborhood Association President	Neighborhood Association	1
6/13/2011	Neighborhood Association Board Meeting	Neighborhood Association	13
6/14/2011	Interview #109	Interview	1.5
6/23/2011	Interview #111	Interview	1.5
6/28/2011	Interview #113	Interview	1.5
6/29/2011	Interview #104	Interview	1
7/1/2011	Interview #115 and #117	Interview	1.5
7/1/2011	Interview #119		1
7/11/2011	Neighborhood Association Board Meeting	Neighborhood Association	13
7/17/2011	Church Mass Service	Church	5
8/2/2011	Neighborhood Association Meeting	Neighborhood Association	11
8/3/2011	Interview #121	Interview	2
8/4/2011	Interview #123	Interview	3.5
8/8/2011	Interview #125	Interview	2

Field Notes Log

Date	*Activity*	*Affiliation*	*Number of Pages (single spaced)*
8/9/2011	Interview #106	Interview	3
8/10/2011	Interview #108	Interview	1.25
8/10/2011	Interview #127	Interview	2
8/27/2011	Church Fiestas	Church	3.5
8/29/2011	Interview #129	Interview	4
9/5/2011	Interview #131	Interview	3.25
9/5/2011	Meeting Regarding New Development	Neighborhood Association	4.5
9/7/2011	Elementary School PTO Meeting	PTO	9
9/10/2011	Interview #110	Interview	3
9/14/2011	Interview #133	Interview	3
9/20/2011	Neighborhood Association Board Meeting	Neighborhood Association	12.5
9/30/2011	Elementary School Balloon Launch	PTO	4
10/14/2011	Elementary School Fundraiser	PTO	8
10/17/2011	Neighborhood Association Annual Meeting	Neighborhood Association	12.5
10/18/2011	Zoning Hearing	Neighborhood Association	6.5
10/19/2011	Interview #114	Interview	2.5
11/2/2011	Interview #137	Interview	1.5
11/5/2011	Phone Call with Neighborhood Association President	Neighborhood Association	3
11/7/2011	Elementary School PTO Meeting	PTO	7
11/12/2011	Interview #139	Interview	2
11/17/2011	Interview #118	Interview	2.5
11/18/2011	Interview #120	Interview	2.5
11/18/2011	Elementary School Award Ceremony	PTO	6
12/7/2011	Elementary School Arts and Crafts Night	PTO	8
2/7/2012	Church Parish Council Meeting	Church	2.5
3/27/2011	Neighborhood Association Board Meeting	Neighborhood Association	2
4/23/2012	Neighborhood Association General Meeting	Neighborhood Association	1
5/16/2012	Interview #124	Interview	2.5
			TOTAL : 245

HRPO #:11-060
Approved: 03/15/2011

**The University of New Mexico
Consent to Participate in Research**

**Intersectionality Emplaced: Inclusion and Exclusion through
Neighborhood Experiences**

03/10/2011

Introduction

You are being asked to participate in a research study that is being done by Elena
Windsong, Principal Investigator and Ph.D. candidate, from the Department of
Sociology. This research is studying how people from diverse race and gender
backgrounds experience their neighborhoods.

You are being asked to participate in a study on neighborhoods in Albuquerque.
You will be asked to participate in one, in-depth interview. The interview
should last between 1 and 2 hours and will ask you questions about your
experiences within your neighborhood.

You are being asked to participate in this study because you are an adult, resident
of Albuquerque and can provide information about your neighborhood.

This form will explain the research study, and will also explain the possible risks as
well as the possible benefits to you. We encourage you to talk with your family and
friends before you decide to take part in this research study. If you have any questions,
please ask the study investigator.

What will happen if I decide to participate?

If you agree to participate, the following things will happen:

The researcher will schedule a time and location to conduct an interview with you.
You will be asked questions about your neighborhood experiences. These questions
will ask about:

- your neighborhood,
- your neighbors,
- your race and ethnicity,
- your gender,
- your class background.

There are no right or wrong answers to these questions. You can stop the interview at any point or decline to answer any questions. Interviews will be audio recorded and then transcribed. The audio recordings will be destroyed upon completion of the research project.

How long will I be in this study?

Participation in this study will take a total of 1-2 hours over 1 period.

What are the risks or side effects of being in this study?

There are minimal risks for participating in this study. You may feel uncomfortable talking about certain issues. For instance, questions about race, gender, and your feelings toward the neighborhood may not be part of everyday conversations. These may be sensitive topics for you to discuss during the interview.

There are risks of stress, emotional distress, inconvenience and possible loss of privacy and confidentiality associated with participating in a research study.

For more information about risks and side effects, ask the investigator.

What are the benefits to being in this study?

Participants will not receive any direct benefits. However, the report of results may help you understand more about your neighborhood. You may also enjoy sharing your stories about your neighborhood.

What other choices do I have if I do not want to be in this study?

If you do not want to be in this study, you will not be interviewed.

How will my information be kept confidential?

I will take measures to protect the security of all your personal information, but I cannot guarantee confidentiality of all study data.

Information contained in your study records is used by study staff. The University of New Mexico Main Campus Institutional Review Board (IRB) that oversees human subject research and/or other entities may be permitted to access your records. There may be times when we are required by law to share your information. However, your name will not be used in any published reports about this study.

All information you provide will be kept confidential. Your name and the name of your neighborhood will not be used in any reports. All documents will refer to you by either

an identification number or by a pseudonym. Transcriptions of the interview will not include any names or personal identifiers like home address or phone number. One master list with your name and contact information will be stored in a locked file cabinet and only the researcher will have access to this information.

You should understand that the investigator is not prevented from taking steps, including reporting to authorities, to prevent serious harm of yourself or others.

What are the costs of taking part in this study?

There are no costs to participating in this study. You will be asked to provide a block of time during which you can be interviewed in person.

Will I be paid for taking part in this study?

You will not receive any payment for participation in this study.

Can I stop being in the study once I begin?

Your participation in this study is completely voluntary. You have the right to choose not to participate or to withdraw your participation at any point in this study without affecting your future health care or other services to which you are entitled.

Whom can I call with questions or complaints about this study?

If you have any questions, concerns, or complaints at any time about the research study, Elena Windsong will be glad to answer them. You can reach her by phone at the following numbers: 505-277-8991 or 719-251-8269. You can reach her by e-mail at the following address: windsoea@unm.edu

If you would like to speak with someone other than the research team, you may call the UNM Human Research
Protections Office at (505) 272-1129.

Whom can I call with questions about my rights as a research subject?

If you have questions regarding your rights as a research subject, you may call the UNM IRB at (505) 272-1129. The IRB is a group of people from UNM and the community who provide independent oversight of safety and ethical issues related to research involving human subjects. For more information, you may also access the IRB website at http://hsc.unm.edu/som/research/HRRC/maincampusirbhome.shtml

CONSENT

You are making a decision whether to participate in this study. Your signature below indicates that you read the information provided. By signing this consent form, you are not waiving any of your legal rights as a research subject.

I have had an opportunity to ask questions and all questions have been answered to my satisfaction. By signing this consent form, I agree to participate in this study. A copy of this consent form will be provided to you.

_____   _____
Name of Adult Subject (print)   Signature of Adult Subject

_____Date

INVESTIGATOR SIGNATURE

I have explained the research to the subject or his/her legal representative and answered all of his/her questions. I believe that he/she understands the information described in this consent form and freely consents to participate.

_____
Name of Investigator/ Research Team Member (type or print)

_____   _____
(Signature of Investigator/ Research Team Member)   Date

APPENDIX C: SAMPLE INTERVIEW GUIDE AND HANDOUTS

Interview Guide

ID Number: _____

Date of interview: _____

Location of interview: _____

Section I.—Boundary Work: Neighborhood
My first set of questions will ask you about neighborhood.

1. First, I would like to discuss how you came to live in your current neighborhood.
   a. Where were you born and where did you grow up?
   b. Where did you live prior to living in your current residence?
   c. How did you come to live in your current residence?
(For instance, why did you choose to buy your house? Why did you pick to live here? Did you consider living somewhere else?)

2. When do you move into your current residence? (Year and Month)
   a. Have you lived in the same house the entire time?
   b. Do you own or rent your current place of residence?
(If you rent, is owning a home something you would like to do?)

3. What neighborhood do you currently live in?
   a) Can you tell me about the boundaries of your neighborhood?
(I have a map that you can look at this map or draw on.)

4. When talking to someone outside the neighborhood, what landmarks do you use to describe where you live?

5. Compared to other areas in Albuquerque, do you think this neighborhood is unique? If so, how?

6. Overall, how would you describe your neighborhood in terms of racial and ethnic composition? Do you think there is a particular group within the neighborhood that is the majority?
(Would you describe your neighborhood as mostly Hispanic, mostly white, or mixed?)

7. Overall, how would you describe your neighborhood in terms of political affiliation? Do you think that most people in the neighborhood have the same political views? If so, what are they?

8. If you think of locations within your neighborhood, are there any important places to you? Why are these places important to you?
(Are there any areas that you visit frequently?)

Section II.—Neighborhood Experiences

My next set of questions ask you about your own experiences within this neighborhood.

9. To start with, I'm going to ask about time spent in your neighborhood.
   a) During the week, Monday through Friday, how much time do you spend in your neighborhood? Which of your regular, daily activities occur within the neighborhood? (For instance, do you work within the neighborhood? Do you walk/jog within the neighborhood? Where do you do grocery shopping? Do you eat out at restaurants in the neighborhood?)
   b) During the weekend, Saturday and Sunday, how much time do you spend in your neighborhood? Which of your regular, daily activities occur within the neighborhood. (For instance, do you go to church in the neighborhood? Do you walk/jog in the neighborhood? Grocery shopping? Eating out?)

10. Now I want you to think of the people you know in your neighborhood.
    a) How many neighbors do you know? Where do they live?
    b) How would you characterize your interactions with them? For example, do you usually say hi when you see them? Do you ever go into their homes or vice versa?
    c) How did you meet your neighbors?
    d) Are there neighbors you recognize but do not know by name? How many?

11. Now, I want to talk to you about the people you know and the people you consider friends.
    a) If you were thinking about people who are friends that do not live in the same house as you, which of your friends live in the neighborhood? How close do they live to you?
    b) Do you have friends who live elsewhere?
    c) Where do they live?

12. What types of behaviors do you think of when you hear the phrase "good neighbor?"
    a) When you think of these behaviors, who are the people that you would consider "good neighbors"? Why?

13. What types of things would you be willing to do to help a neighbor? Have you done any of these things for neighbors?

14. Now, I want to talk to you about your feelings about the neighborhood.
    a) Do you think of your neighborhood as important to who you are? Why or why not?
    b) Would you say you are attached to your neighborhood? Can you tell me what that means to you?
    c) Would you be sad to move away from your neighborhood?

15. Are you satisfied with your neighborhood? Can you tell me what you like about your neighborhood? Can you tell me what you don't like about your neighborhood?

16. If you could live anywhere in Albuquerque, would you choose to live in your current neighborhood? Why or why not?

17. Do you think of your neighborhood as a community?
    a) What does community mean to you?
    b) What other communities do you belong to? Can you tell me more about these? How do they compare to your neighborhood?

Section III.—Intersectionality
Now, I would like to ask you questions about your identity.

18. To start with, I'm going to ask you questions about racial and/or ethnic identity. What do race and ethnicity mean to you? How would you define these terms?
19. Can you tell me how you identify yourself racially or ethnically?
    a) Do you think race and ethnicity are separate identities? Why or why not?

20. Do you remember how you marked the census questions on race and ethnicity? If different from previous question, ask why.

(Here are the questions from the Census)
Are you of Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin? No   Yes, Mexican, Mexican American, Chicano   Yes, Puerto Rican,   Yes, Cuban   Yes, Other Please indicate_____

What is your race?   White   Black, African American   American Indian
Asian   Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander   Other, please indicate _____

What is your ancestry or ethnicity?
For Example: Italian, Jamaican, African American, Cambodian, Norwegian, Dominican, French Canadian, Korean, Lebanese, Polish, Mexican, Ukrainian, Taiwanese, and so on.

21. How do other people usually identify you in terms of race and ethnicity? If it's different from how you identify yourself, do you ever correct them?

22. Now, I would like to ask you a few questions about gender. Generally, we think of characteristics as masculine or feminine. When you think of these characteristics, do you think you have a lot of characteristics of either masculinity or femininity? Can you tell me more about those characteristics?

23. Do you think other people in your neighborhood expect certain behaviors from you because of your gender? Can you tell me about those?

For the next set of questions, I want you think about both your race/ethnicity and your gender. However, if you find that either race or gender seems more relevant, you can talk about that.

24. When you think of neighborhood activities, do you notice any patterns of who participates or what types of activities people do?
(For instance, do you notice women participate in some activities more than men? Do you notice that Hispanic women participate in some activities different from white women? Do you notice Hispanics participate in some activities more than whites?)

25. Do you think you are ever treated differently because of your race and gender? Does this happen within the neighborhood?
(For instance, you identified as (RACE) and (GENDER). Do you think you are ever treated differently because you are (RACE)? Do you think this is also tied to being (GENDER)?)

26. Do you think your gender identity means more important to you than your racial/ethnic identity or vice versa or is it difficult to think of these as separate identities? Why?

180

    a) Can you tell me about situations when your gender or race is more important? Why?

Section IV.—Inclusion/Exclusion
My next set of questions will address neighborhood activities.

27. Do you belong to any clubs, associations, or voluntary organizations? Can you tell me more about these?
(You might think of meetings you attend regularly or other activities that are part of your regular schedule.)
    a) Which of these would you consider neighborhood organizations?

28. Do you participate in any other types of neighborhood activities? Can you tell me about these? Where do they occur?

29. How often do you participate in neighborhood activities? Can you tell me more about these activities? Why do you participate in these activities?

30. Are there activities that you have heard about but don't participate in? Why don't you participate in these activities? Where do they occur?

31. Overall, do you feel included in the neighborhood?
    a) Do you feel included in neighborhood activities?
    b) Do you feel that your neighbors are friendly toward you?
    c) Do you feel a sense of belonging within your neighborhood? Can you tell me more about these feelings?

32. Have you ever felt excluded from neighborhood activities? Can you tell me about that experience? Why do you think you were excluded?

33. If you want to know what's going on in the neighborhood, how do you find out?

34. Do you feel safe in your neighborhood? Are there any areas you avoid because you think they are unsafe? Can you tell me more about these?
    a) Are you fearful about anything in your neighborhood? Can you tell me more about this?
    b) If you were to think about threats to your community, what do you think of?
    c) Do you think crime is a problem in your neighborhood? Can you tell me more about this?

35. Are there people that you wish did not live in your neighborhood? Can you tell me more about these?
    a) Are there people that you see in your neighborhood that you do not think of as neighbors? Can you tell me more about these people?

36. What do you like best about your neighborhood?

37. What do you like least about your neighborhood?

38. If you could change anything about your neighborhood, what would you change?

Section V.—Demographics
The last set of questions ask some basic demographic questions.

39. What year were you born?
(If needed, check as to whether born in the U.S., born in New Mexico, born in Albuquerque)

40. Where were your parents born?
41. What were your parents' occupations?
42. What was the highest level of education your parents completed?

43. What is the highest level of education you have completed?

44. What is your occupation?
   a) Are you currently employed?
   b) If yes, do you work full-time, part-time, other _____?
   c) Looking at these income categories, which category describes your 2010 annual income before taxes? Does that include anyone else in your household?
(A: < 10,000 B: 10,000-20,000 C: 20,000-30,000 D: 30,000-40,000 E: 40,000-50,000 F: 50,000-60,000
G: 60,000-70,000 H: 70,000-90,000 I: 90,000-125,000 J: 125,000-150,000 K: >150,000)
   d) If you were to put your house on the market, do you have an estimate of how much it would be worth?

45. What is your religious affiliation?
46. What is your political affiliation?
(Do you generally think of yourself as a Republican, Democrat, or an Independent? If you are an independent, you agree more often with Democrats or Republicans?)

47. How would you describe your current relationship status?
(For instance, are you married, divorced, widowed, single, co-habitating?)

48. Do you have any children?
   a) If yes, how many children?
   b) Can you tell me the ages of your children?
   c) What school do your children attend?

49. How many people live in your current place of residence?
(Number of adults _____; Number of children _____)

Snowball Sampling:
If you were to think of people you consider neighbors, can you refer anyone for participation in this study? In particular, I am trying to find people who do not participate in many neighborhood activities. Would you be willing to introduce me? Would you be willing to provide me with their contact information? Would it be okay if I said I received their name from you?

2010 Census Questions about Race and Ethnicity:
   1.   **Is this person of Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin?**
__No, not of Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin
__Yes, Mexican, Mexican Am., Chicano
__Yes, Puerto Rican
__Yes, Cuban
__Yes, another Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin
Print origin, for example, Argentinean, Columbian, Dominican, Nicaraguan, Salvadoran, Spaniard, and so on. _____

   2.   **What is this person's race?** (Mark one or more boxes.)
___White
___Black, African Am, or Negro
___American Indian or Alaska Native
Print name of enrolled or principal tribe. _____

___Asian Indian	___Chinese	___Filipino
___Japanese	___Korean	___Vietnamese
___Other Asian		

Print race, for example, Hmong, Laotian, Thai, Pakistani, Cambodian, and so on.
_____

| ___Native Hawaiian | ___Guamanian or Chamorro | ___Samoan |
| ___Other Pacific Islander | | |

Print race, for example, Fijian, Tongan, and so on. _____

___Some other race
Print Race. _____

Which category best describes your 2010 annual income before taxes?

A) Less than $10,000

B) $10,000-$20,000

C) $20,000-$30,000

D) $30,00-$40,000

E) $40,000-$50,000

F) $50,000-$60,000

G) $60,000-$70,000

H) $70,000-$90,000

I) $90,000-$125,000

J) $125,000-$150,000

K) More than $150,000

APPENDIX D: INTERVIEW PARTICIPANT DESCRIPTIVES

Demographics for Interview Participants

Interview ID #	Gender	Age	Length of Residence	Race (Researcher Categories)	Race (Self-Identity)
101	Woman	41	10	Hispanic	Latina that has grown up in New Mexico, in a city environment
102	Man	71	8	White	Northern European white
103	Woman	42	5	Hispanic	Hispanic, mix of everything
104	Man	86	61	Hispanic	Hispanic
105	Woman	70	9	White	Middle class Anglo
106	Man	65	19	White	European Caucasian heritage
107	Woman	61	34	Hispanic	Spanish
108	Man	75	36	Hispanic	Hispanic
109	Woman	32	4	Hispanic	Hispanic, Hispano, or Chicano
110	Man	78	25	Hispanic	Hispanic
111	Woman	79	47	White	Gringa; of British decent on both sides
112	Man	44		Hispanic	Hispanic or Spanish
113	Woman	51	1	White	typical white American; Heinz 57; Cherokee, Sioux, English, German;
114	Man	75	34	White	Heinz 57; Anglo
115	Woman	96	64	Hispanic	Spanish
116	Man	32	4	Other Race	Omitted to protect confidentiality
117	Woman	75		Hispanic	(didn't ask specifically; Spanish or Hispanic)
118	Man	56	16	Hispanic	Hispanic
119	Woman	61	4	White	Pretty white; pretty WASP-ish
120	Man	42	6	White	White
121	Woman	56	6	Hispanic	Hispanic
122	Man	66	1	White	Irish
123	Woman	63	31	Hispanic	Hispanic; brown
124	Man	52	4	White	Caucasian
125	Woman	63	14	Other Race	Omitted to protect confidentiality
127	Woman	30	6	White	White girl from New England
129	Woman	58	6	White	American; Irish, American, English, French, German, Northern European background
131	Woman	60	2	White	English/Irish/Polish
133	Woman	72	6	White	White eastern background
135	Woman	33	5	Other Race	Omitted to protect confidentiality
137	Woman	81	59	Hispanic	Spanish
139	Woman	69	1	White	Anglo
		Average: 60	*Average: 18*		
		Range: 30-96	*Range: 1-64*		

Demographics for Interview Participants

Interview ID #	Homeowner	Estimated House Value	Highest Education	Income
101	Yes	250,000	MA	60,000-70,000 (household)
102	Yes	230,000-250,000	BA	20,000-30,000 (household)
103	Yes	460,000	some college	>70,000 (household)
104	Yes	200,000+	H.S.	60,000-70,000
105	Yes	don't know	1 year college	20,000-30,000 (household)
106	Yes		Some graduate	40,000-50,000
107	Yes	250,000	12th grade (and beauty school)	40,000-50,000 (household)
108	Yes	350,000	H.S.	20,000-30,000
109	Rents	200,000	3 yrs college	10,000-20,000
110	Yes	173,000	8th grade	<10,000
111	Yes	400,000+	H.S.	>150,000
112	Rent		Some college	70,000-90,000
113	Yes	400,000-450,000	BA; some grad	125,000-150,000 (household)
114	Yes	400,000	Some graduate	no answer
115	Yes	2 million +	11th grade	10,000-20,000
116	Yes	350,000	BA	90,000-125,000
117			H.S.	40,000-50,000
118	Yes	120,000-140,000	H.S.	50,000-60,000
119	Yes	300,000-350,00	MA	10,000-20,000
120	Yes	130,000	College	60,000-70,000
121	Yes	225,000	MA	20,000-30,000
122	Yes	120,000	through grad school	90,000-125,000
123	Yes	200,000	MA	60,000-70,000
124	Yes	500,000	MA	125,000-150,000
125	Yes	100,000	BA	20,000-30,000
127	Rents	150,000	BA	20,000-30,000
129	Rents	450,000	PhD	30,000-40,000
131	Yes		BA (plus)	<10,000
133	Yes	450,000	MA	60,000-70,000 (household)
135	Yes	300,000-335,000	some college	125,000-150,000 (household)
137	Yes	don't know	H.S.	10,000-20,000
139	Yes	300,000	MA	40,000-50,000

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