Senior Capstone Experience

Photography Though the Social Lens:

A Case of East Baltimore and Gentrification

Presented to the Sociology Department of

Washington College

Danielle Lynch

ABSTRACT

The main aim for this Senior Capstone is to explore the visual method of Sociology through photography as a research method to study gentrification in East Baltimore and the social issue's effects on the subculture of residents. With specific focus on the interactions of the corporation of East Baltimore Development (EBDI) and Johns Hopkins Medical Institution (JHMI) with the local community that resides in the urban neighborhood. In order to conduct this study, I considered a variety of measurements over the span of two academic semesters, including in-depth research of gentrification in urban areas, the presence and impact of EBDI and JHMI on East Baltimore through a visit to the area itself to receive the lay of the land. By capturing photographs of the surroundings, I analyzed the architecture and landscape while interconnecting the collection of all scholarly data and visual findings.

This thesis is structured in six main chapters: (1) Introduction, offering context to the interest of the research and research question; (2) Literature Review, addressing the main academic research articles similar to this study; (3) Theory, noting key sociological theories that correlate with the current research that explain the social issue of gentrification; (4) Methods and Procedures, introducing EBDI and Johns Hopkins and the method of visual research (5) Results, a series of photographs with descriptions and analysis; (6) Discussion, Conclusions, Limitations, and a means of further research within the study.

In summary, the research findings show that the use of photography to determine the physical loss of subculture was useful in the study of gentrification in East Baltimore in determining the physical loss of subculture that the urban community experiences through urban destruction and change.

DEDICATION

I would like to dedicate my Senior Capstone Experience to anyone that reads it. But also, to my mom & dad, my aunt and uncle, my advisor, and my friends.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

A city's state is usually reflected upon its residents, especially when a neighborhood is deteriorating. When deterioration comes into play, it is typically viewed by those outside of the community that the residents are at fault (Gomez 2013). On the other hand, when a city is doing great for itself and its people, the government is praised. Although this happens to a lot of cities, a city that is close to home for me that will be the focus of this study is East Baltimore. Gentrification has hit hard on the East side of the beloved city of Baltimore, through an ongoing process that began in 2003. After sixteen years of rehabilitating the area, the damage of relocating residents has been done but still continues as the process of rebuilding the city. Through typical studies of gentrification, the issue is normally approached with quantitative data that provides numerical evidence of the displacement of communities and the changes that take place afterward. Throughout this thesis, however, I consider the historically African American subculture and communities that are unique and irreplaceable to the city of Baltimore that are not typically captured in most quantitative assessments on gentrification. By considering this, I measure the visual aspects of gentrification processes that erases subcultures within an urban area. The purpose of this visual and qualitative sociological study is to describe the effects of gentrification on urban subculture. Using a visual ethnographic method of photography, I explore gentrification in East Baltimore in the relation to the loss of the city's subculture. I argue that the effects of gentrification are best represented by using a visual means of showcasing and analyzing data.

An article titled, *The Evidence on the Impact of Gentrification: New Lessons for the Urban Renaissance*, displays evidence of over a hundred different studies on gentrification around the United States and the United Kingdom. There are two different stories of debate that

the results from these studies show, "those who see negative social costs and those who see local neighbourhood changes as part of a wider improvement of city fortunes" (Atkinson 2004). Literature on gentrification typically relies on data in the form of numbers of the households that are displaced due to gentrifying factors around the area. As stated in a meta-analysis article, "The use of surveys, administrative and other data sources was also popular" among studies (Atkinson 2004). While the research uses data through methods of surveys and numerical data, the impact and evidence is otherwise shown through statements of personalized interest within each study.

Previous studies on gentrification tend to exemplify erosion of culture without public involvement. Urban communities who are experiencing gentrification do not understand the research that is set out to help them. Through using a social scientific language that does not appeal to the general public, sociological articles are oftentimes stuck within the field of sociology and only ever read by other sociologists. Jargon can be problematic; for the topics of study can be truly revolutionary and thrive with potential to alter change within society, but do not make it outside of the academia. For example, a marginalized community that is being studied might feel devastated in stressing that nothing is being said or done about their current situation when there is a sociologist studying that community and even offering ways to combat the issue but lack the tools and audience for meaningful change. Lorde states, "…those of us who are poor, who are lesbian. Who are black, who are older, know that survival is not an academic skill" (Lorde 1996). The fact that survival is not an academic skill justifies why academic articles do not necessarily reach those outside of the academia. Through the method of visual ethnography and photography, it is possible to capture real life values, conditions, and connections within communities in creative ways that quantitative methods fail to achieve.

This research is overall important because the amount of academic articles on gentrification in East Baltimore is neglected by the academia. By contributing to the field of sociology as a whole while providing a unique alternative to collecting, showcasing, and analyzing data of gentrification in East Baltimore also connects the field of academia to the physical world that sociology studies. Oftentimes data is collected and shared throughout a circle of academics, without reaching the audience that is being affected by the social issue that the study focuses on. Rather, the only audience of sociological writing and journal articles that is reached through the process of publication mostly tend to be other sociologists and undergraduate students. Instead of engaging the community at large, data is lost in numbers and throughout academic articles that those studying the discipline will only read. That is the reason that I study gentrification in the context of East Baltimore, as it is an area that has been neglected by the government and researchers alike that proposes a serious social issue that cannot be ignored.

The main methodological approaches to mainstream studies of gentrification are often quantitative in terms of looking at the scale of populations that were displaced as a result of gentrification (Atkinson 2004). Through methods of data review and surveys that asked questions of displacement, there is a loss of the physical effects of community-built businesses and organizations that allow the city a sense of originality that is displaced. The researcher and the reader are left without the knowledge of what the city looks like after the process of gentrification takes place and why or how the displaced individuals are unable to go back to their original place of residency.

Qualitative aspects used to study gentrification are important for the use of validating and recording social issues. As visual goals within a study seek to accurately show social issues

standing within society. Used in 1997 by Wang and Burris, to describe the process in which "people can identify, represent and enhance their community through a specific photographic technique" (Wang and Burris 1997). The authors state that the goals of this method of study are to "enable people to record and reflect their community's strengths and concerns, promote critical dialogue and knowledge about important issues through large and small group discussion of photographs, and to reach policy makers" (Hurworth 2003). This method is especially useful when analyzing gentrification in relation to subculture for the accuracy of representation among people to allow their voices to be heard. Rather than the researcher being the only one conducting the study, the community also has a control in what happens throughout the study and how a community is represented to the media.

The photo analysis that I take on within my research provides not only an analysis of the building and structures throughout the East Baltimore community, but also the day to day lives that community members face when in battle with gentrifiers that represent a loss for their own subculture within the city. While words within research are important to describe, show, study, and find resolutions of issues within society, the "Level of Processing psychological theory can also be used to explain the importance of photographs, which visually have a much greater impact on the reader, in comparison with the written word" (Martin and Martin 2004).

I explore the use of photography within my sociological study of gentrification in East Baltimore because not only is there a lack of research within the area, but there is also a lack of research using visual methods to study gentrification within academia. As stated by Martin and Martin, "However, photographs are still relatively under-used as a means of data collection and analysis, which may result from their perceived difficulty of use" (Martin and Martin 2004). To explore the use of photography within social research and also in the issue of gentrification

allows me to further discuss the topics of use within sociology and also explore the ways that an artistic machine can be used in a social-scientific method of study.

Through my photo-analysis of East Baltimore, I review the subculture of the urban area in terms of the buildings that are currently standing after years of change within the neighborhood. I will showcase the changes in East Baltimore through capturing qualitative effects of change, with photographic methods, within a community that experiences a loss of their subculture regarding the effects of gentrification. I will look at the factors that contribute to a loss of subculture within communities that were forced to give up their family owned businesses to a development plan. To do this, I will be analyzing two sides of East Baltimore in order to display the physical effects of the destruction and up-build of an area in the city. One side that is owned by Johns Hopkins and the other, a neighborhood, mostly abandoned now, that is undergoing the process of rehabilitation, via East Baltimore Development, Inc. for Johns Hopkins Medical Center. I will compare and contrast the photographs that I take in the Baltimore area, with a specialized focus on East Baltimore. I expect to find that qualitative methods, such as my photographic study, produces a larger means of study through its capabilities to reach an audience other than remaining within the field of sociology. I also expect to find that through taking photographs, an accurate representation of the changes in Baltimore due to the effects of gentrification will be produced. I will be looking at EBDI as a known gentrifying incorporation and comparing the architectural structures of the buildings that they refurbish to other existing buildings within the area of East Baltimore. Taking into consideration the case of East Baltimore, I ask the following research question: Is gentrification a major agent in the process of erasing the subculture of an urban area? In proposition to this question, my hypothesis is that gentrification

Chapter 1

is a major agent that erases subculture within an urban area, and that is accurately represented through using photography as a research method.

Chapter 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

In the following literature review, I introduce a background on gentrification and visual sociology in order to present the Senior Capstone "Photography Though the Social Lens: The Case of East Baltimore and Gentrification." By offering a brief summary of concepts, the intended purpose of this essay is to present the importance of understanding the current socioeconomic circumstances of East Baltimore as well as the gentrification process through visual sociology. In other words, it explains why using photography is a helpful analytical tool on academic papers studying gentrified settings, specifically in the case of East Baltimore.

Gentrification in The United States

Gentrification is often defined in academic articles as simply difficult to be defined by words. Within the article *Gentrification in the United States,* Suleiman Osman explores the public and academic uses of the term "gentrification" throughout history. As the techniques used to gentrify an area change, so does the definition. To specifically define the term, Osman describes gentrification as displaying five features that exhibit urban change in the United States. As stated by Osman (2016:3):

> 1. A class shift in a given area in which wealthier residents and consumers replace poorer residents and consumers, or in which residents and consumers with more cultural and/or financial capital replace residents and consumers with less cultural and/or financial capital.
> 2. The restoration, rehabilitation, or adaptive reuse of existing buildings rather than large-scale slum clearance and redevelopment.
> [...]
> 3. A transformation that results in the direct or indirect displacement of long-time residents.
> 4. A racial transformation of an area in which white residents replace African American, Latino, or other nonwhite residents.
> 5. A market-driven, gradual, and unplanned process rather than a planned process funded by the state.

The five features above define all areas of the gentrification processes and considerations of urban change, demolition, and revitalization of a city. In other terms, gentrification affects residents based on race and class while putting upper class newcomers at an advantage for city upbuild and rehabilitation. While depending on economic values, the transformation of a city due to gentrification does not allow for long-term residents to remain in their chosen area of home for they end up being pushed out by living and commodity price raises. Because this is market-driven and gradual over a period of time, gentrification is not a holistic or comprehensive development of an urban setting. Gentrification is an ongoing process and it does not open the conversation to address the consequences and repercussions that it causes to the original community nor does it take into consideration the grassroots.

However, Roberto E. Barrios offers a definition of gentrification in a different manner in the book *Governing Affect: Neoliberalism and Disaster Reconstruction.* Barrios stated that gentrification takes place in any city that becomes "a new frontier of neoliberal governance, or an open space where relations between public and private sectors could be rearranged and public resources could be directed towards the portfolios and bank accounts of for-profit companies and not the city's most vulnerable residents" (Barrios 2017:23). This definition informs gentrification as not only a process that happens that leaves residents displaced but as an act of intrusion of non-government actors that take advantage of government sponsored policies of development directed towards the space that communities reside.

In Barrios' book, gentrification is briefly covered when studying the recovery plans of natural disasters in cities. While similar to the happenings of gentrification among communities that are viewed as in need of help from the government to revitalize the area, Barrios commented, "The revitalization of public housing was agreed upon… without any public input

contributed to the prolonged displacement" of residents (Barrios 2017:234-235). Residents who have lived in the cities their entire lives have termed the practices of gentrifying the neighborhoods that they live in as "potentially ethnocidal" (Barrios 2017:143). Meaning that the revitalization of an urban setting ignores the history of racism that enables and perpetuates marginalization and poverty for working-class African Americans. Since the plans within a development project do not include or recognize public input regarding how to address these issues, such socioeconomic programs do not enhance nor assist the already disenfranchised populations of the area. In doing so, urban residents are directly and indirectly displaced by force and "in these visions of urban recovery, [they are] represented as generic, ahistorical, and subjectively-lacking beings who could be plugged in and out of different urban contexts and who interacted with one another as strangers" (Barrios 2017:27).

Studying Gentrification with a Visual Method

As defined by Douglas Harper in *Visual Sociology: Expanding Sociological Vision,* "visual sociology is a collection of approaches in which researchers use photographs to portray, describe, or analyze social phenomena" (Harper 1988). There are a couple of different approaches to photography based visual sociology as stated by Harper, "the distinction between these approaches is that some sociologists *take* photographs to study the social world, whereas others *analyze* photographs others have taken in institutionalized occupational settings or in their family lives" (Harper 1988). These photographic methods in sociology can be used interchangeably and are not fixated or relied on a specific way of research. For example, some sociologists *take* and *analyze* their own photographs to study a social issue or social change. Others may analyze other photographers' work and also take and study their own photographs in a comparative collaboration of social studies.

Chapter 2

Contributions of photography can be used and specialized per what the researcher is focused on. Such areas of sociology are best studied using a visual method while others are best studied using numerical data. In sociology, a lot of the study done is based on phenomena that can be observed in real life. Harper stated that, "many of these [phenomenon's] can be understood better if frozen in a photographic image than they can if written about in a field memo" (Harper 1988). In other words, there is a significant difference between merely writing a research based on similar academic data versus engaging in a visual study of the topic discussed. This is the case of gentrification, which demands the implementation of photography as part of the analytical process. In using visual sociology as a method to contribute to the study of gentrification, specific examples of past studies done in Chicago and New York are given to trace the similarities and differences of the studies done in those urban areas.

Throughout Charles S. Suchar's research in *Photographing the changing material culture of a gentrified community*, he explored the social changes within a gentrified area of Chicago through photographing the material culture around residential buildings. As Suchar walked around Chicago taking photographs, he states: "I was struck by how readily they offered themselves up for reading and interpretation" (Suchar 1988). Taking photographs of residential buildings, stores, and industrial sites "became visual texts that offered signs and symbols of different social classes, different lifestyles, tastes, and personal markers or badges of urban identity" (Suchar 1988). Because the physical landscape can contribute to the culture and identity of the community that resides within the area, simply walking around a city brings a sense of what the residents' life is like. Noticing symbols of culture within market stores, religious buildings, and what each resident chooses to decorate their house with, Suchar documented the urban life that in that exact moment of time, is a representation of urban identity. Since Suchar

chose an already gentrified area in Chicago, the scholar utilizes "house fronts and storefronts, objects and physical features" to determine that those "were intended to communicate personal and community identity, particularly for those who identified with the new community" (Suchar 1988). Therefore, this study exposes the connection between the current material conditions of Chicago and the people interacting with them as part of the aftermath of gentrification.

Another article by Suchar, *Grounding Visual Sociology Research In Shooting Scripts,* applies a method that considers qualitative elements through visual research methods of gentrification in the field of sociology. Suchar focuses on photographic field work to integrate photography and sociological analysis as a way of "sociological seeing" (Suchar 1997). This form of "seeing", Suchar states, "involves the ability to reveal patterns, features or details in a research setting or topic—such as aspects of material culture, subjects' characteristics or behavior, etc.—that are not readily apparent in less acute observations of that reality" (Suchar 1997). Finding patterns in photographic data is especially useful in research of gentrification for the physical aspects that take place once a community has been put through urban change.

Noted in *Grounding Visual Sociology Research In Shooting Scripts,* Suchar introduces *Styles of Gentrification*, further explaining his yearlong research in *Photographing the changing material culture of a gentrified community*. In reviewing his past work, Suchar revised, "I came to realize that I had the photographic and narrative data for a comparative examination of the stylistic quality of physical transformations to property" (Suchar 1997). Meaning that Suchar had a collection of data that revealed the physicality of a neighborhood throughout its transformations and change due to gentrification. "Narrative data" is important to pull out of this reference to Suchar, because it implies that the data visually *shows* and *tells* a story that would not be possible with quantitative forms of data. Photographic data encompasses the ability to tell

the story of a social issue and change. In this revision of previous studies, Suchar emphasizes that the examination of the "characterizations of the images, I began to identify particular value sets embedded in the presentation of material culture," which further advocates for a visual set of data while researching gentrification (Suchar 1997). Photography is a method that can be used as a way to answer questions and expand on particular subjects. Through seeing patterns in photographs as a strategy to analyze and advocate for social issues, visual methods in sociology can be used to study the patterns within the process of gentrification. On this topic, Suchar exemplified, "consequent photography helped generate some of the more significant initial conceptual categories that gave meaning to the importance of the material culture and physical environment in understanding underlying values, beliefs, community identification, and resident behavior" (Suchar 1997). The field of sociology can be enhanced from the eye of photography and its visual methods to produce a story that is shown rather than told. Within the study of gentrification, that depth of analysis of ethnographic work has the opportunity to develop into a deeper level of analysis through the visuals of a photograph.

In the study, *The Embedded Landscape of Gentrification,* Jason Patch discusses visual sociology and gentrification as an approach to broaden urban studies and issues. Within the study, Patch hypothesized that gentrification is a given, set-in-stone happening that targets urban areas that exhibit ethnic landscapes. Specifically, Patch decided to research Williamsburg as a case study in New York City because of its ethnic landscape that Patch believes is subjected to gentrification as it attracts gentrifiers. The researcher exemplifies gentrification through photographs of industries covering up and residing next to local businesses and residential areas within the city, causing a separation within the community. It is noted in the research that the gentrified institutions do not interact, engage, or are involved with the residents that have been

living there before the gentrifiers moved in to the community. An example from a photograph and small interaction introduced by Patch shows a recent new-comer in the community that was acquainted with a gentrified dinner next to a residential building and pest control building owned by Jewish immigrants in the city: "we are so on the border that we almost just don't feel this is a Hasidic home. We almost just don't see them. We live in two different universes. They don't look at us, we don't look at them" (Patch 2004). This scenario portrays anecdotal evidence through a photograph and short interaction with a community member that gentrification causes a separation between the old and the new residents of the area.

Studies of East Baltimore

East Baltimore has been an urban renewal area that has been neglected by government forces, gentrifiers, and academics since the process began in 2003. Despite East Baltimore being home to the famous Johns Hopkins Medical Center, it lacks in academic research and articles in comparison with larger cities such as New York City or Chicago.

Alternatively, there are means to explore the complexity of East Baltimore and its subculture through the eBook *Race, Class, Power, and Organizing in East Baltimore: Rebuilding Abandoned Communities in America*. Written by a graduate of Johns Hopkins, Marisela Gomez writes about the complexity of East Baltimore and the community's history in battle with the medical institution, Johns Hopkins. The author, Gomez, received her PHD, MD, and MPH from Johns Hopkins and wrote her book while noticing the medical center of Johns Hopkins' everlasting effects on the community that surrounded her. Gomez's inspiration for the book was set on the fact that gentrification ignores racism and classism in attempting to rebuild and "help" a city thrive; "We rarely acknowledge the history of racism and classism as reasons for urban poverty and decay in U.S. cities" (Gomez 2013). Oftentimes, residents are in the blame

for the deterioration of a city. Rather than considering the economic values and roles of the urban developers in contributing to the decay of such areas for beneficial reasons, gentrifiers are often viewed as the hero in the story. While doing more harm than good, gentrification removes the residents to "rebuild the place, and invite people with power—from a different race and class—to live, work, and play in the renewed community" (Gomez 2013). This happens "without ever addressing the root causes of poverty in the process of rebuilding a healthy community" (Gomez 2013). This is the same story that has taken place with East Baltimore and the East Baltimore Development Incorporated (EBDI) plans for the urban area. Socio-economic factors of the residents living in East Baltimore "resulted in East Baltimore being characterized as one of the least healthy communities in America" (Gomez 2013). This allowed for the community to be a vulnerable target for urban renewal in attempts to upbuild the community, but the outcome was short in accommodating the original residents of the neighborhood.

On the other hand, EBDI has promised the community inclusion and engagement processes in the construction of affordable housing and new jobs to the area. The development plan for East Baltimore has promised a right to return home to those who were forced to leave their community. However, after over ten years later, the process is still on-going with minimal efforts to restore the community. The promises that EBDI had made to the current community of the middle east, "have all been forgotten as a third master plan confirms that The Science and Technology Park at Johns Hopkins will continue the history of serial community displacement and gentrification in East Baltimore" (Gomez 2013). The residents of the city are also not involved in any plans for the development of their neighborhood. A displaced East Baltimore resident states to Gomez, "it's been 6 years now, who's gonna wanna move again after 6 years? . . . they waiting us out" (Gomez 2013). Six years of displacement means that the original

residents are not likely to come back for they have already been relocated and living in a different area of residence or even homeless for six years.

Residents also had felt that "JHMI always had a plan to, bit by bit, redevelop or rebuild the Middle East Baltimore community in its image. it was "just a matter of time" (Gomez 2013). To connect to other studies on gentrification, as stated in the literature above, stories of the residents that experience displacement and other negative effects from gentrifiers moving into their home neighborhood are all similar. Residents often felt it happening around them without their opinion on the changes that were happening before their eyes. They also felt that it was impossible to return back home to their area of stay after the neighborhood had been renovated.

Furthermore, Gomez writes about an organization called *Save Middle East Action Committee* (SMEAC) that called attention to the development plan created by JHMI and EBDI in East Baltimore. The author stated, "SMEAC attempted to offer similarly affected neighborhoods insight into more participatory community-building processes;" during the construction of the development plan, "a citywide coalition advocating greater community participation in maintaining and rebuilding communities was also a goal for SMEAC. However, the organization did not have the resources to organize and lead such an effort effectively" (Gomez 2013). However, SMEAC had other goals that took a higher importance such as: "increasing participation among the diminishing base of residents still in the Middle East Baltimore community, ensuring that residents not yet relocated in Phase 2 were treated fairly, maintaining pressure on EBDI and partners to offer transparency and follow through on promises for affordable housing in the 88 acres, and securing an affordable "right of return" and "right to remain" plan." (Gomez 2013). Community and residential involvement were encouraged through

this organization rather than EBDI who was the main force of the development plan and the fate of East Baltimore.

After speaking with residents on the issue of the development happening in their neighborhood, Gomez found that the majority of residents believed that this development process was a process that was not at all in their favor. A resident stated, ". . . this [rebuilding Middle east Baltimore] was ethnic cleansing . . . had not been for SMEAC it would have been a slaughter." —East Baltimore resident" (Gomez 2013). Through this section of Gomez's book, the author makes it clear that this evidence provides an example of who exactly the development plan benefits and who it disadvantages.

Rather than the current processes of rebuilding the devastated area, Gomez offers a better suggestion in stating that "Community rebuilding efforts must therefore assess the community's health history and assure that the processes of rebuilding are participatory and not hierarchical as has been the intention and practice of EBDI and its partners" (Gomez 2013). By addressing the damage to the community and diminishing the gap of unequal benefit, "Rebuilding with input and direction from those living in the community can begin to change the historic oppressions that have directly and indirectly contributed to creating unhealthy communities" (Gomez 2013). Since it is clear in the actions of EBDI towards the development plan for the community, the plan does not include a further rebuild within the direction of the current community of East Baltimore, but a completely different direction of their own standards in hopes to attract residents who they want to move into the neighborhood to replace the displaced persons. Gomez also offers that, "Assessment of the health impact, as well as the economic, social, educational, environmental, and political impact, on the people affected by community rebuilding processes must be included in an analysis of "benefit for whom."" (Gomez 2013). While neglecting these

resources for those who are already living within the urban community, it is important to analysis who EBDI is structured to benefit.

Studying East Baltimore with a Visual Method

The following is a connection of the aforementioned literature to present the great importance of studying East Baltimore with a visual method of photography within the field of sociology. As established by Harper, "Visual sociology—the use of photographs, film, and video to study society and the study of visual artifacts of a society—is underdeveloped and largely peripheral to the discipline as a whole" (Harper 1988). Using what Harper noted, I argue that the use of photographs as a research method is not just underdeveloped in sociology, but specifically within studies of gentrification in East Baltimore as well. Despite East Baltimore being home to the famous JHMI, it lacks in academic research including visual studies in comparison with larger cities such as New York City or Chicago.

Consequently, the photographic method is ideal to capture the mid-stages of gentrification. Gentrification in East Baltimore has been an ongoing process across throughout approximately two decades, and it can be easily illustrated through current photographs of the contrast between areas of JHMI and the neighborhood of East Baltimore that is roughly standing.

From journal articles to reviews of visual research methods and books about gentrification, there is a template to research East Baltimore in its most gentrifying state. With the use of photographs to capture the stages of change and development, I would like to highlight my research question: Is gentrification a major agent in the process of erasing the subculture of an urban area?

Chapter 3

THEORY

In the following section of my Senior Capstone Experience, I will discuss the theory employed throughout my research. Through the connection of sociological concepts on race and class as well as intersectionality, I will offer a better understanding on my study about gentrification. Oftentimes, investigations focused on gentrification note on evidence of race and class as the predeterminations of an area that is at risk of being gentrified. In addition to this, intersectionality is going to be introduced as a theoretical framework to analyze the importance of overlapping factors that disenfranchises communities, which locates them in a position of socioeconomic vulnerability and enhances risks of gentrifying forces.

Class Inequality

Within sociological theory, class inequality is often understood as dissimilar rights, opportunities, and advantages to different individuals and groups within a given society (Anderson 2016). The main theorist for this concept is Karl Marx His main ideas consisted of class, class conflict, capitalism, and sources of change within economy. As a nineteenth century thinker, Marx offered theories and concepts for philosophy and sociology as an academic study, most of them encompassing the sociological conflict theory. His claim on society is that it is marked by class conflict and that capitalism "carried the seeds of its own destruction" (Collins and Bilge 2016:14). Moreover, "Marx distinguishes one class from another on the basis of two criteria, ownership of the means of production and purchase of the labor power of others" (Collins and Bilge 2016:14). By this, class is most distinguished by industries and the owners of the means of production, or the bourgeoisie, and the submitted workers, also known as the proletariat.

Chapter 3

In addition to these main strata, it is worth considering the *petite bourgeoisie*, a subdivision also scrutinized by its access to the means of production. Although it may not operate the means of production, it is not categorized as proletariat because the petty bourgeois does not participate in true productive labor in serving the means of production (Ross 1978:167). These classifications offer the channels to study gentrification as it allows to examine the two upper classes as gentrifiers and allies, and the original neighborhood residents as part of the lower stratum. Accordingly, the bourgeoisie encompasses the sociopolitical and economic elites that enable and enforce gentrification, while the petty bourgeoisie, which consist of white-collar workers and members of the middle and middle-upper class, is the class that moves into an already gentrified neighborhood. All of this provokes inflation on housing prices and resources, preventing the original resident of the lower-class to relocate back in their community.

In the context of studying gentrification, class inequality is used to explain the process and underlying factors of new development projects. For instance, which neighborhoods are specifically being targeted by gentrifying forces and who benefits from economic development projects. However, as Collins and Bilge state, "By reducing the complex economic relations of capitalism to class, the complexities and sophistication of Marxist social thought and other serious analyses of capitalism are minimized" (Collins and Bilge 2016:14). In continuation, without taking on matters of race to the same seriousness as class in the context of economic disadvantages under capitalism, hence gentrification, the analysis would not be comprehensive. It is important to realize the multiple intersections within our society that lead us to see the variety of forms that socioeconomic phenomenon's impact different lives in complex ways.

<center>**Chapter 3**</center>

Race Inequality

   Although gentrification could easily be misconceptualized as a development

measurement that positively impacts economic resources for a city, the research shows the

deliberate effects that gentrification has towards racial-minority groups. Racial inequality is

utterly engrained within our civilization, however, in the context of gentrification, racial

inequality is the lens for which we can interpret the whitewashing of areas that result in cultural

erasure and racial cleansing. A traditionally "black space" can be transformed into a "white

space" once gentrifying policies, or as Etienne Balibar referred to as racist policies on speaking

about "Neo-Racism", are in place (Balibar 17). The functioning of the reproduction of inequality

rests on the fact that African American communities that already experience racial inequality and

segregation from the "white spaces" around them through relocating and reconstruction of urban

spaces. As the cycle continues through gentrification, forced migration and relocation implies

racial cleansing of a "black space" that will transform into a "white space" once gentrifying

forces take place and the racial inequality of economic means continues.

   Within sociological theory, racial inequality is often understood as the notion of skin

color and racial identity acting as a predominant factor in status, rights, and access to equal

opportunities and successes. W.E.B. DuBois, a sociologist and civil rights activist, offered his

concept of double-consciousness to term the alienation of African American's identity and

consciousness in that African Americans invariably view themselves through the eyes of

Caucasians, as a result of slavery. As Collins and Bilge state, "youth of color, especially in urban

settings, are well aware of the effects of the defunding and neglect of public education in their

lives." (Collins and Bilge 2016:120). While stating that the only platform of voice that the youth

in these circumstances have is through music, "In urban settings, this educational neglect serves

<center>Page 23 of 58</center>

as a catalyst for outpourings of narratives from young people about forms of social justice"
(Collins and Bilge 2016:120). In the same way that racial inequality persists, class inequality
follows in the footsteps in continuation of the reproduction of inequality as a whole.

When looking at the economics of racism, racist policies allow for segregation to
continue in what Balibar terms neo-racism. In other words, "segregation is a primary cause of
racial differences in socioeconomic status (SES) by determining access to education and
employment opportunities" (Williams and Collins 2001:404). In explaining gentrification from
this view point, segregated communities such as a low-income African American urban
neighborhood are at-risk to gentrifying factors that come into the picture to "save" the
neighborhood that was neglected from resources since the beginning. Prior to the reconstruction
of the urban setting, "[The] disinvestment of economic resources in these neighborhoods has led
to a decline in the urban infrastructure, physical environment, and quality of life in these
communities" (Williams and Collins 2001:410). Furthermore, accessible resources and higher
quality of life must be achieved in order to morally help the communities that are in need, rather
than raising the economic class and resources that are unachievable for the original residents of
an urban community. In like manner, "The worst urban context in which whites reside is
considerably better than the average context of black communities" (Williams and Collins
2001:409). With that being said, histories of racial inequality contribute to current inequalities
that take place today through lack of education, careers, resources, and ability to acquire income
for disadvantaged communities, specifically low-income minority groups.

Intersectionality

Within sociological theory, the concept of intersectionality is used to explain overlapping disadvantage of minorities. As defined by Patricia Hill Collins & Sirma Bilge, intersectionality is an analytic tool that "highlights the significance of social institutions in shaping and solving social problems" (Collins and Bilge 2016:16). While focusing on gentrification as a social problem, it cannot simply be solved by analyzing solely class or solely race as the targets for shaping the social phenomenon. Rather, "Intersectional frameworks suggest that economic inequality can neither be assessed nor effectively addressed through class alone" (Collins and Bilge 2016:16). It is the underlying intersection of low-income and African American communities that is significant in the social issue of gentrification.

In the context of gentrification, intersectionality can be used to explain vulnerabilities of poor African American neighborhoods as "The neoliberal world order relies on a global system of capitalism that is inflected through unequal relations of race, gender, sexuality, age, disability, and citizenship" (Collins and Bilge 2016:). This exists within local urban gentrified areas as well as global processes. The global system of capitalism that benefits on inequality can help analyze the systems of dissimilarity at a local level through specific cases of minority displacement. Gentrification operates in a similar manner as "white flight" in terms of "white-washing" neighborhoods. White flight is a term used to describe the social happening of whites avoiding black spaces and moving from inner cities to the suburbs, creating a racial divide because of the perception of minority groups being associated with a lower-class and crime ridden status. Similarities can be accumulated through the process of gentrification, but in contrast, the

embourgeoisement of redevelopment measures go through a process of white-washing urban settings, bringing whites into the neighborhoods.

Gentrification targets the most vulnerable economic communities, that are of low-income and African American in the case of East Baltimore. To achieve the highest results in the process of new development and economic development, vulnerable communities that lack a voice in what happens to their neighborhood are at the most risk to gentrifying factors. Granted that the neighborhoods do not belong to the residents that reside within them, areas of low-income minorities are easy targets because they do not have the resources to fight back to the establishment. They are easy targets because they are black, and they have historically been targets for oppressive forces in the United States. They are easy targets because they are poor, and they are viewed as not providing enough economically for the city. This creates a clear cut in who benefits from the new development projects and who remains hindered. The projects, at this level, are not for the residents that lived within the community before the development takes place. The projects do not help the residents that set out to, for evidence that the residents are displaced, and higher-class whites replace them within their very homes. Gentrification sets out to establish development plans that advantage new-comers (whites) for economic profit but greatly disadvantages the banished (minority groups) for reasons that are economic and unprofitable.

In conclusion, through important theories of race, class, and intersectionality, a broader understanding of the processes of gentrification is established through sociological thought. Segregation of income and race is apparent through the notion of theory and analysis of the social phenomenon. Regarding who is displaced and who is encouraged to move into a space offers significant means of analysis to racial and economic inequality within gentrification.

<center>**Chapter 4**</center>

<center>**METHODS AND PROCEDURES**</center>

The following methods section of this thesis introduces the procedures that I take throughout my visual research on East Baltimore. Both East Baltimore Development Incorporation (EBDI) and Johns Hopkins Medical Institution (JHMI) act as the data sample for my methods of researching gentrification in the urban area of East Baltimore. This section explains the processes that led me to choosing these institutions located in East Baltimore to study under a visual method using photography as a research tool and data collector within my analysis of gentrification.

Data Collection Method

> *I.   Choosing East Baltimore*

In choosing my sample for research, I chose EBDI because the incorporation represents the leading for-profit organization in the urban setting of East Baltimore. The institution of EBDI's presence is prominent along with Johns Hopkins Medical Institution (JHMI), in East Baltimore and determines the fate for the neighborhood and their accessibility to resources while also determining who is able to receive resources based on class. Given the fact that higher-class individuals are likely to move into a gentrified area after lower class individuals were displaced to another area, it is clear that the urban neighborhood is unable to receive back the residents of the pervious low-income neighborhood.

During the research process, I visited websites and investigated the profiles of people associated with EBDI and their connection with JHMI. It was found that private and public partners of Johns Hopkins institutions were involved in the financing of the development project (EBDI 2010). Regardless of public opinion and social movements in East Baltimore stating that

the community showed interest in being involved in the outcome of the development of their neighborhood, EBDI progressed forward without the intentions of the residents in mind.

By understanding gentrification as a socioeconomic development process targeting solely minority sectors, this methods section focuses on identifying the variety of ways that government neglect enabled gentrification. While leading on the legal stances enabled JHMI along with EBDI to begin rebuilding in the East Baltimore area, the stances include federal laws under the eminent law and the housing act that allows for residents to be displaced under reconstruction. While assuming that residents will be provided moving assistance and a chance to relocate back into their original neighborhood, under a resident refusal, the law allows for the authority to initiate an eviction notice without appropriate funding to another place (hud.gov). Regardless, residents are removed from their preferred homes regardless if they consent or not. It is also important to distinguish between displaced residents and residents that could not afford to live there since not everyone who lived in the neighborhood were displaced under the terms of EBDI, some were evicted prior to the deconstruction because they could not afford to live there.

The Housing and Community Development Act (1974) requires that when a development, such as EBDI, demolishes a low-income community, they must rebuild the community to provide the same level of financial expenses as the displaced community and in the same area they were relocated from. In this case, ideally, the displaced community would be welcome back into the community that they were financially forced out of. However, EBDI, under the Uniform Relocation Act, displaces communities to any other area of Baltimore that has the same conditions as East Baltimore housing. Allowing EBDI to provide housing for residents in other areas of Baltimore allows the incorporation to restore the once low-income housing to housing

that is less affordable; thus, leaving the displaced communities unable to move back into their original neighborhood.

Along with the interference of private entities such as EBDI and JHMI, the elites of East Baltimore have acted on methods based on profit rather than enhancing the conditions of the current community of East Baltimore. Through EBDI's reconstruction plans for East Baltimore, the visible construction allows to compare and to contrast buildings, roads, and resources based on what is already gentrified and what areas are at risk of being gentrified. This data sample provides my research with an appropriate visual set of analyzable data within the streets of East Baltimore.

EBDI, being the main sample of my research, exemplifies the gentrifying force that has affected the East Baltimore subculture and original inhabitants. It is the tool that this essay uses to track, describe, and analyze the process of gentrification within the area alongside the visual-based photographic method of data collection. As a tool to discover the areas around East Baltimore that are being affected, EBDI provides my research the ability to identify what Johns Hopkins Medical Center symbolizes for the community of East Baltimore and for the newcomers of the neighborhood.

II. *Collecting Data through Photography*

This study sets out to determine what gentrification infrastructures such as EBDI and JHMI represents for the communities that are forced to relocate so that other communities that provide more profit for the government can reside. To do this, I propose a visual method of using photography to capture the physical contrasts between the already gentrified areas and the areas that are currently in the process to be gentrified or targeted as a high-risk for urban renewal.

Chapter 4

Furthermore, I approach this study with the hypothesis that EBDI symbolizes gentrification and destruction of the subculture for the people of East Baltimore. East Baltimore, as the investigations case study, is used to exemplify the importance of photography as the best resource to portray gentrification and its repercussions on the community's wellbeing. Using photography as my means of research, I am able to prove that EBDI and JHMI is a symbol of the loss of subculture through visual evidence of the substitution of community resources. Under the circumstances that gentrification complicates for a neighborhood, it is clear while walking around a city, with sociology in mind, which areas are gentrified, and which areas are at-risk to gentrifying forces or in the process of gentrification. For this reason, photography offers a methodological tool to capture the state of gentrification throughout a city. Determinations include the physicality of the infrastructures, the amount of public services, the kind of stores and resources that are offered around the area, and the visible income rate that the area receives from the government and residents. All of these are physical states of a neighborhood that can be seen, and therefore photographed, in a given area.

As a method to research, I have set out to visit East Baltimore and the surrounding Johns Hopkins areas to look for evidence of gentrification using the coded features that I have determined before visiting the area and also anticipating other factors of physical aspects of gentrifying characteristics that I may find along my way. As a part of my visual research on gentrification, in the words of Patch, "I photographed the physical world I was observing, utilizing visuals as a data-gathering method" in East Baltimore (Patch 2004). I am also researching areas around the EBDI properties. As EBDI is a huge force of gentrification in the East Baltimore area, I am anticipating that the incorporation has not yet completed the entire

process of rebuilding the neighborhood to cater to Johns Hopkins Medical Center and the rest of the community will be abandoned as I have read in news articles, or in the process of renovation.

Prior to visiting East Baltimore, I set up notes of structured coding to allow myself to have a background of what specifically to look for and what to take photographs of. The pre-determined coding for an "already gentrified area" consisted of: Walgreens, academic buildings (JH), and recently built buildings. The coding for an area that is "at-risk to gentrifying forces" consisted of: chain fences, deterioration, boards on windows, and broken roads and sidewalks. However, after physically visiting the neighborhood, other factors emerged for coding mechanisms of already gentrified areas and at-risk areas to gentrifying forces. This helped me to create two tables that combined all of the elements that I saw and captured on my camera. Those coding factors range from style of building establishments to the structure of the exterior listed in *Table 1* and *Table 2* below.

Data Analysis Method

After collecting the data, my analysis plan consisted of organizing the photographs based on similar themes of scenery determined by the coding factors mentioned in the collection section of the methods. In doing this, I grouped the photographs based on location, contrast of already gentrified areas versus areas of risk to gentrification, housing types, abandoned buildings, religious buildings, grocery stores, and graffiti or street art. I then set out to describe each photograph that I took, noting the pre-determined coding and establishing emergent coding as I saw it thematically. The descriptions consist of what is simply in the photograph while the analysis goes in depth as to what the infrastructure in the photograph represents for the neighborhood of East Baltimore during the process of gentrification by EBDI and JHMI.

Chapter 4

While analyzing the photographs, I took into account the Literature Review and Theory section to analyze what gentrification specifically means for the East Baltimore community. I then continued with the photographs in determining how this affects the community at a larger scale than just "wear and tear" on the buildings. While the deterioration of buildings is important while studying gentrification, there are other underlying factors as to what "wear and tear" means for the community and the buildings as a whole. In other words, deterioration of property would mean government neglect on the areas that the government *chooses* to neglect. This is oftentimes associated with the residential actions and their choice to neglect their community. However, while other institutions are receiving more attention from the government, including improved building conditions and resources, the side of the residents does not receive this type of government assistance at all.

In analyzing the data, patterns and similarities were expected and showed themselves willingly. The main point of analysis is to prove whether or not gentrification causes a loss of subculture within the area of East Baltimore. However, my results are up for interpretation of the reader, and will be further discussed in chapter six.

Chapter 4

Table 1.

At-Risk of Gentrification	Details
Boarded-up Windows or Doors	Windows and/or doors that have been boarded up that indicates a property that is abandoned.
Wear and Tear Buildings	Worn down buildings that have been neglected, broken windows and/or falling apart exterior.
Older Brick Buildings	Buildings that show signs of old brick or infrastructure.
For Sale / Rebuild Signs	Abandoned buildings that are put up for sale for reconstruction and renewal.
Abandoned	Buildings that show signs of no occupancy.
Lack of Public Services	Buildings or public spaces that do not have public services such as trash services, etc.
Over-Growth / Landscape	Residential buildings and/or businesses that have grass growing around them and/or in the sidewalk/ streets.
Fences	Chain fences that surround a building.
Construction	Construction sites that display construction equipment.
On Street Parking	Parallel parking that is available on the street next to residential buildings as opposes to drive-ways and garages.

Table 2.

Gentrified Areas	Details
New Establishments	Anything that appears to be brand new surrounded by older buildings.
Modern Style	Housing and institutions that appear to be architecturally modern.
Garages / Parking	Housing that offers a car garage or out of street parking.
Shutter Exteriors	Sides of the building are using different materials such as shutter lining rather than brick.
Johns Hopkins Presence	Any Johns Hopkins owned building or sign.
Public Services	Trash service, parks, sports courts.
Gardens / Landscape	Housing that offers personal gardens to residents.
Chain Stores	Multiple stores that are owned by one company and sell the same things. Example: Starbucks, Walgreens, etc.

Chapter 5

FINDINGS AND RESULTS

In the following results, I present my findings through a collection of photographs and in-depth coding and analysis of the photographs that I took while walking and driving around East Baltimore. All of the photographs included in this SCE are taken by me and are not from additional sources. By offering these photographs, I hope to achieve a sense of knowledge for the reader on what gentrification looks like and how it can affect a community during the process of subculture erasure of those who are forcedly displaced. These findings also explain why using photography in sociological research acts as an analytical tool to study gentrified settings such as East Baltimore.

Figure 1.
Johns Hopkins overlooking the neighborhood of East Baltimore.

Coding: Building wear and tear, Johns Hopkins presence, contrast of old and new

Figure 1 is a photograph taken in East Baltimore during November 2018. The words "Johns Hopkins" appears on a building beyond the East neighborhood of Baltimore. The homes are red, brown, beige, and blue with deterioration and wear. The beige building appears to be a newer or renovated homemade of shutter lining on the exterior while the rest of the buildings are made of brick. The words of Johns Hopkins are clear and lack deterioration as well as the building the words are on. Through my research I have found that the majority of the communities that are displaced due to residential building renovation do not return to their original homes because they are too expensive and due to the privatization of those houses. This markets the demolition and renovation to a very different environment while displacing the community that once lived there and did not want to move away.

Figure 1 visually displays the private force that Johns Hopkins represents in the lives of the communities who have been displaced, who are in the process of being displaced, and/or who are engaging in resistant strategies. Johns Hopkins represents a shadow in this photograph as a constant reminder of what the institution symbolizes, which would be neoliberalism hence, gentrification. There is a clear contrast between the Johns Hopkins medical center buildings and the residential buildings of East Baltimore that exhibits poverty vis-à-vis wealth and how the presence of Johns Hopkins is unable to be disregarded or ignored by the community of East Baltimore. Johns Hopkins is valuable within the East side community as it brings in the most income and that is why it is of better standing than the worn-down residential buildings. The residential building to the right that seems to lack deterioration may be an attempt to upbuild the community which brings up worries of who will be living there once redevelopment is finished and will it be affordable for the original community to return to their original place of residence.

Figure 2.
Row-homes in East Baltimore.

Coding: Broken windows, Public
services, and lack of public services,
vacant

Figure 3.
Row-homes in East Baltimore.

Coding: Building wear and tear,
contrast of old and new, vacant,
overgrowth

Figure 4.
Construction site behind homes in
East Baltimore.

Coding: Contrast of old and new,
building wear and tear, vacant
buildings, construction, overgrowth

In *Figure 2*, from left to right, there is one house available for residency, two evicted houses in the middle, and the fourth one that seems to be in the process of renovation. Out of the four doors of residential buildings in the row of homes, only one is inhabited. The home on the left is decorated with fall decor by the stoop of the stairs leading to the door with green trash bins on the sides. The exterior of the building, like the rest of the homes, are made of four different styles of brick. The homes to the right of the connected buildings do not have windows. The top windows of the second house are without glass and the bottom windows are boarded up with wood as are the doors. The third house has windows installed, but the glass seems broken. The home all the way to the right of the building has new windows in place. The homes appear to be desolated given the absence of decorations and access to the interiors.

In the image of *Figure 3*, there are two residential buildings divided by a street pathway. On the left, there is a residential building that is relatively taken care of and appears to be occupied. The windows are all stable and new looking, there is a gate on the door to the entrance and the paints appears fresh. On the right, there is a building that has broken or damaged windows with shrub overgrowth on the edge of the building. The place appears to be vacant and the brick appears to be older than the refurbished house on the left.

Figure 4 is a photograph taken at a construction site within the East Baltimore neighborhood. The houses on the right are colorful and completely renovated beyond the excavator, while the building of the left, old homes wait for renovation. Nevertheless, the process of deterioration continues, as time goes on. The excavator is digging up the ground in front of the new homes. The windows are broken, and the doors are also boarded up. There is a fence dividing the construction site and the desolated properties from the new ones. The road on the

left side of the photograph is torn with potholes and has spots where the earth is overgrowing the road. There are telephone poles and electrical wires all around the area.

The photographs shown in *Figure 2, Figure 3,* and *Figure 4* represent the process of gentrification in a personal setting of what makes a place a "home." For some people, they are allowed to decide what their home looks like for them. As it is viewed here, that is not always the case when a home is taken from the occupant. In *Figure 2,* the home on the left gives a visible example of what a home looks like: cozy, personal decorations, and a relatively functioning public trash system. The homes on the right of both *Figure 2* and *Figure 3*, like many other row homes that surround the East Baltimore neighborhood, are left abandoned. The opposite case for *Figure 4*, as the abandoned houses are seen on the left side of the photograph. The wooden boards covering the doors might indicate that the process of renovation is either paused, slow, or has been fully stopped to look like the building on the left of the photo.

Similar to *Figure 1*, it can be interpreted that *Figure 2* illustrates a contrast between what has already been gentrified and what is in the process of being gentrified, but the first home does not look like it is the product of gentrification per se. Rather, the only house that is occupied symbolizes the remaining traces of the community before strategies, policies, and enforcement of gentrification were put in place. The case in these photographs is the juxtaposition of what the neighborhood used to be versus what it is today. Given the fact that there are many houses alike to the ones on the right (uncared-for, neglected), the promise made to previous occupants about coming back to their original neighborhood appears to be impossible.

Figure 4.
Church in East Baltimore.

Coding: Boarded up windows door, broken windows, brick and seemingly home-made shutter exterior

Figure 4 is a photograph of a church called, "Thank God For Jesus Church." The building is made of stone brick with the focus of the church in white shutter exterior. The name of the church is outlined in purple above the door that has a small gate in front of it. There are windows surrounding the church that are broken and covered up, as well as a boarded-up door on the side of the church. There is an air conditioner or heater on the right side of the building that is hanging out of the front exterior and is rusted.

The sign on the left side of the church states:

"THANK GOD FOR JESUS CHURCH / 1600 N. BOND STREET / Order of Service / SUNDAY SCHOOL: 10AM / MORNING WORSHIP: 11AM / EVANGELISTIC SERVICE: 4PM / BIBLE CLASS: Wednesday 3:30 / PRAYER SERVICE: Friday 7:30 / HOLY COMMUNION EVERY THIRD SUNDAY MORNING"

The church in *Figure 4* is subjected to gentrification through the displacement of community members unable to participate which entails the lack of attendance to keep the church standing and running. Once this church is bought and sold to destruct and something new built in its place, that would indeed represent a loss for the community members that are still

there and will be forced to be without their beloved church. Also, it would make it difficult for

the displaced individuals to return to a community that they do not recognize or have any

religious and/or personal ties to anymore.

The building shown in *Figure 4* is clearly in such precarious structural conditions that it

is barely standing. Taking into consideration the collapsing economic circumstances of East

Baltimore, the presence of a community-based Evangelical Church represents a sense of hope.

The survivor residents of gentrification still embrace their beliefs and values regardless of the

socioeconomic calamities faced. The obvious decaying situation of this religious temple

exemplify the poverty experienced by the original individuals that used to be or continue to be

members of the community. Despite the visible lack of resources to improve the infrastructure of

the institution, the congregation keeps attending to the Christian service waiting for a holistic

change towards enhancement in their lives. Throughout my visit to the city, I recognized the

absence of communal social facilities, which could also explain why people would attend Thank

God for Jesus and dedicate time to their activities outside of a traditional Sunday service. The

need to promote social-bonding and a sense of community is what keeps folks together.

Figure 6.
Row-homes in East Baltimore.

Coding: Building wear and tear,
for-sale signs, Broken windows,
and boarded up windows and doors,
vacant buildings

Chapter 5

Figure 6 is a close-up image of a few row-houses in East Baltimore. The buildings are damaged and vacant. There are broken windows and boards covering some windows and the doors to the houses. On top of the boards are for-sale signs in red print. The houses do not have stoops or stairs leading to the doorways like other houses, including abandoned ones, in the neighborhood. The paint that has been covering the bricks is fading and chipping away and each house has a different color like the theme of the rest of the row-houses in the neighborhood.

As seen in *Figure 6*, home occupants were forced to move out of their homes without intention or promise of the homes being fixed for them to return back to their original place of stay, at least at an affordable price. Instead, the abandoned houses were left to deteriorate and then signs were put up to sell for an outside buyer to renovate and profit off of. The for-sale signs on these residential buildings in *Figure 6* symbolize a home that was taken from someone to be bought to look better and more expensive for someone else. The likelihood of the homes appearing in this condition while there were residents living in them is not likely. Oftentimes once residents are "asked" to leave their homes, the homes sit there gathering wear and tear from the outside until an organization purchases the buildings to renovate. This also affects the community because the residential areas are in worse stages due to government neglect and that is oftentimes blamed on the residents in the area rather than the people in charge of the public community buildings.

Figure 7.
City Seeds in East Baltimore

Coding: new infrastructure, shutter exterior, parking lot

Figure 8.
A&Z Mini Mart in East Baltimore.

Coding: Brick of building wear and tear, old market, boarded-up window.

Figure 9.
Corner Deli Shop in East Baltimore.

Coding: Brick of building wear and tear, old deli

Figure 10.
King's Korner Market in East Baltimore.

Coding: Brick of building wear and tear, small market store in front of JH, overgrowth

For a quick description of the above images, the photograph of *Figure 7*, the main focus is City Seeds that is surrounded by the rest of the city. The market stands out from the rest of the city as it is brightly colored and in of unique advertising. The buildings surrounding the market are mostly brick with a dumpster and trucks in front of the new building. Secondly, in *Figure 8,* this photograph displays a mini market in East Baltimore, and it is unsure if the convivence store is still available as the windows above the building are boarded up with wood and the sign is falling off. The menu of lunch and dinner deals of the mini mart is displayed on the front of the building. Thirdly, *Figure 9* is taken at a corner deli shop that is open seven days a week that offers sandwiches, pizza, and other various deli items. The sign for the deli is displayed in orange with black lettering. Looking closely at the image of *Figure 10,* a corner market in East Baltimore, offers deli, grocery, and beer to the customers. The market also accepts WIC for food items in the grocery section of the market. In the background of the market, Johns Hopkins buildings surrounded the neighborhood.

Figures 7 through 10 shows a series of markets within the city of East Baltimore. *Figure 7* is notably different than the rest, standing as a City Seeds chain food market that recently entered the city. City Seeds is a new food hub in Baltimore that offers catering, café and

wholesale market items, and hosts events for customers. The sign of City Seeds is clearly new with a modern and eye-calling design. Although this might appear as a sole description of the photo, in comparison with *Figures 8, 9,* and *10*, *Figure 7* presents a well-funded, modern, and edgy business, with overpriced items. As a corporative chain, City Seeds even has a website for its middle- and upper-class customers. This is something isolated in the pre-gentrified East Baltimore, where convenience stores and family-ran small businesses were part of the community. The presence of City Seeds symbolizes the elites grabbing the economies of gentrifying sectors and overruns smaller competitors.

As showed in other photographs, *Figure 10* consists of an overreaching presence of JH and the level of immersion in East Baltimore life. At a neglected corner of one of East Baltimore streets, King's Korner Market is barely surviving gentrification. Although still serving its regular customers, the business does not represent the development ideas that pursue gentrification. By being part of a community directly and indirectly struggling with economic changes, the small stores in *Figure 8, 9, and 10* represent the last traces of what East Baltimore used to be fueled on. While *Figure 7* represents what the city's food stores and economic class will look like in the near future.

Figure 11
Apartments in East Baltimore.

Coding: New apartments, not vacant, shutter exterior, cars in driveways, gardens and decorations

In the image of *Figure 11,* cars are parked in driveways to apartments in East Baltimore. The apartments are made out of shutter exterior and each have balcony's along with a garage to park cars. This apartment complex leaves behind the traditional Baltimore style of brick row-housing and street parking. There is also a place for personal gardening for each residential apartment. The apartments are of uniform standing and of the same beige color, also leaving behind the Baltimore tradition of different colored homes.

The analysis of this photograph in *Figure 11* determines that the setting of the apartments shown are already gentrified. They show signs of gentrification through the newness of the property, the difference of exterior from the rest of the neighborhood, and the overall style of the apartments. The housings are of modern style that cater to Johns Hopkins doctors, students, and/or graduates only. The garages that have been included in these housing facilities are for safe parking to ensure the property to not be stolen or harmed on the street. This is vastly different than the rest of the neighborhood, where cars are normally parallel parked on the street without a driveway or garage. Rather than appropriating from the original culture of the structure of row-houses within Baltimore in the past, the buildings are set apart from the others to bring

awareness to the different class and home-owners that the apartment company is set out to

attract. Forcibly changing the style of the community is another indicator that the pervious

inhabitants of the neighborhood are less likely to return to East Baltimore for the reasons that it

has not only change completely from brick to shutter, but from financial affordability. The

privilege of having a balcony, a garage, a driveway, and a personal garden raises the prices of

these apartments that were once before, affordable and adequate housing for residents.
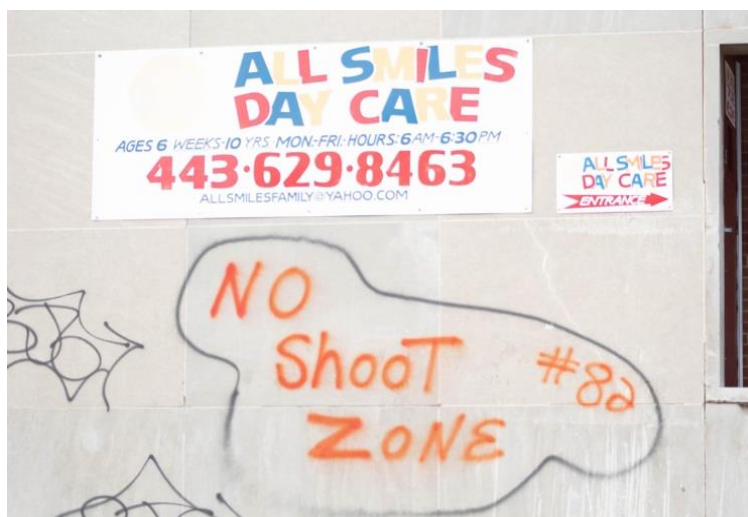

Figure 12.
"No Shoot Zone" on building in East
Baltimore.

Coding: graffiti, wall-art, protest

Figure 13.
"No Shoot Zone" on building in
East Baltimore.

Coding: graffiti, wall-art, protest

Figure 12 and 13 are photographs of the side of a building for a Daycare in East

Baltimore. They represent street art and social movements within the city. The graffiti of "No

Shoot Zone" is simple, but concise, and specifically placed in zones where children are present.

As a high-crime rate area of the city, many lives have been taken by shootings and children have

been harmed because of them. The NSZ painted in public buildings is strictly a message of

ending gun-violence without any further rhetoric.

       After in-depth research on the words "No Shoot Zone" and what the graffiti means for

the community of East Baltimore, it was found that this was a symbol of a protest against gun

violence. A rapper and anti-violence organizer by the name of Tyree Colion began this

manifestation in 2015 to protect high-crime rate cities from gun-inflected crimes. As the

messages appeared throughout the city, shooting rates have gone down in the areas that they

were placed. The effectiveness of the "No Shoot Zone" graffiti rests on the fact that it was made

by a member of the community and one that has hope for change and restrictions on violence. It

was also created in a way, such as graffiti, that the city can connect to since graffiti is a large

factor of the urban subculture of Baltimore. If the signs were made by an outside force such as

government signs like a street sign, I do not believe the message would have been as meaningful,

inspirational, and effective.

After controversy on the graffiti being deemed as vandalism, Colion was arrested for

destruction of private property. This constitutes a question of what art is and what political

messages or protests are considered *right* by the community. Since the graffiti was considered

vandalism, despite the message and attempt to better a city, Colion was scrutinized for his ways

of addressing the issue. Since then, the zones have been covered up. In response to that, Colion

decided that banners would be an appropriate way to continue the cause under a legal basis well

as for it to be more accepted by the outside forces of the community. Outrageously, not only did

the banners no work as well as the graffiti, they were also taken down.

Figure 14.
Lanvale Transitional Housing Program
in East Baltimore (a pervious shelter).

Coding: Boarded windows, brick
building

Figures 15.
Decorated classroom within the open
windows in East Baltimore.

Coding: Boarded up windows, brick
building

Figures 16.
Boarded-up windows of an old elementary school in East Baltimore. Also, once a Shelter.

Coding: Boarded windows and doors, brick building, fences, vacant but also utilized, overgrowth

Figure 14 shows a red front door to the Lanvale Transitional Housing Program. The building seems to be a previous public school but has gone through the process of being shut down and abandoned and used for a shelter. There is a boarded-up window above the front door to the building that implies that the building is no longer being used for public use. *Figure 15* displays a side image of the previous mentioned housing program. There are only selected rows of windows that are open and not boarded-up with wood. Inside of the windows is a painting of trees, a sky, and a rainbow that might have been previously decorated when the school was still standing or used for other means. *Figure 16* is the last image of the series is of the same building, with all windows covered with wood and a fence around the building. The fence looks old and most likely used during the time the building was used as a public school. There are residential buildings behind the main building of focus, with some trash on the sidewalk.

Figures 14-16 exhibit a series of photographs of an old Elementary or Middle School in East Baltimore that had been shut down and used for other purposes. It is possible that the school was used for a transitional housing program in the past, but the boarded windows offer that that

is no longer the case and the building is left abandoned. The majority of the windows are boarded up with wood and through the windows that are open, it is noticeable that there are classrooms in the building that are still standing and decorated. It is unknown if those rooms are being used for a daycare or of any other supportive institution within the community. In *Figure 15*, there is a mural on the wall of a classroom that has trees, a sky, and a rainbow. On the front of the building, as seen in *Figure 14,* it seems to be the old entrance of the school. The building is currently named the Lanvale Transitional Housing Program as it was once a housing program, but the service is no longer provided.

In conclusion, these results are introduced as a means for evidence in my study of the gentrification happening in East Baltimore. It was not only important to experience the social issue at first-hand upon visiting the urban area, documentation was necessary in recording the effects of EBDI and Johns Hopkins on the urban community. While literature and theory are significant within research, without traveling and documenting the social issue, my analysis of gentrification would have lacked visually.

DISCUSSION

Within the discussion section of my research, I will talk about my findings in support of my hypothesis. My findings exhibit a way to document and analyze social phenomenon's and urban change within a city. While including why they are important to researching gentrification as a social phenomenon, I will also discuss the importance of using a visual research method as a means to study gentrification as it pertains to sociological research as a whole. Limitations and biases of the photographer and researchers eye, along with opportunities to further my research will also be stated and analyzed in hopes for a better outcome.

My Hypotheses

My findings in the fifth chapter support my hypothesis that gentrification is a major agent that erases subculture within an urban area, and that is accurately represented through using photography as a research method. The findings are supportive of my hypothesis because the photographs inherently show the subculture of East Baltimore that is being erased. Whether that be through the destruction of community-built market stores or religious buildings, close-knit ties are lost through the process of attempting to rebuild a community in ways that the original structure and overall energy of the urban neighborhood is lost through displacement of residents and change of scenery. Other ways include the prohibited use of peaceful protest via the community members to take matters into their own hands and put a stop to the high gun-violence rates through graffiti art or banners creating zones of no gun-violence within the neighborhood. Other photographs show the opportunities for transitional housing being shut-down during the reconstruction of the neighborhood. All of these factors are shown visually through the research method of capturing the loss of subculture within East Baltimore on camera.

Limitations of Research

To note on Suchar's statement on the selective eye, "The photographs were, perhaps, in the language of John Szarkowski, more "mirrors" than "windows," reflecting perhaps more of the theoretical suppositions of the selective eye and mind behind the camera than the reality of the social, human community" (Suchar 1998). Through the bias of the photographer's selective eye, as Suchar states, I acknowledge that my photographs are taken and interpreted by myself, a student receiving their bachelor's degree in Sociology rather than a person under different means. This offers limitations such as how close I am, as a researcher, to the community under study and how accurate my analysis of my findings is. As I entered the community of East Baltimore with prior knowledge of gentrification and sociology, I was biased. I knew what gentrification supposedly looked like and what to take photographs of based on sociological thinking combined with the eye of a photographer. With that being said, someone else with a camera with a goal to capture gentrification more than likely would have taken completely different photographs than my own. My interactions with my findings (photographs) during the process of analysis were also biased as the data might have compelled a different response than someone else studying gentrification in East Baltimore with a camera as a research tool.

Setbacks also include not speaking to residents about the changes that they were experiencing, but I got a clear sense of how the residents felt through other academic research articles that included interviews, such as Gomez's book and other news sources that stated the public opinion of the community and their attitude towards JHMI invading their living space. However, Suchar stated within his research, "While I had gained significant knowledge of the sense of taste, style and value of urban residents, I had not as yet talked to residents and attempted to elicit their own views of community and of their private material worlds" (Suchar

1998). Pertaining to my research, I was not able to talk to residents in attempt to take into account their own views of the urban change that was taking place in their neighborhood. Even though there are limitations to my research, I offer opportunities for further research such to correct the limitations and to offer the best possible research for gentrification, not only in East Baltimore, but gentrification in any and all urban settings.

Further Research

In terms of further research, there is enough room for countless opportunities to continue the research. For example, a great opportunity would be to continue to take photographs within the streets of East Baltimore. In ten to twenty years from now, the photographs that I would have collected over the years would symbolize the change of the community to the fullest extent. The analysis of the photographs would offer a great deal of information of how the community has changed over a long period of time. It would also prove whether EBDI and/or JHMI had any intentions on helping the current and past low-income residents of East Baltimore. It would also offer how far the development project gets regardless of the community backlash and non-profit organizations set in place to assist the people in their rights to fair housing and resources as a low-income community. If there are no signs of these resources, it would be confirmed that the relocation process was indeed never in the favor of the residents of East Baltimore in the 2000's-20019. Another opportunity for further research would be to take photographs of the residents as well as the buildings and neighborhood around them. After engaging in interviews about their displacement, their community, and the situation and factors going on that proceed the process of gentrification, I would have a clear means for analysis when offered the opinions of the community members themselves.

My research also proposes a visual research method to be used in other urban settings besides East Baltimore. By continuing the processes used in this research in all urban areas around the United States, I would have an outline for future and larger research regarding gentrification and its effects on urban subculture around the United States. My theory is that all urban settings face gentrification, as the main goal of a city is to produce as much income as possible. Other places may include Chicago, NYC, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Annapolis, Newark, Boston, Philadelphia, etc. I would mostly like to cover small cities that undergo urban change and those that are less likely to be talked about around the country and also less likely to have research done before. Another idea for further research would be to continue the research outside of the US, conducting photographic processes on international cities.

Conclusion

A quantitative study method under the processes of gentrification have the opportunity to fully structure the numerical data of displaced persons from the community of East Baltimore. For this specific study, quantitative data would not be best to visually show the impact and effects that gentrification causes on the physicality of the neighborhood itself. In other words, numerical data would not be able to show the overlying example of the community that is impossible to return to once a resident is displaced.

My hopes for this study are to bring into conversations of a neglected use of research method within sociology. Visual sociology and using photography as a research tool offers a valuable means of researching qualitative studies as it *shows* rather than *tells* a story with the measures of collecting data through physical photographs. Through encouraging the use of photography within sociological research, this study shows a story of a community that has experienced government neglect, displacement, and redevelopment under the eyes of elite forces that only

hope to receive higher income rates within the community. I hope that further research within sociology considers photography in the methods of researching any social issue and within any case study that is studied best under qualitative methods. I also hope that this study, along with news articles and the work of Gomez, sheds light on the urban neighborhood of East Baltimore that is enduring the effects of gentrification.

REFERENCES

Anderson, Erin 2016. *Marx l, Marx ll, Marx lll*. Powerpoint.

Anon. n.d. *East Baltimore Development Inc. | About*. (http://ebdi.org/about).

Atkinson, Rowland. 2004. "The Evidence on the Impact of Gentrification: New Lessons for the Urban Renaissance?" *European Journal of Housing Policy* 4(1):107–31.

Atkinson, Rowland. 2004. "The Evidence on the Impact of Gentrification: New Lessons for the Urban Renaissance?" European Journal of Housing Policy 4(1):107–31.

Audre Lorde, "The Master's Tools Will Never Dismantle the Master's House," in *This Bridge Called My Back, ed. Cherrie L. Moraga and Gloria Anzaldúa*. (Freedom, California: The Crossing Press Feminist Series, 1996), 107-108.

Balibar Étienne and Immanuel Maurice Wallerstein. 2011. *Race, Nation, Class: Ambiguous Identities*. London: Verso Publ.

Bridger, Alexander John. "Visualising Manchester: Exploring New Ways to Study Urban Environments with Reference to Situationist Theory, the Dérive, and Qualitative Research." *Qualitative Research in Psychology* 11, no. 1 (January 2, 2014): 78–97. https://doi.org/10.1080/14780887.2012.719071.

Campkin, Ben, and Laura Marshall. "London's Nocturnal Queer Geographies." *Soundings* 70, no. 70 (November 1, 2018): 82–96. https://doi.org/10.3898/SOUN.70.06.2018.

Collins, Patricia Hill and Sirma Bilge. 2016. *Intersectionality*. Cambridge, United Kingdom: Polity Press.

Cromwell, Patrice M, Robert P Giloth, and Marsha R B Schachtel. "East Baltimore Revitalization Project: Opportunities and Challenges in Transforming an Urban Neighborhood," n.d., 14.

Eisen, Daniel B. 2012. "Developing a Critical Lens." *Teaching Sociology* 40(4):349–59.

Harper, Douglas. "Talking about Pictures: A Case for Photo Elicitation." *Visual Studies* 17, no. 1 (January 2002): 13–26. https://doi.org/10.1080/14725860220137345.

Harper, Douglass. "Visual Sociology: Expanding Sociological Vision." *The American Sociologist* 19, no. 1 (March 1988): 54–70. https://doi.org/10.1007/BF02692374.

Harrison, Barbara. "SNAP HAPPY: TOWARD A SOCIOLOGY OF 'EVERYDAY' PHOTOGRAPHY." In *Studies in Qualitative Methodology*, 7:23–39. Bingley: Emerald (MCB UP), 2004. https://doi.org/10.1016/S1042-3192(04)07003-X.

Hummel, Phillip A. "East Side Story the Redevelopment of East Baltimore." *University of Baltimore Journal of Environmental Law* 15, no. 2 (Spring 2008): 97–128.

Hurworth, Rosalind. 2003. "Photo-Interviewing for Research." Social Research Update 19: Focus Groups. (http://sru.soc.surrey.ac.uk/SRU40.html).

Linton, Sabriya L., Caitlin E. Kennedy, Carl A. Latkin, David D. Celentano, Gregory D. Kirk, and Shruti H. Mehta. "'Everything That Looks Good Ain't Good!': Perspectives on Urban Redevelopment among Persons with a History of Injection Drug Use in Baltimore, Maryland." *International Journal of Drug Policy* 24, no. 6 (November 2013): 605–13. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.drugpo.2013.03.015.

Martin, John, and Ruth Martin. "HISTORY THROUGH THE LENS: EVERY PICTURE TELLS A STORY." In *Studies in Qualitative Methodology*, 7:9–22. Bingley: Emerald (MCB UP), 2004. https://doi.org/10.1016/S1042-3192(04)07002-8.

Osman, Suleiman. *Gentrification in the United States*. Oxford University Press, 2016. https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780199329175.013.135.

Patch, Jason. "The Embedded Landscape of Gentrification." *Visual Studies* 19, no. 2 (October 2004): 169–87. https://doi.org/10.1080/1472586042000301674.

Pauwels, Luc. "Visual Sociology Reframed: An Analytical Synthesis and Discussion of Visual Methods in Social and Cultural Research." *Sociological Methods & Research* 38, no. 4 (May 2010): 545–81. https://doi.org/10.1177/0049124110366233.

Radley, Alan, Kerry Chamberlain, Darrin Hodgetts, Ottilie Stolte, and Shiloh Groot. "From Means to Occasion: Walking in the Life of Homeless People." *Visual Studies* 25, no. 1 (March 23, 2010): 36–45. https://doi.org/10.1080/14725861003606845.

Robinson, Robert V., and Jonathan Kelley. "Class as Conceived by Marx and Dahrendorf: Effects on Income Inequality and Politics in the United States and Great Britain." *American Sociological Review* 44, no. 1 (February 1979): 38. https://doi.org/10.2307/2094817.

Ross, George. "Marxism and the New Middle Classes: French Critiques." *Theory and Society* 5, no. 2 (March 1978): 163–90. https://doi.org/10.1007/BF01702160.

Suchar, Charles S. "Grounding Visual Sociology Research in Shooting Scripts," n.d., 23.

Suchar, Charles S. "Photographing the Changing Material Culture of a Gentrified Community." *Visual Sociology* 3, no. 2 (September 1988): 17–21. https://doi.org/10.1080/14725868808583618.

Wang, C. and M. A. Burris. 1997. "Photovoice: Concept, Methodology, and Use for Participatory Needs Assessment." Current Neurology and Neuroscience Reports. (https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pubmed/9158980).

Williams, David R, and Chiquita Collins. "Racial Residential Segregation: A Fundamental Cause of Racial Disparities in Health." *Public Health Reports* 116 (2001): 13.