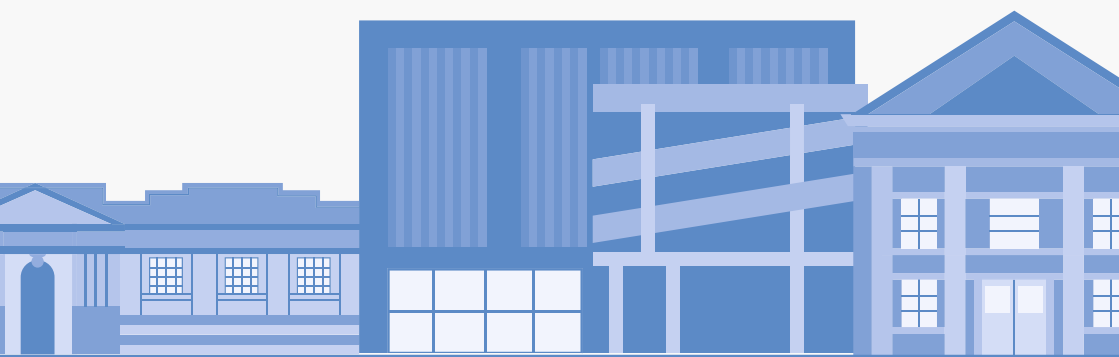# Rights to Public Space

Law, Culture, and Gentrification in the American West

Sig Langegger

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For Anna

Preface: Place, Territory, and Ethnography

This is a book about a specific locality (the neighborhood of Highland), a place (the Northside), and various regimes of property in North Denver. I am a born and bred Coloradan with many years of residency in North Denver; consequently, the pages that follow grew out of many decades of first-hand observation of changes to Denver's built and social environments, followed by two years of concerted ethnographic fieldwork in North Denver. When I began, the key question driving my research was this: As gentrification processes accelerate, how do newcomers become solidly in-place while longtime residents often become hopelessly out-of-place in public spaces (cf. Cresswell, 1996)? As my research progressed, it became clear that I needed to change the directionality of this question. Instead of asking how public spaces change *as* Highland gentrified, I began to understand the agency of Highland's public space. Put another way, I began to ask if changes made to specific public spaces worked to *advance* gentrification.

To communicate his perspectives of some of these public spaces, real estate developer Paul Tamburello suggested I interview him while he drove me around Highland. During our drive, he pointed out former crack-houses that had been remodeled by urban pioneers, a service station that had now been repurposed as an eatery, and even age-old bullet holes in apartment buildings—physical manifestations of Highland's turbulent past. We drove by Gaetano's—an Italian restaurant frequented by Denver's Italian mafia in the 1920s and 1930s, then by Chubby's—a longstanding taqueria that played a seminal role in the 1980s lowrider cruising circuit, and later by Lachuggas—an eatery that fuses Italian and Mexican ingredients and

culinary styles. During much of our drive, Tamburello identified struggling Mexican *panaderías*, *taquerías*, and *piñata* stores. He lamented that numerous ethnic restaurants had been replaced by hip bistros. Central to my argument is that houses, apartment buildings, and businesses do more than simply line Highland's sidewalks. Their façades, their landscaping, and the people who frequent them combine to produce neighborhood public spaces. As this book will demonstrate, public space plays a significant role in neighborhood change. I argue that before people are displaced from the private spaces of their residences, they are dislocated from quotidian locations like sidewalks, streets, and parks. That is, gentrification is not merely about housing; it also involves cultural dislocation from everyday space. This book demonstrates that the *gentrification of space*—a process involving the dislodgment of neighborhood longtimers from publicly accessible space—in fact predated gentrification—a process measurable by residential displacement—by many years, sometimes by decades.

Locations of everyday socializing and stages for special events, locations such as parks, streets, and sidewalks, also serve as day-to-day mobility infrastructures. These spaces are used in manifold ways by a wide variety of people. What is more, how they are used changes as people flow in and out of them. They change in accordance to the time of day, the day of the week, the season of the year. Here lies the crux of the complex issues involving public space, namely, that there are multiple, often conflicting, ideas of how any individual area of public property should be used. Often these ideas are incompatible with one another. Skirmishes over the authentic use of public property hinge on specific locations; however, they can be components of broader conflicts orbiting the character of as block, a neighborhood, or a city. For example, the micro-geographies of authenticity and legitimacy along Highland's sidewalks and streets and within its parks and vacant lots reveal complex questions about the future of the neighborhood. Who belongs? When do they belong? Why do they belong?

When I first met him, Cisco Gallardo tried to translate his sense of belonging in and belonging to North Denver, a place he called the *Northside*. He commented that before he went to high school he had no idea that he and his family lived in an area that most Denverites referred to as a ghetto. To him it was, fun, exciting, diverse. It was home.

> I liked growing up there. You had this Italian influence. You had this really strong Mexican influence. I remember going to the Mexican movie theater on 32nd Avenue, [called] the Holiday. I'd go there and see crazy Mexican

movies. I'd go to [a theater on] Federal Avenue and see crazy American movies. I'd go to Mexican bakeries. In the summer, farmers came from agricultural areas and they'd sell vegetables in vacant lots. When I was a kid, my block was straight *lil' Mexico*, you know what I mean?

Cisco's memories help us to begin grappling with a concept central to human geography: place. Place is a shared abstraction, a sense of *belonging in* a location as well as a sense of *belonging to* a community. Belonging results from the attachment of all manner of memories to the physical environment. Place can be pleasant, affirming, harrowing, comfortable, sorrowful, peaceful, exotic, erotic, riotous, disturbing. Place is one mental bridge between the physical world and the social world. Territory, however, a term which pivots on the control of behavior within particular areas, is a different kind of connection between social and physical spaces. Of central importance to this book is the fact that land use regulation amounts to a type of territorial regime. Above, Cisco shares his memories of where he grew up. As a boy, what he was probably not aware of were the many regulations and policies that throttled his neighborhood's development. Frequenting Mexican bakeries, cinemas, and farmers' markets, he was unconcerned with the land use codes, lending policies, and licensing protocols that ghettoized many of Denver's inner-city neighborhoods.

Early in my fieldwork, my wife, Anna, and I attended the LoHi Music festival.[1] I later learned that this event took place on one of the vacant parcels that formerly held the informal farmers markets Cisco remembered. The music was not Latino; rather, it was decidedly African American in origin, featuring reggae[2] and funk[3] bands. The audience was predominantly White. While the artistic expressions of culture and the demographics of the participants are interesting and stand in sharp contrast to the images of the *lil' Mexico* Cisco conjures, for the moment, I would like to draw the reader's attention toward the territorial regimes imposed on this vacant lot.[4]Because all kinds of code enforcement were lax in Highland during the 1970s, truck farmers did not need to bother with navigating bureaucratic channels in order to acquire the requisite permits. The territory they established was predicated upon cultural norms rather than municipal codes. Things have changed. In 2011, the organizers of the LoHi Music Festival needed to comply with a veritable thicket of codes, including noise ordinances, trash removal requirements, temporary liquor licenses, vending licenses, parking permits. So that the boundaries of the festival would be visibly defined, organizers had to construct a fence and

provide security personnel to patrol it. In order to comply with public health codes, the city required that organizers provide portable toilets. Importantly, they also had to obtain written permission from neighborhood organizations before the city would consider issuing any of these permits.

The cool rainy weather on the second day of the festival compelled Anna and me to seek an indoor spot for dinner. We walked two blocks to *Rosa Linda's*,[5] a New Mexican restaurant locally famous for its posole rojo—a simple yet fiery pork and hominy stew—and its tacos nopalitos—tortillas stuffed with cactus petals. Rosa Linda's was located on the corner of West 33rd Avenue and Tejon Street, next to a trendy French Bistro called The Squeaky Bean[6] and 122 meters west of The Dog House.[7] As we enjoyed our margaritas and the authentic cuisine that maintained Rosa Linda's fame throughout Denver, we were entertained by a traditional Mexican mariachi[8] quartet. To us, the difference between the LoHi Music Festival and the music-infused interior of Rosa Linda's, two localities separated by a mere 315 linear meters of sidewalk, was profound. However, they shared important commonalities. Both locales were territorialized by the city. In other words, permits, codes, and licenses regulated behavior in both places. And each locale represented a cultural complex: one Anglo[9] and one Latino.[10]

Land use laws dictate what should happen on a particular parcel of land. There is usually a difference between laws on the books and laws as enforced. As Cisco's description of Highland's farmers markets goes to show, there is often a marked disconnect between municipal codes and human behavior. Before codes were enforced, cultural norms regulated behaviors on these vacant lots. That is, there was a direct linkage between abstract notions of place and concrete manifestations of territory. Place aligned with territory. Place is an abstract cultural construct wound up with ideas of legitimacy, authenticity, belonging, and memory. Place may be ineffable; however, it is foundational. It undergirds, legitimizes, and maintains territorial regimes. Place supports shared ideas of what feels right in doing.

To many longtimers, the LoHi Music Festival was out of place in Highland. Even though the organizers complied with all of the rules and regulations mandated by the City of Denver, longtimers felt a reggae/funk festival did not belong in a Latino barrio. Exactly here lies the tension field I explore throughout this book. Tensions are created by differences between what one feels right in doing and what one has a right to do.

Sometimes tensions emerge from changes made to the physical environment, to landscaping, to infrastructure, and to urban design. Other times small levers of governance—those concerned with traffic management, parking regulation, liquor licensing, and special use permit issuance—misalign linkages between place and territory. I suggest that tensions increase as distances widen between minority views of legitimate behavior and dominant rules regulating behavior. The argument I advance in the chapters that follow is that social tensions aid and abet changes to public spaces, and that in turn these changes fuel processes of gentrification.

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A Note on Methodology

Cities are dynamic places, pulsating with economic purpose. They (re) produce cultural complexes while providing multiple stages for the consumption of material culture. Their transportation corridors ebb and flow for commercial, commuter, or recreational purposes. In economically prosperous districts, buildings rise skyward, while in blighted neighborhoods structures decay and collapse. To be sure, nothing urban remains unchanged. In the current era of globalization, mass media, and massive migration, urban cultures are caught up in multiple waves of flux. Considering these layered flows of change, how do we describe, let alone explain, neighborhood change? One effective way to catalog urban dynamics is to do quantitative research: to perform demographic analyses, assess property values and levels of blight, analyze economic output, scrutinize sales tax receipts, count building permits, and catalog eviction and occupancy rates, along with other kinds of numerical analyses.

Quantitative research reveals that between 1970 and 2000, Highland was a predominantly Latino neighborhood. Census data show that in 2000 the population of Highland was just over 7000, of which 67 percent self-reported as Hispanic.[1] However, according to the 2010 Census, Hispanics made up only 37 percent of the neighborhood's population a decade later, while the overall population dropped to under 4900. These numbers indicate gentrification on two measures. First, the almost 50 percent change in the ethnic composition serves as the most obvious indication of neighborhood change. Second, the sudden drop in neighborhood population strongly suggests a general change in household composition. This reduction may indicate a change from larger extended families

common in Latino communities to smaller nuclear or childless families more common in Anglo middle-class communities.

Quantitative methods help us catalog urban change. However, they offer little traction in operationalizing phenomenological concepts like place and territory. Quantitative methods also fall short in explaining the role that governmentality plays in neighborhood change—how to rule, how strictly, by what methods, to what ends (Foucault, 1991). Though the numbers served as a foundation for my research, this book in no way relies solely on quantitative data. My ongoing interest in disentangling neighborhood change begins with measurable physical neighborhoods; however, it extends to social communities and their formative cultural complexes. Thus, my methods were grounded in physicality *and* they were ethnographic. In other words, I employed a spatial ethnography (cf. Kim, 2015)—a geographical methodology rooted in the physical environment and deeply concerned with both human behavior in public space and the spatial regulation of human behavior. Fusing physical spatial analyses with anthropological methodologies, I made concerted efforts to interact with interviewees within public spaces, the regulation of which I came to understand through archival research. This process was therefore necessarily iterative: what I learned in the field informed what I looked for in archives, and what I learned from archives helped me better understand what was happening in the field.

Triangulating ethnographic findings with archival research and demographic analyses helped me tease out the causal mechanisms of dense social systems (cf. Low, 1981; Low, Taplin, & Sheld, 2005). Tax assessor files indicated that in the course of these ten years, real estate prices skyrocketed and that numerous small, single-family homes were demolished and replaced with large expensive houses and condominium complexes. In tandem with the documented shift in neighborhood ethnicity, business license data showed an early twentieth-century shift from ethnic, local-serving retail like *Joyería de Alfredo Acevedo*[12] to purveyors of hipster cool like *True Blue Tattoo*. I cataloged the shift from Mexican restaurants like *Aztec Sol* to Asian-fusion eateries like *Uncle*. After preliminary research in archives maintained by the Denver Public Library, the City and County of Denver, and the Regional Transportation District, I was granted access to Denver Urban Garden's archives and accorded a rare opportunity to spend considerable time combing through the extensive archive of Highland community activism kept by Martha Roberts. In addition to reading city planning documents, parking policies, and code books,

I also attended liquor board hearings and read transcripts of hearings I was unable to attend. Scrutiny of these small levers of governance, ones articulated in workaday management protocols, helped to reveal subtle territorial regimes. These regimes determine *who* can occupy publicly accessible property, *when* they can be there, *what* they can legally do there, and *how long* they may remain. In other words, they stipulate what people have a right to do.

I agree with Fairbanks (2012) who insists that ethnography is a particularly useful methodology for the study of urban governance and governmentality. According equal weight to place and territory provided a clearer picture of regulatory policies, not only as they are conceived by planners, but also how they are experienced by neighborhood residents, business owners, and real estate agents. To this end, I coded and drew themes from verbatim transcriptions of 60 recorded narrative interviews with longtime Highland residents, as well as with neighborhood newcomers, real estate developers and brokers, community activists, business owners, and city employees. I also let the perspective I gained in many unrecorded conversations with people in North Denver guide my research. Using these many and varied frames of reference, I gained perspective on how different groups, often with divergent worldviews, interpret and sanction behavior in publicly accessible spaces. Unobtrusive, participant, and mobile observation techniques proffered complementary optics that brought the spatial practices constituting Highland's public spaces into sharper focus. I went on many walks, bike rides, and drives, sometimes alone, sometimes in the company of my interviewees. Moving along Highland's streets at different speeds and at different times of the day deepened my understanding of the rhythms and dynamics of both place and territory.

Most interviewees answered my list of specific questions about gentrification by telling stories about their neighborhood's history and sharing their interpretations of how these events shaped trajectories of current neighborhood change. One early interview stands out. José Lara, a former pastor of Highland's Our Lady of Guadalupe Church, in answering one of my first questions, said simply, "Let me tell you a story. Sometimes stories are better than answers; they connect people and facts." During the course of our three-hour conversation, we connected many people and facts. The anthropologist Michael Agar sees these types of emergent moments as facts connected by experience (Agar, 1996). He insists that narrative interviews allow researchers to learn how people think about the world by letting them talk about it (ibid). Every story requires an audience.

Charles Briggs (1986) sees in-depth interviews as "interpretive frames that are constructed by the participants in the course of the discourse" (p. 12). It follows that the effectiveness of an interview in collecting reliable, verifiable data depends on how both interviewee and interviewer draw on their surroundings and interpret each other's remarks. I worked to ensure that interviews produced an open and honest conversation between my interviewees and me. The interpretive frame of these interviews fostered many opportunities for dialogues between Highland's past and its present. These interviews were woven together with field notes during the coding process, uncovering thematic inconsistencies between the interviewees' points of view and research perspectives gained from my extensive participant observation of public space in the field.

William Faulkner famously said "The past isn't dead, it isn't even past." Walking through gentrifying neighborhoods like Highland, one is reminded of the enduring validity of this statement. Each vacant lot has a story, each house a series of familial sagas, each development its own path of legal hurdles. Land use codes, public safety codes, public health protocols, and business licensing regulations also have histories. As discussed in Chap. 2, public space is a social process occurring within and in relation to this evolving web of bylaws, a network that Staeheli and Mitchell (2008) call *tissues of regulation*. Disentangling this latticework with either a purely inductive or a purely deductive approach would have proven insufficient. Michael Agar (1996) insists that ethnographers rely upon neither inductive nor deductive frameworks. Instead, they use abductive directionality, that is, they create research designs that allow them to work laterally from unsure footing and curious gaps in knowledge, and to connect threads of empirical data to secure theoretical scaffolding. Moving between place and territory, between interviews and archives, and between history and present, the spatial ethnography I present in this book is necessarily abductive.

Chapter Outlines

By foregrounding low-level governance and privileging the voices of those active in producing public space, this study deconstructs the bureaucratic minutiae and everyday practices that are part and parcel of gentrification. Remaining focused on specific physical environments, such as sidewalks, streets, vacant lots, and neighborhood parks. I link theories of public space to the empirics of neighborhood change. The following chapter limns a brief history of the Highland neighborhood and explores the knotty concept of gentrification. Chapter 2 constitutes one of the theoretical cores of this book. In this chapter, using the concepts of locality, place, and territory, I construct a theory of the dialogical production of space. I then link the production of space to my concept of the rights-rift—the tension created by the friction between what feels right in doing and what one has a right to do. Also in this chapter, I deconstruct my concept of primitive property—a bundle of rights *to* and relations of belonging *in* a locality that exists independent of formal property regimes.

In Chapter 3, I argue that property rights should be considered not in terms of ownership but rather in terms of belonging. I understand belonging as working in two manners. The first way is subject–object belonging, upon which standard ownership models are based. Subjects possess objects. The second way is part–whole belonging. People are part of their culture; therefore, they belong to it. Using this framework, I then further develop my concept of primitive property. Finally, I suggest that the concept of place centers on personhood, on cultural identity. As I argue in the subsequent chapters, legal definitions of nuisance align more closely with

dominant Anglo cultural assumptions about legitimacy than with corresponding ideas of legitimacy in more marginal Latino cultural complexes.

The subsequent chapters each foregrounds a specific type of publicly accessible space: *vacant space, temporary space, sidewalk space, street space,* and *park space.* Chapter 4 deconstructs legally vacant spaces upon which two community gardens are sited: the "Troy" Chavez Memorial Peace Garden (later simply The Peace Garden) and the Pecos Garden. I use this chapter to encapsulate how *belonging to* a culture and belonging, or, as the case may be, not belonging *within* a specific geography, combine to advance or to stem gentrification. The story of the Peace Garden highlights a case where design and management decisions flowed from cultural practice, and consequently how emergent territoriality organically aligned with Latino cultural attitudes about place. This alignment works to sustain certain elements of Latino complexes in Highland. The Pecos Garden charts a contrasting process. This garden, once a vital place for Highland's small Hmong community, is currently being territorialized by Anglo newcomers as a neighborhood amenity that serves to support gentrification.

Chapter 5 uses temporality as a conceptual trope to compare and contrast Anglo and Latino cultural complexes and their related symbolic economies. Focused on temporary use of a variety of locations, this chapter describes and connects many trajectories of neighborhood change. After more fully developing the concept of symbolic economy, I counterpoise Anglo and Latino interpretations of church festivals. In the same vein I illustrate the contrasting ways these groups sanction unstructured play and informal gatherings in publicly accessible space. Finally, I discuss the issue of street closure for block parties and street fairs. In examples throughout Chapter 5, I demonstrate that Anglo territorialization of everyday publicly accessible spaces advances gentrification. Though temporary, the events described in these examples contribute to the unquestioned sedimentation of Anglo modes of expressing ways of belonging in Latino neighborhoods.

In Chapter 6, I shift from temporary events to the permanence of land use regulations, and discuss another type of publicly accessible space, sidewalks and the common practice of public walking in urban neighborhoods. I foreground two types of sidewalk users. A discussion of dog-walking pivots on the profound sense of neighborhood legitimacy that "walking the dog" engenders for many Anglo newcomers. The second group of pedestrians I consider are those who walk to and from Highland's trendy and ethnic restaurants. My discussion of the restaurant scene casts light on two elements of low-level governance: on-street parking policy, and

liquor license tribunals. Chapter 6 demonstrates how changes in parking policy alter patterns of neighborhood mobility and sociability. Further, the chapter shows the ease with which liquor licenses are obtained for restaurants that target neighborhood newcomers and gastronomic tourists *vis-à-vis* the difficulty that restaurants already serving the local community encountered in obtaining new or upgrading existing liquor licenses. This clear licensing bias changes commonplace ideas about neighborhood legitimacy and authenticity. Central to the argument developed throughout this book is that legitimacy and authenticity are central mechanisms in the gentrification of public space and therefore causal factors in neighborhood change.

In Chapter 7, I shift my focus to streets and unpack the role that lowrider cruising played in neighborhood change. This public practice, a loud and colorful parade of Latino culture down neighborhood streets, was at the center of a long-running struggle between Latino longtimers and Anglos newcomers for territorial control of North Denver publicly accessible spaces. During the 1990s, conflicts over street legitimacy tilted toward the interests of new, middle-class, and predominantly Anglo neighborhood residents. Today Anglo urbanism is the new norm in North Denver. Consequently, Highland's streets are marked by predictable traffic patterns rather than by the "mobile barrios" inscribed by Latinos onto street networks that knit together the Northside during the late twentieth century.

In Chapter 8, I discuss the design and regulation of four North Denver Parks: Saint Patrick's Park, La Raza Park, Berkeley Park, and Sloan's Lake Park. The story of Saint Patrick's Park serves as a counter example to the three subsequent parks I discuss. Saint Patrick's Park is an inspiring example of what a community can produce if it works together toward a common goal. I then contrast the three parks designed, built, and managed by the City of Denver. I deconstruct the history of appropriation, celebration, and cultural violence that marked La Raza Park, officially named Columbus Park, and add flesh to the bones of my argument that changing public space changes neighborhoods. Connecting dog walkers to the design and programming of urban parks, I discuss the vetting, planning, and construction of an off-leash dog area in Berkeley Park. This process was centered on Anglo notions of canine–human relations, and largely ignored longtimer cultural presumptions about play and place in North Denver. Finally, I examine the redesign of Sloan's Lake Park, which intentionally changed it from a park which visitors drove through and

within which they often cruised, to a park designed around walking and bicycling. I suggest that, working at a variety of geographical scales and along parallel temporal arcs, official and unofficial changes to the design and regulation of these parks fossilized ethnic biases into general acceptance, into new modes and means of belonging, and thereby contributed in incremental but cumulative ways to the gentrification of Highland. In the chapters that follow, I argue that changes to public space contribute to the residential location decisions of both in-moving gentrifiers and out-moving longtimers.

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Notes

1. I understand music to be a central part of any culture. In the chapters that follow I explore how people express their cultural complexes to themselves and to others through language, visual art, music, and performance art. Music, and with it, dance and celebration, are part of a culture's symbolic economy. In Chaps. 2 and 3, I more fully define symbolic economy as the verbal and non-verbal communicative component of any cultural complex.
2. Reggae is an Afro-Caribbean dance music which originated in Jamaica and is heavily influenced by ska, calypso, mento, Jazz, and New Orleans' rhythm and blues.
3. An African American musical genre, funk is American inner-city outgrowth of New Orleans' rhythm and blues, which mixes musical forms of soul and jazz into a danceable rhythmic groove.
4. Although empty at the start of my research, this parcel is no longer vacant. Today it is occupied by two separate three-story condominium complexes.
5. Sadly, Rosa Linda's is no longer a going concern. As of this writing, no other restaurant has opened in the space once occupied by this iconic eatery.

6. As of this writing, the Squeaky Bean has relocated to Lower Downtown Denver.

7. A notoriously riotous dive bar in the 1980s that paradoxically still stands vacant, even though every other building on the block has been either rebuilt or refurbished.

8. A Mexican folk music that combines European instrumentation, notation, and song structures (particularly the waltz and the polka) with harmonies and melodies indigenous to Mexico, specifically to the province of Jalisco.

9. I build my concept of the Anglo cultural complex upon the geography of Anglo America. This region of the Americas exhibits the lasting influences of the British Empire, which, to this day, include systems of land tenure, civil and criminal legal codes, the English language, and notably, Protestantism. Central to the ideas I develop in this book is that Protestantism is laden with cultural propensities toward individualism, sobriety, and privacy. Using broad brushstrokes, Anglo America can be imagined to include the USA of America, Canada (aside from Quebec), and the Anglophone Caribbean, which encompasses territories of the former British West Indies, Belize, Bermuda, and Guyana. In this book, I show that neither Latin America nor Anglo America are monolithic geographies; they both fracture and splinter apart into multiple neighboring areas. Moreover, Anglo culture is complex, reflecting the linguistic and ethnic histories of Northern, Southern, and Central Europe. In the USA, this diversity was subsumed into a monolithic cultural complex by means of centuries-long cultural assimilation policies and practices. Cultural tension always played a part in the absorption of diverse peoples into a recognizable American citizenry. For example, the nativist temperance movement, which gave rise to the prohibition amendment to the US constitution, was framed in terms of a mainly rural, native, Protestant, teetotaler upper class *vis-á-vis* an immigrant, urban, Catholic, and typically alcohol-consuming working-class.

10. I construct my concept of the Latino cultural complex upon the geographical foundation of Latin America. Latin America comprises the parts of the Americas where Romance languages are spoken. This cultural region was marked by the colonial influence of France, Portugal, and Spain. Latin America it still bears the marks of colonialism. Romance languages are spoken in Latin America; systems of land use reflect the French long lot system and

the Spanish Hacienda system. In contrast to Protestant Anglo America, Latin America reflects the historical influences of Catholicism and with it a cultural propensity for ostentatious public celebration and a general tendency to elevate the needs of the community over those of the individual. New Orleans Mardi Gras and Brazilian Carnival serve as convenient examples of the commonality of celebration, pretentious display, and public euphoria often seen in Latin culture. The Latin American region includes French Canada, Cajun/Creole Louisiana, along with 20 sovereign states and several territories and dependencies covering the area stretching from Mesoamerica to the tip of South America and including much of the Caribbean. I envision Latino cultural complexes to be subsets of a larger reading of Latin culture. Latino cultural complexes have many commonalities, including the Spanish language, Catholicism, and a mestizo heritage: they include Mexicano, Guatemalteco, Chicano, Cubano, Tejano, and Puertorriqueño, among other subcultures.

11. Throughout this book I use the term Latino/a. For most of the Censuses that I analyzed in preparation for my fieldwork, the US Census Bureau used the term Hispanic to mark this ethnicity.

12. A Mexican jewelry store.

Contents

LIST OF FIGURES

¿Dónde Está Highland?

Since the turn of the twenty-first century, Highland has changed dramatically in terms of the socioeconomic makeup of its residents and the quality of its built environment. The numbers tell a compelling story; according to US census data the percentage of its resident population that self-reported as Hispanic remained steady throughout the end of the twentieth century: 62 percent in 1980, 69 percent in 1990, and 67 percent in 2000. This changed quickly. The 2010 census indicated a reduction in the Latino proportion of the neighborhood to 37 percent. At first blush, it would seem that neighborhood change was rapid. Interested in this dynamic, I first compiled data of retail licenses. I analyzed the spatial patterns of neighborhood-serving establishments like hair salons and ethnic retailers while contrasting these data with the patterns and clusters of businesses that draw people to neighborhoods such as art galleries, fashion boutiques, and trendy restaurants. Initial analyses revealed that the retail environment began to change significantly in the mid-1990s. Evidence seemed to indicate that the gentrification of Highland had deeper economic roots than the demographic data alone expose. To understand the processes and outcomes of profound demographic change, we must be cognizant of the intertwining histories of these changes.

I argue that the gentrification of Highland can only be explained by deconstructing the ongoing processes and their interpenetrating histories. Put another way, though measurable neighborhood change may seem rapid, its interwoven processes are in fact gradual. This dissonance is important. Siting my inquiry within the social production of space, I argue

that before people are displaced from their residences, they are dislocated from publicly accessible spaces in their neighborhood. Throughout this book I show that spatial regulations, in concert with territorial discipline, dislodged neighborhood longtimers from publicly accessible space. This process I call the gentrification of space, a process which predates the displacement from private residences, by many years, sometimes by decades.

Though they are complex, these tangled trajectories of change come into focus when we examine the space between two opposing terms: legitimacy and nuisance. Legitimacy justifies doing something. Nuisance is something that bothers someone. Long timers tend to consider neighborhood legitimacy in terms of a deep knowledge of the built and social environments, what I define as place. Understanding place requires understanding the intricate, long-standing relationships between social structure and material artifacts which underpin indigenous claims to an authentic presence in everyday public spaces like streets, sidewalks, and neighborhood parks. In Latino neighborhoods these spaces knit communities together. In contrast, many Anglo newcomers derive their sense of neighborhood legitimacy from property ownership and, significantly, from extant legal mechanisms put in place by the city to protect property values. Consequently, Anglo newcomers tend to see parks, sidewalks, and streets primarily as amenities that affect the value of their real estate. Key to the central argument of this book is that both longtimers and newcomers see their claim to neighborhood spaces as legitimate, and both groups often consider public practices other than their own as nuisances.

In this chapter, I outline brief histories of the city of Denver, the Northside, and the Highland. Then I more fully define the slippery term gentrification. Ultimately this is a book about publicly accessible space. Public space takes many different forms, ranging from more visible and well-studied spaces like signature parks, malls, and town squares, to small neighborhood locales (Watson 2006). Instead of large places like central plazas and city-serving parks, I focus on the interconnected microgeographies of publicly accessible neighborhood spaces like sidewalks and streets, vacant lots, parking lots, and small parks.

A city that emerged from the boom and bust mining industry and railroad expansion in the late nineteenth century, Denver was long home to a temporary and often indigent workforce. As it grew from a trading post into a city, unregulated profiteering, brutal labor conditions in mining, smelting, and meatpacking industries, and anti-immigrant sentiment

contributed to the rise of many ethnic enclaves such as Highland, first established by Irish immigrants; Globeville, settled by Polish, Russian, Czech, Slovenian, and German immigrants; and Five Points, initially populated by African Americans fleeing Jim Crow laws in the American South (Fell 1979; Hunt 1999). Most manual labor jobs were to be found in mining and smelting, meatpacking, and railroad industries. Today a strong research-based economy drives contemporary job growth. The city's location at the base of the Rocky Mountains puts it in proximity to ski resorts and other outdoor recreational areas, making it a very desirable place to live for tertiary sector workers. Citywide economic development plans contributed to this shift from an industrial economy to a service economy. Strategic decisions made by a succession of city governments, such as pedestrianizing Downtown Denver's 16th Street, massing Denver's sports facilities within a Lower Downtown Entertainment District, and constructing a state of the art international airport, established Denver as a top contender in the Intramountain West. Additionally, real estate development in the Platte River Valley, a large swath of land between Downtown Denver and North Denver neighborhoods, came to play a significant role in patterns of citywide economic development. Once, the Platte River Valley divided the city; now it stitches together the entertainment hubs of Lower Downtown, the cultural hubs of the Auraria College Campus and the Museum District, and the financial and civic hubs of Downtown Denver and the Civic Center. Consequently, the Platte River Valley now joins into one fabric the rapidly gentrifying neighborhoods of North Denver: Highland, West Highland, Jefferson Park, Sunnyside, and Berkeley. Finally, public–private partnerships, specifically the Downtown Denver Partnership and the Civic Center Conservancy that focus on revitalizing the downtown commercial core and the adjacent museum district, proved instrumental in reconfiguring popular images of Denver from those associated with the drab 1950s beatnik cow-town captured in Jack Kerouac's iconic novel *On the Road*, to ones centered on high culture, haute cuisine, and high-altitude outdoor recreation.

Massive investments in entertainment infrastructure, such as three new sports areas—Coors Field, Invesco Field, and the Pepsi Center—combined with large-scale, multi-decade development strategies, contribute to a particularly robust real estate and housing market, one of the most expensive in the country. According to the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) data, the Denver rental market is among the top third of the priciest rental markets in America. Colorado also ranks

among the top third of states for share of workforce with a severe housing cost burden (Department of Housing and Urban Development 2009). Denver housing is expensive; maintaining stable, long-term housing is daunting, especially for low-income residents. What is more, increasing property values, translated to higher rents and escalating property taxes, have been shown to contribute to gentrification (Hebbert 2005).

Merely focusing on the macro-economic trends, we might assume that for a city like Denver, gentrification is inevitable. Gentrification scholarship that focuses on macro-economic explanations tends to treat gentrification as a structural, monolithic force. Conversely, academic work emerging from creative city discourses tends to celebrate gentrification as a boon for cities. This book follows a third trajectory of scholarship, the community study. In doing so, it foregrounds a particular neighborhood and uncovers small, yet powerful, drivers of gentrification. While acknowledging the momentum large projects provide, this book brings gentrification theory to a street level. Rooted in theories of place, territory, and property, and informed by ethnographic research, this book demonstrates that small everyday spaces can in fact serve as fulcrums of gentrification.

A Historical Sketch of Highland

Highland was long a Catholic enclave in a predominantly Protestant city. It was first settled by Irish immigrants in the late nineteenth century. As the twentieth century progressed, Italian, Mexican, and Mexican-American immigrants followed. Each ethnic group left a lasting mark on the neighborhood. It is not uncommon to hear Spanish being spoken today in lower Highland. This same neighborhood remains home to Denver's oldest and most authentic Italian eateries, many of which served as fronts for the mafia during the prohibition era (Goodstein 2011). Owing to overlaps in the migration of these ethnic groups, within a five-block radius there stand three Catholic churches: Irish—Saint Patrick's Parish, Italian—Our Lady of Mount Carmel, and Latino—Our Lady of Guadalupe.

Transportation infrastructure has long been a driver of neighborhood change in North Denver. Let us take a closer look at one Irish priest's impact on Highland's accessibility. Taking charge of Saint Patrick's Church in 1885, Father Joseph Carrigan proved himself a brilliant preacher and community organizer. At the vanguard of community leaders seeking to improve the connections between Downtown Denver and North Denver—then effectively separated by the South Platte River and

the numerous railroad tracks coursing the Platte River Valley—Carrigan led the 20th Street Viaduct Committee. A tireless neighborhood booster, Father Carrigan insisted that, when completed in 1910, the 20th Street Viaduct be constructed in such a way as to terminate at Saint Patrick's Church's parking lot (Goodstein 2011). It was. Until its demolition in 1991, the peculiar bend in the bridge toward his church was known as Carrigan's Curve.

The frequently flooded shantytown known as the "Bottoms"—within the portion of the Platte River Valley through which Interstate 25 currently runs (Fig. 1.1)—served as a catchment area for immigrants: Irish in the late nineteenth century, Italian in the early twentieth century, and Latino around mid-century. As soon as they could, often by pooling familial resources, families living in the squalor of the Bottoms would move up Highland's bluffs into houses with indoor plumbing, from lean-tos assembled from scraps into houses that were built on foundations and constructed of brick instead of scrap lumber (Hunt 1999). Generally, this

Fig. 1.1 A Google Earth image of Highland, showing a gridded sea of houses, Interstate 25 cutting through the former "Bottoms," and the 20th Street Viaduct folding into neighborhood streets soon after it crosses the interstate. Image: Google Earth—accessed 1/15/16

trajectory of residential migration up the bluffs and to the West continued. This pattern eventually manifested as the growth of the suburbs of Arvada, Lakewood, Westminster, and Wheat Ridge. "When you hit Tejon Street,[1] you were almost in America," shared one current Northside resident as he told me of his family's migration from Italy to Denver's Bottoms then to Arvada in pursuit of the American Dream.

Highland's decline in the 1960s was accelerated by a singular, massive urban renewal project: the construction of Interstate 25. Cutting a swath through the Platte River Valley, the project obliterated the Bottoms, displaced hundreds of residents, caused real estate values to plummet, and further isolated Highland from Downtown Denver (Hunt 1999). My Brother's Bar, located at the corner of 15th Street and Platte Street, a mere 83 meters southeast of Interstate 25, survived the urban renewal that destroyed the Bottoms. Currently Denver's oldest bar,[2] it was Jack Kerouac's, Neal Cassady's, and Al Ginsberg's watering hole when they were in Denver. In the late 1940s, after converging in My Brother's Bar they would either head up the Bluffs into what Kerouac called "Mexican Town" in search of sexual adventure or they would go across town to the many Jazz clubs in the Five Points neighborhood to experience the raw energy of Bebop.[3]

Embedded within social, economic, and cultural histories, Highland was, and is, always changing (c.f. Brown-Saracino 2009a). Not only are new buildings and streetscapes outward signs of this change, but they are also conduits along which cultural meaning flows. Crucially, cultural meaning informs neighborhood searches of potential new homebuyers and renters (cf. Bader and Krysan 2015). To wit, people move to a neighborhood in part because they like the prevailing architectural styles and enjoy the pace of public life its streetscapes engender. In this way, a multitude of past decisions—from minuscule to massive—guide modern trajectories of change. The satellite view of Highland (Fig. 1.1) reveals a gridded sea of houses and duplexes with front gardens and backyards. Because it was platted, subdivided, and built out before Denver's 1955 zoning code eliminating the requirement that residential plots have sidewalks, Highland is knitted together by a network of concrete sidewalks. These sidewalks currently allow easy pedestrian navigation and facilitate casual socializing.

Highland's housing stock is diverse (Fig. 1.2). In the sections of the neighborhood closer to Interstate 25, one finds a greater number of small adobe homes, such as cottage Victorians, than at the neighborhood's interior. One-hundred-year-old maple trees shade the sidewalks along

Fig. 1.2 Common architectural styles in Highland, all with front porches. From left to right: a single-story adobe Victorian (circa 1945), a single-story brick bungalow (circa 1920), and finally a two-story brick Victorian (circa 1890). Images by Author.

many of its streets. Older Victorian houses and bungalows are generally constructed of brick and feature landscaped front lawns and fenced-in backyards. Post-2000 construction tends to be modern, comprising a mixture of façade materiality. Residential alleys are a common urban design feature throughout the entire neighborhood. By concentrating garages, electrical infrastructure, and trash removal facilities at the rear of homes, back alleys allow for pleasant street-facing porches, while simultaneously providing opportunities for neighbors to socialize between backyard spaces (Hess 2008; Martin 2002; Wolch et al. 2010).

As neighborhoods change, older structures are repurposed or replaced, and new buildings are constructed. This process conveys new cultural meanings and overwrites much of the visible culture of indigenous populations. In Highland this happened in the 1910s as Italian cultural landscapes replaced Irish ones, and also from the 1940s as Latino cultural landscapes supplanted Italian ones. Neighborhood change, whether conceived in terms either of ethnicity or of architecture, can be understood as a conflict over *cultural hegemony* (Mills 1988). In fact, manifest changes to visual culture are key parts of debates orbiting *cultural displacement* (Atkinson 2000, 2003; Venkatesh 2008; Markusen and Gadwa 2010), which throughout this book I suggest presages and facilitates residential displacement.

Though some new construction has resulted in large condominium complexes, the majority of Highland's new housing stock comprises rectilinear single-family or duplex homes and condominium complexes (Fig. 1.3). Modern, mixed-material structures are often lambasted by neighborhood longtimers as ugly boxes, outward signs that their neighborhood is being bought out from under them. Not only framing Highland's streetscape

Fig. 1.3 A newly constructed home in Highland, lacking a front porch and featuring a rectilinear, mixed-material, modern architectural style. Image by Author

with a postmodern aesthetic, these houses also tend to impact the publicness of neighborhood streets. They generally lack certain design features, like front porches and front and back yards, design components that tend to encourage social activity. These striking postmodern buildings delimit casual contact and restrict personal contact between neighbors (c.f. Ellin 2006; c.f. Hess 2008; c.f. Larice and Macdonald 2007). The elimination of the porous spaces between the private space of the home and the streetscape of the sidewalk means that modern homes tend to convey cultural meaning exclusively through their visual appearance as opposed to both visually and socially through neighborly interactions. Architecture is a component of every cultural complex. Formal architecture is wound up with cultural hegemony (Hayden 2007) and can therefore lead to cultural displacement. There is also a cultural component to how one draws neighborhood boundaries.

¿Dóndeestá Highland?[4]

Early in my fieldwork, North Denver community activist and City of Denver employee Michael Miera agreed to speak to me about the gentrification of Highland. He suggested we meet at Chubby's—an iconic North Denver *taquería*—to pick up a couple of burritos smothered with green chili and stroll across the street to La Raza Park. After our meal, as I was preparing to interview him about Highland, gentrification, and public space, he preempted my first question with one of his own. "¿Dóndeestá Highland?" he asked jokingly, and then quickly answered, "This is the *Northside*!" For him, North Denver—comprising a crosscutting of the neighborhoods of Globeville, Highland, Sunnyside, West Highland, Sloan's Lake, Berkeley, and Jefferson Park—was more than a group of officially designated and managed city neighborhoods. These official neighborhoods together con-

stitute a place, the Northside; it was, Miera continued, "a piece of *Aztlán*,[5] home to Mexicanos, to Chicanos." Alluding to the gentrification of space, he continued, "Now all you see are hipsters with money to spend."

Aside from Interstate 70 to the North and Interstate 25 to the East, there is no clear indication of the boundaries of neighborhoods. Therefore, trying to draw a line around the Highland neighborhood proves difficult. In fact, most longtime Highland residents view some portion of the entirety of North Denver as their neighborhood. Referring to it, as Miera does, as the Northside, Northwest Denver, or North Denver, most residents I spoke with draw the eastern boundary of their neighborhood at Interstate 25. Some include the neighborhoods of Globeville, Elyria-Swansea, located east of Interstate 25, into the area they consider their home turf. Some include the western neighborhoods of Berkeley, West Highland and Sloan Lake; many do not. In fact, depending on what they are speaking about, many North Denver residents draw elastic boundaries around their neighborhood. For example, some longtimers, when telling me stories of lowrider or hot rod cruising, included the entire Northwest metro area comprising neighboring suburban municipalities of Arvada, Lakewood, and Westminster, in their concept of the Northside. Therefore, depending upon their mental maps of place, residents are likely to perceive the threat of neighborhood change differently.

The flexible mental geography of place is apparent in newcomers as well, many of whom tend to use the term LoHi—for Lower Highland—when referring to the eastern portion of the neighborhood. For example, they encapsulate the extreme southwest portion of Highland in their mental maps of their new neighborhood. Invented by real estate brokers to echo LoDo—for Lower Downtown—the *hilly* nickname LoHi—whose mere utterance is generally derided by many longtimers—compresses the micro-geography of Lower Highland into a percussive moniker reminiscent of New York's SoHo, NoHo, and TriBeCa neighborhood nicknames.

This malleable geography seems to fly in the face of classic neighborhood studies, which provide a framework for much current scholarship on gentrification (c.f. Gans 1962; c.f. Jacobs 1993; c.f. Whyte 1993). Such boundary-bias is best articulated by Sharon Zukin, who claims inner-city neighborhoods are bounded with discernible edges, and therefore have a finite inventory of parks, people, and places (Zukin 2010). When attempting to understand urban areas designed around driving instead of walking—ones that are not densely populated or densely built—it seems reasonable to jettison the boundary-bias and let residents define the spatial

limits of their neighborhoods. Furthermore, in terms of the generalizability of this book, the typical mid-sized American city is an auto-dependent and sprawling collection of districts (Brueckner 2000; Bruegmann 2005), rather than a collection of densely built, walkable urban villages.

While it is certainly a salient component of a person's identity, where he or she lives does not exhaust his or her sense of place. Research on the rise of Latino gangs in Denver, for example, shows that during the 1940s and 1950s, North and West Denver Latino *pachucos* would openly challenge ethno-racial boundaries and "walk with pride downtown" (Duran 2011). Such transgressions of territorial boundaries are indicative of the complexities of space. Space is more than an inert landscape that is transgressed. Pachucos, presenting themselves as cultural, ethnic, and racial outsiders, *take space with them* (Keenan 2015) when they walk with pride outside of the barrio. In pushing territorial boundaries, they contributed to productions of space, productions that resulted in conflict, curiosity, or tolerance. Movement, transgression, and territorialization are also components of lowrider cruising. Lowriding mirrors the routinized *paseando* in rural Mexican plazas—a ritual of showing off by slowly sauntering around public squares to show yourself to an admiring community (Richardson 1982). Whether drag racing in the industrial district, cruising 16thStreet in Downtown Denver to socialize and flirt, celebrating Cinco de Mayo along Federal Boulevard—which runs the entire length of the city from North Denver through West Denver to South Denver—or taunting rivals in other neighborhoods, teens from the 1950s to the 1990s often transgressed territorial boundaries in the public presentation of self, identity, and culture. Finally, Chicanos tend to consider *Aztlán*, the macro-region encompassing much of the American Southwest—Southern California, Colorado, Arizona, New Mexico, and Texas, *as well as* Northern Mexico—as their home territory (Gonzales 2001; Romo 1996; Vigil 1999). It follows that Latinos, many of whom migrated to the city of Denver during the 1950s and 1960s from the rural American Southwest, often include the entire urbanized region of Denver as well as its rural hinterlands as their home turf. Many extend this boundary more widely, strongly identifying with New Mexico, Northern Mexico and Southern California.

Defending Highland

Mid-century urban renewal—most visible in the construction of Interstates 25 and 70 (cf. Doeppers 1967)—played a key role in the mid-century physical and economic deterioration of North Denver neighborhoods.

The shantytown of the Bottoms was cleared to make way for Interstate 25. Traffic engineers did not consider North Denver streets in terms of the neighborhoods they passed through but as means of conveying commuters to outlying suburbs. For example, in the mid-1950s, as part of the transportation plan linked to the new interstate highway system, the city transformed north-south Osage and Navajo streets and the east-west 33rd and 35th Avenues into high-capacity one-way streets. This was done at the bidding of powerful real estate developers who wanted to facilitate the rapid movement of a growing number of commuters from jobs in Downtown Denver to new suburban developments in the bordering municipalities of Arvada, Lakewood, Westminster, and Wheat Ridge. Consequently once-quiet streets that knit communities together became dangerous thoroughfares that disrupted neighborly discourse and limited outdoor recreation for children (cf. Appleyard 1981).

The upgrading of pedestrian transportation infrastructure can be counted as a major success for Highland community activism in the 1970s and 1980s. Street beautification and the improvement of pedestrian safety were accomplished by installing flagstone sidewalks, planting street trees, and lobbying the city to institute traffic-calming devices such as the replacement of stoplights with four-way stops, and the reconfiguration of 33rd Avenue, 35th Avenue, Navajo Street, and Osage Street from roaring high-capacity one-way streets into quiet two-way neighborhood streets with on-street parking. The replacement of two bridges—the 16th Street and 20th Street viaducts spanning the Platte Valley and connecting Highland to Downtown Denver—proved key to the gentrification of North Denver. I discuss the replacement of the 16th Street viaduct with a pedestrian bridge in Chapter 6. The upgrading of the 20th Street viaduct is an important story of community activism in North Denver. Allow me to limn how a politically weak neighborhood successfully fought the City of Denver, the Regional Transportation District (RTD),[6] the State of Colorado, and the Federal Government over their plans to shunt tens of thousands of cars per day through Highland.

There were once five viaducts spanning the flood-prone Platte Valley and connecting Northwest Denver to Downtown Denver. By mid-century, these bridges were in deplorable condition and in need of major overhaul or outright replacement. In the 1980s, Denver Mayor Federico Peña initiated development plans for the Platte Valley, then the largest tract of undeveloped land adjacent to any major US city. The Peña plan focused on transforming the Platte Valley into Denver's entertainment district. Today

this swath of land underlies Denver's Coors Field,[7] the Pepsi Center,[8] and the Elitch Gardens Amusement Park,[9] along with scores of mixed-use developments arrayed between these three entertainment anchors. A central part of these development plans was a reconfiguration of the Platte Valley viaduct system (Saiz 1993). The 20th Street viaduct was slated to be removed and replaced with a larger bridge, one which would not only more efficiently shunt RTD regional buses from Interstate 25 to the Downtown Denver Market Street Station, but also would siphon approximately 40,000 vehicles per day off Interstate 25, conveying them through Highland on West 32nd Avenue toward other regional highways.

There were four compelling reasons the 20th Street viaduct needed replacement. First, there was the bridge's deplorable condition. Constructed in 1910, well before the age of automobile mass transit, it was subject to over 70 years of brutal Colorado weather. The bridge was failing. In fact, by the early 1980s it was deemed one of Colorado's most dangerous infrastructures. According to Colorado Department of Transportation documents, its sufficiency rating was two out of a possible 100. Nevertheless, it carried an average of 12,000 vehicles a day. Second, attempting to remain in compliance with federal air quality standards, the City of Denver and the State of Colorado were redesigning Denver's freeway system. This reconfiguration included incorporating dedicated buses and high-occupancy vehicle (HOV)[10] lanes into the regional transportation system. Third, RTD was facing right-of-way issues through the Platte Valley. The most efficient route from the freeway to the Market Street Station downtown was deemed to be via the 20th Street Bridge. However, in its dilapidated condition, it could not safely convey additional bus traffic. Finally, a realignment of the bridge would correct its historic misalignment. Carrigan's Curve was the source of transportation problems engineers were eager to finally solve.

Martha "Marty" Roberts was instrumental in organizing an ad hoc neighborhood group named DeFEND (Defend against Freeway Exit in North Denver) around the significant public health and public safety impacts of this urban renewal project, which included a projected 233 percent increase in neighborhood traffic, a proportional lowering of air quality, and two flyover freeway ramps connecting West 32nd Avenue to 20th Street.[11] In hard numbers the project called for an increase in daily traffic from 12,000 to 40,000 vehicles. Such traffic growth would have necessitated converting on-street parking space along West 32nd Avenue into two traffic lanes. This would have dramatically changed the route from a local-serving commercial corridor into one serving commuters and populated by strip malls, gas stations, and parking lots.

Throughout the entire process, city, state, and federal offices maintained that the viaduct retrofit was a small project, which was to have minimal impacts on the environment and therefore did not require a full, and expensive, Environmental Impact Statement (EIS).[12] Representing DeFEND, the law firm of Ireland, Stapleton, Pryor and Pascoe, filed a lawsuit against the Federal Highway Administration and the Federal Urban Mass Transit Administration in June 1990, claiming that the government was remiss in not preparing an EIS. The firm argued that in fact the bridge retrofit was large in scope and would therefore significantly impact the surrounding neighborhoods. Indeed, it would have significantly impacted five historic districts, including Potter Highlands and Lower Downtown. Ironically, the 20th Street viaduct itself was a registered historic structure. Its 4321-foot span of multiple steel deck girders and skewed, rigid-connected through trusses was over 80 years old, and one of only five of this type of bridge in Colorado. At the time, it was the oldest and longest of the state's urban, trussed bridges.

On February 25, 1991, the Federal Highway Administration and DeFEND settled the lawsuit out of court. DeFEND and Highland ultimately won major concessions from the City of Denver, RTD, and the State of Colorado. Primarily the 20th Street viaduct was to be rebuilt but without a direct connection to West 32nd Avenue. Today 20th Street folds into two neighborhood streets, Central and Osage, in front of Highland Gateway Park (another concession won by DeFEND) (Fig. 1.1). Rather than conveying traffic over the Platte Valley and through Highland, the 20th Street bridge currently functions as a means of access from Interstate 25 to Highland and Downtown Denver. As a consequence of this community activism, West 32nd Avenue now blends trendy restaurants, funky retail, newly built condominium complexes, and quaint houses into a lively commercial corridor that is central to Highland's appeal to newcomers.

WHAT IS GENTRIFICATION?

In simple terms, gentrification is the migration of members of the middle-class to working-class neighborhoods (Glass 1964). The term itself derives from the landed *gentry* appropriating urban spaces they left to decay and dilapidate as they fled the noise, pollution, and congestion of rapidly industrializing urban cores in search of healthier environs surrounding England's urban centers (Hamnett 1991). In-moving gentry is a necessary but insufficient factor in explaining gentrification. As urban pioneers fix up dilapidated homes, they prime their new neighborhood for speculative

real estate investment. According to basic economic theory, as demand increases so do prices. Rising sales prices tend to elevate all surrounding property values. If they are not controlled, residential rents rise in proportion to increases in property value. Property taxes also increase. These price surges lead to the second outcome of gentrification: residential displacement of working-class people from these now marketable neighborhoods. Aside from this simple economic model, the theoretical status of gentrification has been a matter of consistent debate since scholars coined the term. Gentrification debates orbit many complex questions. Is not the revitalization of blighted urban areas an inherently good thing? Do not city tax revenues also increase proportionately to increases in property values? Will not tax revenue increases benefit the entire city, especially the economically disadvantaged? And importantly, if displacement indeed occurs, how can we measure it?

Most popular discourse circling gentrification remains at the intuitive level: like pornography, "you know it when you see it." In the policy arena, gentrification has become vernacular for narrating any rapid urban change, irrespective of its causes. Popular media is often packed with voyeuristic gentrification stories, detailing "Starbuckification," or "Disneyfication," or the utter and numbing sameness that follows gentrification as neighborhood barbershops and bodegas give way to haute couture boutiques and Whole Foods Markets. As it mixes with popular discourse, the term becomes more categorically elastic and therefore less conceptually coherent. Gentrification is now used to describe such diverse economic processes as sweat-equity upgrading, new-build development, conversion of abandoned industrial space into market-rate housing, and everything in between (Lees et al. 2008b).

Gentrification is often criticized as a covert means of removing "undesirable" people from "desirable" parts of the city. Conversely, it is celebrated in some corners as an effective urban revitalization mechanism. Some scholars extol gentrification as economically uplifting for racial minorities (Freeman 2006). Others see it as an economic and social benefit for cities. Byrne (2003) argues that gentrification is a boon for cities, in that it leads to robust local economies, increase in tax revenue, and even empowerment of minority populations. Florida (2002) claims that by attracting the leading edge of gentrifiers, what he terms the *creative class*, to inner-cities, municipalities become better positioned to expand their tax base. Others insist that economic development outweighs racism, classism, and other forms of cultural imperialism linked to the process

(Freeman 2005; Freeman and Braconi 2004). However, gentrification is more often critiqued as a means of race and class discrimination that invariably leads to residential displacement of working-class and poor residents (Mirabal 2009). Scholars critical of gentrification see the process as part of an emerging neoliberal order (Harvey 2006b) and employ terms like uneven geographical development (Harvey 2006a) to argue that gentrification unfairly burdens the poor while creating desirable environments for the wealthy. A sizable portion of gentrification scholarship argues that the arrival of the middle-class to inner-city neighborhoods can be negatively viewed in terms of the strategic retaking of urban space from ethnic and racial minorities, a territorial strategy referred to as *revanchism* (N. Smith 1996), or as process of *new colonialism* (Atkinson and Bridge 2005), the territorialization of what has been determined as underdeveloped space.

Clearly, though gentrification serves as a central focus of this book, it is obviously not an unchallenged concept (Bridge et al. 2012; Brown-Saracino 2009a; Brown-Saracino and Rumpf 2011; Hackworth and Smith 2001; Lees et al. 2008c; Slater 2004, 2006; Slater et al. 2004; Wilson and Grammenos 2005). There are two primary theoretical anchor points for launching a critique of gentrification, within the disciplines of political economy and cultural studies, respectively. Zeroed in on global and capital-driven processes, political economy literature foregrounds footloose capital in deregulated real estate markets looking for a home in the rent gap created by urban decay (Hackworth and Smith 2001; Mollenkopf and Castells 1991; Slater 2006; N. Smith 1996). Meanwhile cultural theorists link gentrification to a "back to the city" movement by those outside the social mainstream, such as gays and lesbians, who seek the autonomy and privacy that city life promises (Brown-Saracino 2009a). In these terms, gentrification is explained by a change in the consumption patterns of the urbane hip in the 1970s (Zukin 1982) and then of middle-class home-buyers searching for "authenticity" at the turn of the twentieth century (Zukin et al. 2009).

I understand gentrification to be inscribed in public spaces. I suggest that much of the character of any neighborhood is entirely public, from the noises one hears from within one's residence, or the qualities of the built environment one navigates traveling to and from one's home, to the people one encounters on front stoops, on sidewalks, and in local businesses. Many scholars insist that the development of chic boutiques (Zukin 2008b), art districts (Shaw and Sullivan 2011), and trendy cafés (Atkinson

2003) and the progressive closing of pawnshops, ethnic stores, and liquor stores are the most publicly discernible signs of the transformation of "edgy" inner-city slums into "hip" addresses. They argue that changes to architecture and landscape design also have strong symbolic dimensions. Such visible changes to the built environment make the dominant cultural norms of middle-class newcomers highly visible and sometimes hegemonic (Lloyd 2006; Mele 2000; Zukin et al. 2009). Elements that frame everyday public spaces like building façades and front lawns (Blomley 2005a, b), as well as parks and sidewalks, assist in the construction of the kind of publicly accessible spaces that an in-moving, more affluent population desires; all the while, neighborhood longtimers see their traditional gathering places disappear (Freeman 2006). The changes other researchers have seen merely as outward signs of the gentrification process, I interpret to be among the very factors which instigate and drive this process.

Urban scholars have proposed a number of theories to explain gentrification, including stage models (Hackworth and Smith 2001), rent gap models (N. Smith 1996), cultural models (Zukin 1987), and models that incorporate the rent gap and the cultural production of gentrifiers (Hamnett 1991). After the recession of the 1980s, Wyly noted a third wave of gentrification marked by public/private development projects (Wyly 2002; Wyly et al. 2004; Wyly and Hammel 1998). Academics understanding the process as a cultural phenomenon describe how rough and edgy inner-city neighborhoods are *domesticated* by hip coffee shops (Atkinson 2003) and are popularized in middle-class circles by trendy restaurants (Zukin 2010a, b) and stylish boutiques (Zukin 2008a, 2011). Various taxonomies of gentrification have been in circulation for decades. Because of this, scholars have long questioned the theoretical utility of the term, pointing out that it collapses all people who choose to move to an inner-city neighborhood into a single category (Beauregard 1985; Rose 1984). Recognizing how variegated the field of gentrification is, some have carved out subcategories to help explain gentrification on local scales using terms such as *ecological* or *green gentrification* (Checker 2011; Dooling 2009; Quastel 2009), *studentification* (D. Smith 2008), *super-gentrification* (Lees 2003), and *tourism gentrification* (Gotham 2005). Other urbanists attempt to theorize the process as a global urban strategy that is densely connected with circuits of global capital (N. Smith 2002) or even more generally as a planetary phenomenon (Sigler and Wachsmuth 2015; Slater 2016).

Such relentless categorization of gentrification impoverishes our understanding of its composite processes. In effect, much of the schol-

arship on gentrification is about the scholarship of gentrification. While we can measure changes in neighborhood demographic composition and postulate economic theories of its progress, gentrification takes place on micro-scales, as people make small decisions about what and where to eat, where to shop, and how to present themselves to others while going about these mundane activities, as well as more complex decisions about where to reside. These crucial decisions get lost in many theories. Brown-Saracino insists, "[S]cholarly neglect of the processof gentrification has discouraged appreciation of the variations, contradictions, ideologies, and daily practices that are part and parcel of gentrification" (Brown-Saracino 2009a, p. 262). It is obvious that not all gentrifiers have similar motivations for moving to inner-city neighborhoods, nor do they employ the same spatial tactics in doing so. Significantly, Brown-Saracino (2009a) identifies three types of gentrifiers: *urban pioneers* who move to neighborhoods to change them from working-class to middle-class enclaves, absent social malaise and physical blight and replete with wealthy people and modern architecture; *social homesteaders* who work to preserve the historic built environments of gentrifying neighborhoods; and *social preservationists* who try to limit residential displacement of longtime residents by supporting locally owned businesses and renting commercial and residential spaces to longtime residents at below market values. We must keep in mind that sometimes longtime residents welcome gentrification. For example, many North Denver Latino longtimers shared with me that they benefit from gentrification by enjoying the increases in equity in property they own. Most long-established business owners I interviewed indicated that business improved as gentrification advanced. Gentrification should therefore be conceived in terms other than a categorically defined class war (cf. Anderson 1990). By avoiding discussions of class warfare, by accepting Brown-Saracino's notion of variegated gentrifiers, and by considering cultural practices in everyday neighborhood spaces like streets, sidewalks, parks, and temporary events, this book foregrounds the contradictions and ideologies that drive the actual process of gentrification.

Whereas urbanists often make fleeting mention of changes to public space brought about by gentrification, few regard it as a fulcrum of change. Political economists view the city as a site of capital accumulation. From this perspective, as capital flows through the urban fabric, it produces spaces of controlled consumption. Put another way, macroeconomic forces essentially manufacture neighborhoods based upon the ability of differently situated socioeconomic groups to participate in urban land markets. Social justice theorists cast critical light upon the injustice

of residential displacement. Many critical geographers seem to understand public space mainly in terms of protest and direct action. Cultural geographers and urban design theorists shed light on the cultural and aesthetic dimensions of public space. Theorists using the aesthetic or cultural optic offer a more nuanced view of public space than those using either the political economy or social justice frame. Through a cultural lens, sociocultural and micro-economic forces that facilitate or frustrate the formation of various publics in publicly accessible space come into focus. Though public space plays a role in each of these fields of study, it does not play the central role. Capital plays the pivotal role in political economy; protest stars in critical geography; and of course culture, diversity, and tolerance capture the limelight in cultural geography.

Few scholars have examined the perceptions of public space that are held by actual neighborhood residents in gentrifying neighborhoods. In her study of gentrifiers, Japonica Brown-Sarancino notes that although the gentrification literature cites either residential displacement or dissolution of community institutions—community gardens, churches, block clubs, and so forth—as chief causes of community destabilization, her informants point to public space and their changing perceptions of these places as crucial in the gentrification processes (Brown-Saracino 2009a). These findings depart substantially from the central themes in the gentrification literature outlined above. Brown-Saracino's longtimer informants nearly always noted that the privatization, the changing norms, and increasing diversity of neighborhood public spaces factored more heavily into their feelings of alienation from their neighborhoods than the reality that many friends and acquaintances had moved away (Brown-Saracino 2009b). Interestingly, since it runs directly counter to the "diversity is good for us" argument (c.f. Sennett 1990), longtimers cite the increase in diversity of public space as a chief reason for their cultural dislocation from their neighborhoods. Considered in a broader conceptual frame, the destabilization and fragmentation of longtimer social networks (Betancur 2011) appear to be place-dependent.

I understand gentrification to be a spatial project, one both facilitated and frustrated by the territorialization of publicly accessible spaces. Theories of culture, place, and territory bolstered by scholarship on property and nuisance formed the core of my investigation. Interesting questions hinge on the point when public practices, which have been traditionally considered culturally authentic, become official nuisances. As I argue in the subsequent chapters, there often exists a misalignment between public behaviors considered legitimate by social groups and the methods by which these public

behaviors are regulated by the city. The gap between culturally authentic behavior and officially regulated nuisance, a space I define as the *rights-rift*, becomes a significant site of inquiry once we think of publicly accessible spaces as being agents in neighborhood change. In the next chapter, I carve out my site of inquiry—publicly accessible space—from the larger literature of public space. Then, I more thoroughly define two concepts central to this book: place and territory. Finally, I present my conceptualization of the social production of space and more fully define my concept of the rights-rift.

Notes

1. At a 45-degree bend, where the northwest-southeast/northeast-southwest orientation of Denver's downtown offset grid meets the north-south/east-west grid of the rest of the city, 16th Street turns into Tejon Street and climbs the steepest section of the bluffs that give Highland its name.
2. It was already doing business for an undetermined time before the city began licensing saloons in the 1880s.
3. Bebop is a style of jazz characterized by a fast tempo, instrumental virtuosity, and improvisation based on a combination of harmonic structures and occasional references to the melody.
4. Spanish for: Where is Highland?
5. Comprising northern Mexico and the American Southwest Aztlán is the legendary ancestral home of the Aztec peoples. The regional concept of Aztlán as the place of origin of the pre-Columbian Mexican civilization serves as a symbol for various Mexican nationalist, Chicano, and indigenous movements.
6. The Regional Transportation District, or commonly RTD, was organized in 1969 and is the regional authority operating public transit services in eight of the 12 counties in the Denver-Aurora-Boulder Combined Statistical Area in Colorado. RTD currently operates a bus and light rail system that has a service area of 2337 square miles, serving 2.87 million people.
7. A baseball stadium, home to the Colorado Rockies (Colorado's professional baseball team).
8. A sports/music/event area that is home to the Colorado Avalanche (the state's professional hockey team), the Denver Nuggets (Denver's professional basketball team), and the Colorado Mammoth (Denver's professional lacrosse team).

9. This amusement park was once located in North Denver. As I discuss in Chapter 7, its location at the intersection of Tennyson Street and West 38th Avenue was used as a turnaround point for lowrider cruising.

10. A high-occupancy vehicle HOV lane is a restricted traffic lane reserved at peak travel times or longer for the exclusive use of vehicles with a driver and one or more passengers, including carpools, and transit buses.

11. Downtown Denver's streets align with the course of the Platte River as it arcs through the city. The rest of the city's streets align with the north-south/east-west cardinality of the Federal Land Survey. Where these two street grids align (most notably in the neighborhoods of Five Points, Highland, and Whittier), the otherwise rigid logic of named north-south streets and numbered east-west avenues is disrupted.

12. An environmental impact statement (EIS), under US environmental law, is a document required by the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA) for certain actions "significantly affecting the quality of the human environment." An EIS is a tool for decision-making. It describes the positive and negative environmental effects of a proposed action, and it usually also lists one or more alternative actions that may be chosen instead of the action described in the EIS.

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Public Space and the Rights-Rift

Public Space

A central axiom in geography is that every process, physical and social, has spatial dimensions. Not only are social networks necessarily spatial, but in fact every action, reaction, practice, routine, and so forth requires a real world *somewhere,* a locality, to happen. The type of locality explored in this book is public space. Although in vernacular terms public space is portrayed as a commonplace entity, scholarship locating public space is far from focused (Staeheli & Mitchell, 2007). We need not rely on abstract theory found in geography journals to grasp the idea of public space in everyday terms. Following Nicholas Blomley (2007, 2011), city managers rarely do. Instead, they routinely understand public space as a means to deliver public goods such as parcel post, police protection, fire protection, smoothly flowing traffic, or outdoor recreation. Similarly, urban planners often equate public space with open space, simply as parcels not zoned for the development of structures. In these terms, open spaces can be parks, riparian areas, flood zones, wildlife corridors, utility rights-of-way, among other undeveloped areas. In this book I understand public space to be a locality to which the public has access. This access may be deeded, legal, informal, or illegal. Because accessibility to a space does not necessarily mean that it is in fact public property or that it fits scholarly notions of public space as a site of diversity, encounter, learning, politics, and tolerance (see—Amin, 2008; Crawford, 2008; Fraser, 1990; Lofland, 1998; Low, 2000, 2006; Sennett, 1990, 1994; Watson, 2006), I prefer

to use the term *publicly accessible space* instead of public space. The key is legitimacy. I understand publicly accessible space to be localities wherein people feel they have a legitimate right to be. Cultural legitimacy does not necessarily imply legal authority. For example, the farmers who set up market stalls on privately owned vacant lots in Highland and the people who patronized these stalls in the 1970s and 1980s felt they had a legitimate right to use these spaces.

When people do things in publicly accessible space they publicize cultural complexes. Moving through any type of space, people bring with them their cultural complexes. What is a cultural complex? I consider a cultural complex to be traits in common, shared ideas about place, and interconnected verbal and non-verbal systems of representation, including fashion, gesture, vernacular language, music, dance, art, and cuisine. A cultural complex comprises interconnected values, assumptions, beliefs, practices, and life-ways employed by social groups to legitimate social and legal sanctions, explain material and mental phenomena, cohere social networks, clarify individual's and group's roles and positions within social networks, and authenticate personal and group (in)action. The slippery term culture is not a thing that can be preserved; rather, it is constituted by interconnected processes that are sustained in everyday interaction.

In the argument I develop below, the social construction of space is always conditional on both the cultural complexes of the people present in specific areas and territorial regimes of spatial order, which may become manifest either as webs of social norms or as legal statutes. This chapter develops a dialogical model of the production of public space from the components of locality, place, and territory. In constructing this model, I show how cultural dissonance between notions of place and imperatives of territorial order can dislocate people from publicly accessible spaces to which they once enjoyed easy access.

Although in vernacular usage and in much scholarly discourse the words locality, place, and territory are often used interchangeably, they are not synonymous. Diffuse, plural, and complex human actions must be geographically fixed. They require a real-world location. Locality hinges on real-world locations. It is an ontological concept, concerned with the position and condition of material and living things. Localities can be described in terms of Euclidean volumes and Cartesian grids and in terms of the biological and physical matter in this three-dimensional space. It is about people, buildings, landscaping, and rights-of-way. It is rational and it is descriptive. Importantly, all descriptions are subjective. Because they

emerge from cultural complexes, all accounts, no matter how rational or scientific, are colored with cultural bias (cf. Feyerabend, 2002). Hence, the common description mediated within middle-class culture of inner-city localities is often one of blighted, diverse, and dangerous areas (cf. Wacquant, Slater, & Pereira, 2014). In contrast, gated communities in leafy suburbs are represented in middle-class culture as safe, unsurprising, homogenous (Logan, Zhang, Turner, & Shertzer, 2015). Thus, as an ostensibly objective spatial category that names and passes judgment, locality can rationalize cultural difference (Brown, 2005). Dangerous ghettos are avoided by middle- and upper-class people (Wacquant, 2008), whereas the heterotopic space of exclusivity in gated communities is considered a natural environment for people with high socioeconomic status (Low, 2008).

In order to better grasp how these representations of localities are constructed, we must consider two terms central to human geography: place and territory. I dedicate the first part of this chapter to defining these terms. Then, I construct a theoretical model of the social production of space and develop my concept of the rights-rift. Provisionally stated, social space arises when a group of individuals do something in localities. The rights-rift is a term that represents the friction between feeling right in doing something and possessing the right to do it.

Place

According to Tuan (1991), the transformation from incomprehensible space to known place results from a dialectical relationship between the mysterious and the interpreted. The *total force* (ibid.) needed to transform a locality into place comprises not only naming and describing but also inhabiting and belonging. Because there are often multiple culture complexes invested in a singular locality, and because there are many ways to name, describe, inhabit, and belong to a location, everyday localities like parks and sidewalks can give rise to multiple places. Since it is linked with many cultural complexes, place is bound to multiple notions of authenticity and legitimacy. Place is the nexus of local culture. For example, microgeographies like street corners can be places layered with social prestige, legitimate discipline, and authentic presentation (cf. Bourgois, 1995-for an accounting of Latino notions of this type of place; cf. Venkatesh, 2008-for a description of African American notions of this type of place). Local culture shapes the lives of a community through shared experiences

and customary, routinely practiced rituals. Whereas locality is wound up with discourse *about* the position of things and people, discourse that *links* the position of things and people to cultural complexes produces place (Jackson, 1994). Place is therefore stabilized by collective habit. Consequently, being comfortable practicing one's culture in a neighborhood's publicly accessible spaces presupposes being comfortable with the temporality and tenor of neighborhood rituals.

For Lefebvre (1996a, 1996b), any analysis of social groups that does not incorporate the rhythms of habits and rituals will come up short in decoding the social production of space. Building on Lefebvre's insights, Edensor (2010) suggests that a host of shared temporal reference points and shared spatial habits concretize cultural practices. He sees a sense of shared synchronicity orchestrating people's movements in relation to others. Ritualized practices in public space provide "a communal way of seeing the world in consistent terms" (Edensor 2010, p. 8). This synchronized and spatialized practice of culture (cf. Calhoun & Sennett, 2007) facilitates cultural (re)production and therefore contributes to *cultural sustainability* (Low, Taplin, & Sheld, 2005).

The human geographer Yi-Fu Tuan (1977) theorizes that while space is an unnamed volume we move through, we produce place when we pause in a volume of space to name and therefore know the things we find there. Place is therefore social. Doreen Massey also understands places as spaces of social relations (Massey, 1994). Place is existential; it is experiential; it is lived. Because experience, life, and social relations cover an undefinable spectrum of human emotion, place is continually legitimated, delegitimated, stabilized, disrupted. Place is a phenomenological abstraction; it is a subjective, emotional attachment (Agnew & Smith, 2002; Relph, 1976) to the biological and physical material comprising a locality. Place is about how communities make sense of their environments and about how this sense-making works to shape cultural complexes (Brown, 2005). Place is routinized space; a sense of ritual creates a sense of place (Jackson, 1984, 1994). Ginsberg (2001) claims, "our sense of place and of history are inextricably intertwined" and therefore "every sense of place is a sense of time" (p. 125). However, urban history is an ongoing flow of events and ideas about events, hence "a site's treatment and interpretation may change through time, sometimes radically" (Foote, 2003, p. 27).

Place is important, of course, in many academic disciplines. Heidegger (1954, 2001), a philosopher of place par excellence, famously equates place to being, insisting that to be is to dwell in place—a state of mind he

calls *Dasein*.[1] Developing this term, Heidegger couples place to person-hood. Nigel Thrift (1996) conceptualizes place as performative space, as a social abstraction dependent upon embodied relationships constructed by people doing things in a locality. David Harvey sees place as a form of per-manence that is always conditional on emotions, memories, and actions (Harvey, 2000b). Dolores Hayden (1995), an urban historian and poet, writes, "Places make memories cohere in complex ways" (p. 43). Place nonetheless is not a solipsistic concept—it does not exist in one mind but rather within the collective memory and imagination of a group of minds. Leveling a broad critique of the *single-mindedness* prevalent in psychologi-cal theories of space, the urban historian Michael Hebbert (2005) claims that memory must be both social and spatial, insisting that, "the very process of remembering grows out of spatial metaphors of connection to topography" (p. 581). Hebbert goes on to argue that the collective shaping of physical space serves as an instrument for shaping collective memory. Extending this idea into the bricks and mortar of the real world, architectural theorist Aldo Rossi (1982) understands the built environ-ment as a repository of collective memory. Collective memory can be understood as a component of every cultural complex: a collective way of seeing, understanding, relating to, and describing the world. A cultural complex is a map of meaning. Architecture and urban design anchor this abstract map to the physical environment: ideas about place shape locali-ties. Interestingly, because relationships between localities and memories are mental constructs, place can neither be photographed nor rendered as a physical object (Brown, 2005). Nonetheless, as the social critic and poet bell hooks affirms, place is a necessary component of belonging to a culture and belonging to a physical environment (Hooks, 2009). Place houses the ties that bind communities to localities, thereby wedding indi-viduals to cultural complexes (ibid.). Publicly accessible spaces are key in this process.

As this range of scholarly explanations demonstrates, precisely because it is associated with other commonsense meanings, place is a difficult term to nail down. Things are placed; people can be out of place; events take place. I understand place to be a locally derived knowledge emerging from the attachment of memories to physical environment. Consequently, con-cepts of place are layered with nostalgia, authenticity, and everyday ethics. Place is an epistemological concept, hinging on particular ways of seeing, knowing, and interacting with localities. Place accordingly presupposes culture, and it requires cognition. Because it is produced through the

articulation of ideas held by numerous people, place is infinitely complex. It is never uncontested. Although it is a vehicle of power, authenticity, and legitimacy, it is never concrete.

Former Our Lady of Guadalupe pastor José Lara insists that, "for many minorities public space is something predictable that has been consecrated by the community as a place where they can be themselves." Subject to workplace and residential discrimination, North Denver Latinos have long used publicly accessible spaces as means of cultural reaffirmation and as media to pass on cultural complexes to younger generations. Harvey (2000a) argues that no social group could subsist without a collective definition of its environment, which he sees as the spatial configurations of actually existing and potential uses (including symbolic and aesthetic as well as economic uses essential to its existence). In the end, place emerges from routinized practice in and discourse about a locality. Because it renders cultural complexes readable, it plays a central role in this book. Since place is communal, it supports a sense of community ownership, and therefore it justifies efforts toward spatial control. Ideas of place are essentially normative; they frame what should and should not occur in specific localities. In this way, place legitimates territorial regimes.

Territory

Place is subjective, territory is objective. Place is an abstraction, an epistemological phenomenon, deriving from the attachment of meaning to physical environment. Territory overlays the physical environment with distinct borders and discrete regulatory systems. Unlike place, which results from abstract ideas about belonging and from ideas about how culture and locality interact, territory must be concrete. Because rules must be codified and borders must be apparent, territory is an ontological phenomenon, a matter of geometric, legal, and visible facts. Territory always results from attempts to control access to localities and to discipline activity within them. Therefore, territory always affects social interaction (Painter, 2010), which, in turn, affects place (Massey, 1997). Tools of territory include liquor licenses, land use codes, building codes, business licenses, park regulations, rules of the road, and sidewalk encumbrance codes. Territorial tools also take physical form, such as fences, CCTV cameras, security guards, benches designed to be uncomfortable and consequently to discourage lingering, or thorny plants, which deter entrance into green, shady areas. My salient point here is twofold.

First, urban design and spatial regulation are instruments to control people by controlling space. Second, territory is a social construction. Just as place does not exist unless people attach memories to a locality, territory does not become manifest unless individuals and groups attempt to concretize physical boundaries and to control the actions of other individuals and groups within these boundaries.

Places emerge from concepts like identity, cultural authenticity, belonging, kinship, and personhood, and are therefore difficult to communicate to others. In order to function, territorial boundaries must be apparent, territorial rules communicable. Because they are necessarily apparent, city borders, municipal zoning, and building codes reify territory, in concert with the laws and customs regulating private and public property relations. Robert Sack (1986) uses the term territoriality to capture what he sees as this spatial strategy of affecting, influencing, or controlling resources and people by controlling area. He also sees territoriality as something that can be turned on or off (ibid.). In general, territoriality is a socially accepted means of delimiting an area and establishing location and time-specific rules regulating behavior within it. To work effectively, a territory must be widely accepted as legitimate. Territory is concrete, but it is not permanent. Because it is constituted by spatial discipline, territory is ephemeral; it can be activated, interrupted, and deactivated. Recognizable to those who chance upon its borders, territory is usually a decentered procedure, a collection of social and legal bordering processes. "Territory is made and remade in practice" (Ince, 2012, p. 1649). Territory and regulatory networks are deeply connected (Painter, 2010). Territoriality can be promulgated by the state, or it can result from anarchic orders outside of the state (cf. Scott, 2012). Interestingly, urban territory is not an exclusive spatial tool of municipal government (cf. Häkli, 2001). Territory need not be officially codified; spatial dominance is what counts. As an illustration, the boundaries of gang territories are very real. In fact, unofficial territories frequently exist within official regimes of territoriality. Ince (2012) notes that informal territorial practices always operate within dominant orders of spatial discipline and surveillance.

Though my focus is behavior in public, not all territories are concerned primarily with spatial patterns of behavior. For example, Jim Crow and South African apartheid rationalized territorial regimes according to racial phenotypes. However, of key importance to the ideas advanced in this book is a type of territory constituted by behavioral rules: public property. Public property is a bounded locality territorialized by a democratic

government to which the public has certain rights of access and rights of use. Like all territorial regimes, property does not exist in nature; it is a social construction that humans invoke in discourse with each other. "Property is not a fact but an aspiration" (Blomley, 2002, p. 558). Relationships that give rise to this aspiration do not simply exist between an owner and a particular locality but also between owners and other people (ibid.). Social discourses and state practices produce property; therefore, property is not a thing but a bundle of rights to a thing (Blomley, 2000). This bundle of rights constitutes and legitimizes property. Property rights theory informs us that the usage rights to urban space exist only to the extent that society grants legitimacy to territorial practices and operationalizes spatial discipline. Public property is a peculiar territory to which various stakeholders have rights (Blomley, 1998). It is noteworthy that there are often multiple official territories at play in singular public properties. For example, property rights are deeply curtailed by municipal codes and policies, and they are enforced with various levels and intensities of code enforcement (Staeheli, 2010; Staeheli & Mitchell, 2008; Valverde, 2003, 2005, 2009).

Nuisance is central to establishing territorial rules. The history of nuisance law is one of spatial purification. The common law of nuisance threads together a succession of tragic narratives of peaceful communities that were ruined by one or another physical or cultural invasion (Valverde, 2011). Nuisance law comprises four factors. First, governance through nuisance-type provisions tends to privilege *ex post facto* governance. In other words, a nuisance isn't a nuisance until it disrupts a "peaceful community." Second, nuisance law is always locally specific, zeroing in on micro-geographies and discrete social spaces. This is why temporary use permits are constituted around the ideal of limiting nuisance by delineating the time, place, and manner of particular uses, such as protests, parties, and sporting events held in publicly accessible spaces (Baker, 1984; Kohn, 2004; Staeheli& Mitchell, 2008). Third, a nuisance is something that "bothers" someone or some community; therefore, nuisance law is always intersubjective. It expands and contracts along with the power dynamics of different cultural complexes, with the ways in which different cultures express commonly held ideas about authentic action and legitimate discipline. Finally, nuisance is a behavior that does not attach to a person the way that a crime does. The moment a person ceases to engage in nuisance behavior, he or she is no longer in violation of nuisance law.

Territory is not an exclusive spatial tool of the state; it is also embedded in anarchic logics (Häkli, 2001). Territoriality meshes cultural norms

concerning the legitimate use of space with the socially sanctioned means of disciplining spatial relations. To consider territory merely in terms of official regulatory and formalized disciplinary structures attenuates our understanding of the concept. Nonetheless, territory is never independent of the state. That is, territories produced by marginal groups, *counterpublics* (Wolf-Powers, 2009), and other forms of alterity, necessarily operate within these dominant orders of spatial discipline (Ince, 2012). Crucially, place is central to this conceptualization of territory, because it captures local culture—the generally agreed upon beliefs, shared attitudes, maps of meaning, and symbols that work to regulate collective action (Bourdieu, 1977; Geertz, 1995; Low & Lawrence-Zuniga, 2003). Place is also about other fundamentally anarchic concepts such as belonging, trust, and mutual reciprocity (Kropotkin, 1902, 1971). Trust and reciprocity comprise anarchic orders and render social interaction possible (Chomsky, 2013; James, 1960; Kropotkin, 1892; Sennett, 2012; Simmel, 2004; Stoehr, 2011). Finally, place is about legitimate discipline. Social sanctions—rewards for conformity and punishments for non-conformity to social norms (Mead, 1934; Searle, 2010; Weber, 2002)—form the core of anarchistic order (Kropotkin, 1888). Territory, then, is not only an instrument of social control but also a symbolic order rooted in the very cultural complexes that produce place. In this book I foreground two cultural complexes: Anglo and Latino. A fundamental question remains: how are ideas of place translated into the concrete, enforceable rules constituting territories?

I propose as an answer the term symbolic economy, which is a means of representing and illustrating abstract ideas of place, thereby establishing territory. As a powerful communicative component of any cultural complex, symbolic economy serves as a bridge between place and territory, between authenticity and nuisance, and between legitimacy and spatial discipline. Sources of representational images and therefore expressions of exclusion and entitlement, symbolic economies are rhetorical devices that legitimate territoriality (cf. Zukin, 1995). Street art legitimates one type of territory, Starbucks signage another. This purposeful articulation of symbols, signs, and cultural codes can therefore be conceptualized a driver of neighborhood change. It is important to consider that different cultures articulate different symbolic economies and therefore produce different territorial regimes. Although there are countless cultures and therefore manifold symbolic economies, in Highland two are prominent—one can be broadly termed *Latino symbolic economy*, the other

Anglo symbolic economy. In the chapters that follow, I will discuss how regimes of communication, like public celebration, lowrider cruising, and even the game of soccer, are salient manifestations of Latino symbolic economy. A dominant component of the Anglo symbolic economy is the *creative class* (Florida, 2002, 2004), which draws civic leaders into orbit around "extant neoliberal development agendas" (Peck, 2005, p. 740). Swayed by creative city symbolism, cities work hard to attract and maintain vibrant art scenes, research-oriented sectors, and hip retail zones. To be expressed spatially, symbolic economies must work through social and bureaucratic infrastructures. Understanding how this works at the scale of the neighborhood, we must think small. To grasp gentrification as it is experienced in inner-city neighborhoods, we must focus on low levels of municipal governance, on bureaucrats busy with economic development policies, on land use and building codes, on business licensing procedures, and even on the regulation of parking. As I illustrate in Chapter 6, manifest changes in the character of Highland's restaurant scene cannot be fully understood without looking closely at individual licensing hearings and local parking policies. "Trendy," "organic," and "hip" became dominant metaphors in the Anglo symbolic economy to describe Highland's restaurant scene, a scene that was once described with tropes common to the Latino symbolic economy like Mexican, family, and authentic. By working abductively from low-level governance to neighborhood change, it is easier to see how Anglo symbolic economy validates business practices, changes consumer behaviors, and authenticates bureaucratic protocols. These processes normalize new territorial regimes and therefore aid and abet the gentrification of space. In other words, the Anglo symbolic economy fuels development pressure (cf. Peck & Tickell, 1992), as it did in North Denver. As a consequence, gentrification advanced in Highland. The increasing cultural hegemony of an Anglo symbolic economy hinging on trendiness and hipness contributed to delegitimizing the subaltern Latino symbolic economy hinging on family, ethnicity, and community (Diaz, 2005).

Dominant symbolic economies, because they seep into multiple levels of everyday life, including local governance, patterns of commerce and development, and property management, become familiar, commonplace, and fossilized into general acceptance. For example, neighborhood diversity comes to be understood as a social good; urban renewal comes to be seen as both inevitable and as a beneficial policy; increased police presence is seamlessly converted into an unquestioned necessity.

Such unchallenged truisms veil profound disagreements about neighborhood character. Echoing other scholars (Berrey, 2005; Medoff & Sklar, 1994; Valverde, 2005; Zukin, 2010), I argue that these incongruities reveal tensions between the culture of place and the rules comprising territory. Furthermore, these inconsistencies conceal how racial and ethnic prejudices hide in workaday governance. For example, terms like blight and revitalization are freighted with moral judgment, exposing power asymmetries between newcomers and old-timers. This subversive morality rarely goes unnoticed by long-time residents. To illustrate, Highland community activist Marty Roberts frequently insisted during our discussions that "Highland was *vital* before it was *re*-vitalized." Equating working-class neighborhoods with blight and social pathology overwrites municipal neglect, and veils the histories of structural and institutional racism. This type of rhetorical dynamic, which Nicholas Blomley refers to as *semantic smoothing* (Blomley 2007), removes the inherent violence of urban renewal and gentrification, replacing them with an apparently irreproachable social good: revitalization. In a word, semantic smoothing concretizes Anglo cultural complexes as morally superior to Latino cultural complexes. Ultimately, defining neighborhood conditions in terms of dominant cultural complexes overwrites the symbolic economies of marginalized communities, which renders silent many voices raised in opposition to urban renewal and gentrification.

As gentrification advances, the public expression of middle-class culture moves from marginal to dominant status. With new events such as art walks foregrounding a new gentrifier sense of aesthetics (Shaw & Sullivan, 2011), or with commercial corridors hawking products intended for consumption by members of the middle-class (Deener, 2007), working-class neighborhoods are reconfigured to conform with middle-class worldviews (Zukin, 2008). These noticeable changes to neighborhood character can be hotly contested (Berrey, 2005). Low-level municipal governance often undergirds this type of subtle territorial recomposition. For example, City of Denver farmers' market zoning code, which itself is linked to parking regulations, street closure processes, health codes, and liquor licensing protocols, enables the HUNI (Highland United Neighbors Inc.) Farmers Market to be held along Boulder Street in Highland every Saturday during the summer. Facilitated by multiple municipal codes, the farmers market overlays newcomers' ideas of public practice onto long-timers' notions of place. It bears mentioning that this formal territoriality stands in sharp contrast to the informal, and far more affordable, farmers markets that

Fig. 2.1 The Highland United Neighbors Inc. Farmers Market, summer 2011, held on Boulder Street in Highland. Image by Author

were organized on vacant lots in Highland in the 1970s and 1980s (Fig. 2.1).

Such multi-level conflicts over the production of public space are fraught with social complexities and cultural contradictions (Lees, 1998). Whereas some gentrifiers remain ignorant of long-timers' claims to space, others strive to be seen as legitimately streetwise in these tricky public situations by distancing themselves from those newcomers unable to operate within spaces shared with racial, ethnic, and socioeconomic Others (cf. Anderson, 1990). However, interaction between streetwise gentrifiers and neighborhood long-timers can be superficial, partly confirming to an image held by gentrifiers of authentic urban experiences (Lloyd, 2010). In the end, public legitimacy is place-based: it derives from a deep, experienced knowledge of the built environment and social communities constituting the *moral geographies* of neighborhood locales, such as parks, sidewalks, and street corners (Modan, 2007).

In order to focus on these moral geographies as drivers of the gentrification of space, we need to highlight everyday cultural practices in publicly accessible spaces. One lens is low-level urban governance: the minutiae of right-of-way management (Blomley 2007, 2011), neighborhood aesthetics (Blomley, 2005a, 2005b), business licensing (Valverde, 2003), land use zoning (Valverde, 2005), and the raft of laws, policies, and guidelines that shape the architectural, economic, and social fabrics of street life (Kim, 2015; Loukaitou-Sideris & Ehrenfeucht, 2009; Valverde, 2009). Some scholars describe gentrification as a compound process of establishing neighborhood hegemony including factors such as the dislocation of neighborhood long-timers from everyday public space (Pattillo, 2007), their displacement from neighborhood political processes (Martin, 2007), and ultimately the undermining of long-timer cultural legitimacy in public territories (Zukin, 2010). As gentrification advances, newcomer norms first delegitimize, and then replace long-timer social structures (Zukin, 1991). Although difficult to measure, this erosion of long-timer legitimacy is a consequence of gentrification.

Conflicts over legitimacy occur throughout the fabric of a neighborhood's publicly accessible spaces. Some are regulated in such a way

as to encourage the public participation of usually white middle-class newcomers. In other cases, forms of spatial discipline discourage the public presence of long-time residents. Farmers markets, yoga studios, and art galleries are examples of the former. Allow me to illustrate the latter: in Highland, by the late 1990s many Latino men had stopped parading their cars' loud stereos down neighborhood streets "in order to avoid hassles with the city," as one longtime resident recalled. He had been warned by the police several times that by doing so he was in violation of a city noise ordinance. Additionally, many mechanics working out of their home garages were forced to cease this sideline work when new neighbors reported these informal, and according to land use and business codes, illegal operations to the City of Denver. Although they were vital generators of income, these garages were in fact illegal. In this manner, the middle-class norm of single-use neighborhoods, a norm enshrined in the territorial language of Denver's zoning code (cf. Perin, 1977), usurped Latino ideas of legitimate public practices.

Both of these examples expose a tension that arises in the space between feeling right in doing something and the enforceable right to do it. They expose a rights-rift. It is vital to consider here that in both of these cases Denver enforced a nuisance ordinance. Such bylaws are concerned with violations that impede the enjoyment of property. It is equally important to note that even though individuals were at fault, the city did not need to invoke criminal statutes to discipline them. Criminal law zeros in on individuals; nuisance law is concerned with conduct. To enforce nuisance codes, a city is obligated to protect property rights and put an end to nuisance behaviors (Valverde, 2005). In contrast, the enforcement of criminal law requires identifying and punishing specific criminals (Foucault, 1995). This disconnect makes it difficult to fully conceptualize conflicts orbiting property in terms of economic geography. Economic theories are concerned with social agents and their decisions, and the enforcement of most land use bylaws—such as zoning codes or noise ordinances—is aimed at behavior, rather than at individual subjects. Nonetheless, individuals are affected. This theoretical blind spot is significant. Even though they are largely ignored in gentrification scholarship, small acts of governance, whether licensing, zoning, small-scale transportation planning, parking regulations, or the permitting of temporary uses and events, are in fact the tasks that dominate workaday city management (cf. Valverde, 2009).

Primitive Property[2] and the Rights-Rift

Public practice is people doing things in public. It presupposes people a publicly accessible space, a locality such as a park, a sidewalk, or a street. I argue that public practice cannot arise without the *total force* (cf. Tuan, 1991) of place and territory. Elsewhere, I coined this total force as *primitive property*[3] (Langegger, 2015), a system of order existing outside of the state (Chomsky, 2013; Kropotkin, 1971; Read, 1940; Stoehr, 2011). Primitive property captures the socio-legal dynamics of actualizing abstract notions of place in real-world territories: it entails making changes to the physical environment and (dis)obeying regulatory regimes in such ways as to transpose ideas of place onto the concrete, real-world stage of locality. Primitive property is a type of territory; it is a spatial strategy that affects, influences, and controls resources and people by controlling area. This control is legitimized by notions of cultural legitimacy, by a sense of belonging to a culture and to a place, and by human behavior that spatializes trajectories of collective memory and collective aspirations.

Instead of theorizing how neighborhood publicly accessible spaces change *as* surrounding neighborhoods change, this book demonstrates that these spaces are actively changed *in order to* change surrounding neighborhoods. As recent scholarship has shown, it requires a robust theoretical frame to alter perspective on neighborhood change. I offer one: the rights-rift—a gap between behavior normalized within groups, and extant legal and societal mechanisms that allow or disallow this behavior. Other theorists have postulated that space is not a passive container; rather, it is a social production process. They see space not as a product, but as the ongoing *production* of a network of relations. Harvey (2006b, 2007) envisions this production process along three spatial dimensions: *absolute space*—geometric, Euclidian, mappable; *relative space*—distances between objects understood in terms relative to their physical and cultural properties; and *relational space*—human agency, social interaction, and temporality. Lefebvre (1991) conceives of the production of space as a triad comprising *spatial practice*—observable human action and inaction in geometric space, *conceived space*—a totalizing abstract view of space assumed by planners and architects, and *lived space*—the poetic living-in-the-moment of human experience. Ed Soja (1996) sees this production process as what he terms a trialectic between *firstspace* measurable and mappable phenomena, *secondspace,* subjective and imagined spaces, and *thirdspace,* spatial practice, people doing things. My theoretical frame
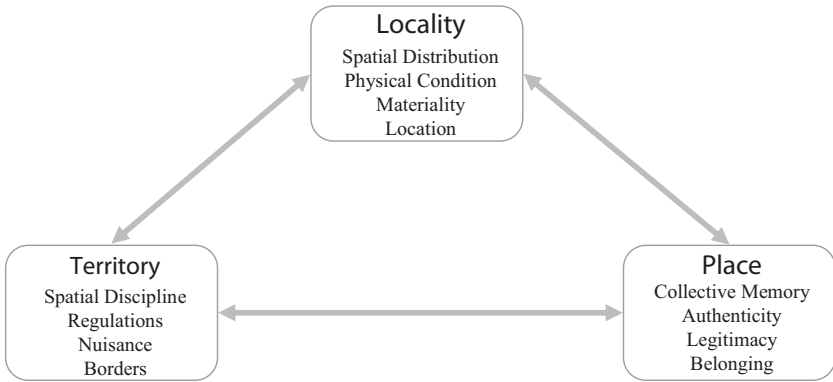
Fig. 2.2 A dialogical modeling of the social production of space. Image by Author

draws deeply from this work. Crucially, I endorse these theorists' insistence that the production of space should be conceived of as three interpenetrating processes. Concisely stated, my theoretical lens brings into new focus a triad of mechanisms: *locality*, *place*, and *territory*. These spatial apparatuses, set in multi-directional dialogue, in what I see as a dialogical relationship, produce space (Fig. 2.2).

To explain what I mean by dialogical, I see dialogics as the opposite of what Bernard Williams terms the *fetish of assertion* (Williams, 2002) in confrontational speech. Dialogics lie at the core of negotiation (cf. Forester, 2009) and diplomacy (cf. Sennett, 2012). Rather than supporting zero-sum games of convincing others through well-worded proclamations, dialogics offer the inherent benefits of listening well and therefore learning from those with different worldviews and often unfamiliar cultural predispositions. The concept of dialogics was introduced by the Russian literary critic Mikhail Bakhtin (1981) to refer to discourse not resolved by finding common ground, but by fostering intellectual and social growth. In these terms, dialogical discourse rarely results in a reduction of complex conflicts to a lowest common denominator. Instead, dialogic discourse leads not necessarily to compromise but toward wisdom and consensus. Since openness, learning, and cooperation are fundamental to public practice, the concept of dialogics is uniquely suited to my theoretical exploration of the social production of public space. Dialogics serve as a lens for the

working out of conflicts rather than for solutions *worked out* in a dialectical synthesis of opposites. Accordingly, unlike Harvey, Lefebvre, and Soja, I base my model on the fluidity of dialogics rather than on the tension of dialectics. After all, even solutions such as policies, outreach agendas, and police protocols are subject to interpretation by those who implement and enforce them (cf. Lipsky, 1980) as well as by members of the public who are affected by these interventions.

An important facet of my dialogical model is that it helps us conceptualize the production of space as an ongoing process. Referring Fig. 2.2, the gray arrows indicate dialogic movement in both directions. Locality, for example, is not simply an outcome of place and territory; its physicality necessarily impacts and informs these components. To illustrate, urban designers make changes to the physical environment that are necessarily in line with the physical limitations of this environment. And people attach meaning to the real-world materiality comprising localities. Place is rooted not only in the physicality of localities, but it is also impacted by extant territorial regimes. For example, park rules and curfews demarcate how and when processes of place attachment occur. Not only are territorial boundaries contingent upon the physical landscape, but the logic of territorial regulations derives from unremarkable cultural ideas of place that are sedimented as everyday norms by virtue of their uptake by a majority of a social group. In other words, the logic underpinning the boundaries and regulations comprising territory derives from legitimacy, authenticity, belonging, and collective memory. This linkage between place and territory is central to the argument I advance. First of all, the concretization of notions of place as territory constitutes what I have described as primitive property. Second, a rupture in this linkage represents what I term a rights-rift, which is best thought of as an increased tension produced by the friction between what feels right in doing and what one has a right to do.

Furthermore, I understand primitive property to be a component of cultural sustainability. How, after all, can a group practice culture unless it has access to and a certain amount of sovereignty over a real-world location? Stephen McKenzie (2004) understands cultural sustainability as a life-enhancing condition in communities, one that is grounded by equity and cohesion. Drawing a parallel with ecosystems that support and maintain a balance in nature, David Throsby (1995) theorizes that culture is a group of interrelated systems that support and maintain human societies and thus perpetuate civilizations. He therefore considers cultural sustainability in terms of evolutionary or lasting qualities of societies. Setha Low

et al. (2005) build upon Mckenzie's and Throsby's theories by incorporating cultural perpetuation into a place-specific perspective of cultural sustainability. I suggest that cultural complexes are sustained when the rift between place and territory closes, that is, when people craft territories that simultaneously reflect and reproduce their ideas about place. Put another way, cultural complexes are sustained in the establishment of primitive property, when people territorialize a locality in terms of the cultural components of place. Conversely, a widening rift between ideas of place and territorial regimes dislocates people from localities and is therefore detrimental to sustaining cultural complexes.

Dislocation of long-timers from a neighborhood's publicly accessible spaces, which I understand to be the outcome of the gentrification of space, is an understudied first step in the displacement from the private spaces of residences (cf. Blomley, 2004). As Anglo notions of place began to be expressed and normalized as territory along Highland's streets and sidewalks and within its parks and open spaces, it dislocated Latino public practices from these localities. In other words, the design and regulation of publicly accessible spaces came to sustain gentrifier cultural complexes that then became increasingly prevalent in the neighborhood. Because Latino notions of place exist in friction with these territorialized places, Latino long-timers tended to vacate publicly accessible spaces. In more general terms, for long-timers in gentrifying neighborhoods, publicly accessible space no longer acts as a fulcrum of sustainability, but one of dislocation.

Gentrification scholars note that newcomers and long-timers express different, sometimes widely diverging, perceptions of authentic practice and legitimate spatial discipline (Anderson, 1990; Brown-Saracino, 2009; Freeman, 2006; Modan, 2007; Pattillo, 2007). Central to the argument I flesh out throughout this book is that *municipal governmentality*—the mentalities and techniques of city government or city governmental rationality (cf. Foucault, 1991)—impacts primitive property. Sometimes public practices of marginal groups align with municipal governmentality—such as when the City of New Orleans, in attempting to perpetuate the city's status as the birth place of Jazz, issues permits for Jazz funerals, Mardi Gras Indian parades, and their informal "second lines" (Lipitz, 1988, 2006; Loukaitou-Sideris & Ehrenfeucht, 2009). Alignments like this work to facilitate the territorialization of place in *back-a-town*—African American, working-class neighborhoods. However, as I demonstrate in subsequent chapters, such offers of municipal succor to marginal communities are

rare. More often, Anglo symbolic economy harmonizes with municipal governmentality. This harmony between low-level urban governance and gentrifier cultural complexes aids and abets the gentrification of space and thus contributes to the kind of gentrification that is measurable in demographic analyses.

Just as I see the cultural emplacement of gentrifier notions of place as successful primitive property, I envisage cultural displacement in terms of the disablement of long-timer primitive property. Because municipal governmentality aligns more closely with Anglo cultural complexes (cf. Fairbanks, 2012; Perin, 1977), a rights-rift closes for the former, while it opens for the latter. A means of demarcating space and of enforcing location-specific rules that are widely accepted as legitimate, territoriality is a vital component in this process. In my view, people are comfortable in spaces where they understand rules of behavior as legitimate. Socially dominant groups have access to the means to constitute territories that align with their norms, their sense of authenticity and legitimacy, their notions of belonging, their collective memories—in a word, with their concepts of place. In so doing, they close the rights-rift for themselves. As we will see, in North Denver, this often led to the regulation of publicly accessible spaces in which marginal groups no longer felt comfortable.

Symbolic economy is a discursive bridge between ideas of place and the exercise of territoriality. Primitive property actualizes place as perceivable territory. Municipal governmentality affects the type, tenor, and directionality of neighborhood change. Of central importance to my argument is the reality that dominant groups have access to more political and cultural capital. This access engenders more direct access to levers of municipal governance, and it aligns dominant ideas of place and territory with governmental rationality. As this book illustrates, in Highland, socioeconomically and politically dominant newcomers were better positioned to influence the design and regulation of publicly accessible spaces. As Anglo symbolic economy overwrote Latino symbolic economy, long-time Latino primitive property was destabilized.

The next chapter deconstructs notions of belonging, and thus fleshes out the concept of rights, the general construct of property as a bundle of rights, and more fully develops my concept of primitive property. The crux of the argument I develop in the subsequent chapters is that this gentrification of space influenced in many lasting and significant ways the profound demographic and economic neighborhood changes of recent decades in North Denver.

Notes

1. A compound German verb for "Being there." Da means there. Sein is the German verb for "to be"

2. I more fully develop this concept in terms of property and belonging in the next chapter. Here, I use it as a component of the social production of space.

3. In naming this concept I intentionally use the word primitive. Primitive calls to mind components of both Marxist (Marx, 1957) and liberal (Smith, Cannan, & Lerner, 1937) economic theories, namely, primitive or original accumulation. In order to be woven into a system of exchange, land or products therefrom must be acquired. The first step in this acquisition process is the simple taking of land, either through conquest, exploration, or simple presence. Once possessed, the land and its products can be traded in some system of exchange. This is a book about publicly accessible space; it is not about land under the control of one person or one institution. That is, I do not discuss public property in terms of systems of economic exchange. In terms of both common, vernacular meaning and theoretical discourse, public land, whether urban or rural, constitutes an area open to everyone and therefore must be understood in terms of encounter, contact, friction, and tolerance (Young, 1990). Though desirable, this ideal is actually impossible to realize. The argument I put forth is as follows. Every human body takes up a volume of Euclidean space. Therefore, when in, or moving through, a publicly accessible space, human bodies dispossess all others present in the space that they currently occupy. Legally, humans appropriate more than the simple volume of space their bodies occupy. In the USA, persons are accorded a floating bubble of private space (the distance at which a person can speak to another in a normal tone of voice) (Mitchell, 2005). Mitchel argues that this insular form of access to public space radically transforms the possibilities of associations in public. Extending this line of reasoning, I argue that, by simple means of their presence in publicly accessible space, individuals and groups *always* appropriate a portion of this space from others. Moreover, I insist that this process is normal, quotidian, and natural. And, because, by definition, no individual can control public property, it is always temporary. The gentrification of public space occurs when this process of appropriation is formalized, either legally or culturally, to exclude some group or activity from a putatively accessible realm.

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Rights to Public Space

Much critical scholarship on gentrification builds of the twin notions of housing and the right to the city. Consequently, theorists examining this intellectual trajectory focus on a very specific right, namely, the right to housing. They explore connections between tenants' rights and development rights, eviction and rent control, and social justice. These scholars are primarily concerned with residential displacement. Changing the focus from private spaces of domesticity to concentrate on publicly accessible spaces in neighborhoods requires taking an oblique view of the process of gentrification. This book focuses not on housing but on publicly accessible spaces, on conceptualizations of culture and place, on regulatory regimes, and on territoriality. To develop my argument, I use the concept of the rights-rift which I presented in Chapter 2 to demonstrate how the gentrification of public space operates. As an urban geographer and a longtime city resident, I am concerned with cultural displacement, and I am further concerned with the dislocation of longtime neighborhood residents from ostensibly public spaces located in their neighborhoods. Like other critical social scientists, I too am concerned with social (in) justice and consequently with the right to the city. However, the rights that I focus on to propel my central arguments are less legally rigorous than tenants' rights and development rights: they involve less tangible but nonetheless vital concerns. I mean rights to culture, to identity, to belonging in and therefore to a place. These rights attach to ideas or abstractions, like authenticity, legitimacy, and collective memory. Though they are

evocative and morally powerful, in legal terms such rights are amorphous, vague, even invisible.

Rights involve complex, circular relationships. Whether promulgated in deeds of ownership, or deeply felt entitlements to assert and celebrate cultural identity, they can never, as Lefebvre (cf. 1996) seems to insist, be simply a demand directed at authority. In order to function as a right, there must be an enforceable social or legal requirement that this demand be met by authority. In other words, rights do more than get attention—they create obligations. These obligations compel other parties to do something, or as the case may be, to not do something, in order that a right be satisfied. Simply put, a right exists in a feedback loop. A right creates an obligation, and an obligated party satisfies a right.

This book is about public space, which is a type of property. Public property is a specific type of property to which the "public" enjoys rights of access and certain rights of use, such as rights-of-way, and the right to gather and to express ideas (Staeheli and Mitchell 2008). I concentrate on unstable proprietary rights wound up with public property. Ownership of public property is more complicated than ownership of private property. Private property is owned by individuals who enjoy access to and use of their property, whereas in liberal democracies it is the public who owns public property. Public spaces *belong to* the public, and the public then elects officials to maintain accessibility and regulate the use of these properties for *use by* the public. As I discussed in the last chapter, precisely who comprises the public and exactly what is meant by public space are issues that remain theoretically unsettled. Further questions still under debate are to whom does public space belong, and relatedly who belongs in public space. I consider public space to be a special type of territory. Those who control access to and regulation of public areas also control the behavior of people who happen to be in these areas. The public has rights of access to public space and rights to use public space; nonetheless, these rights are often contested. This contestation is central to my argument: it powerfully affects the type and tenor of neighborhood change.

The fuller definition of rights to public space that I offer in this chapter will bring my concept of the rights-rift into sharper focus. The first section presents a thorough discussion of property, territory, and belonging. In this section I more fully examine what constitutes a right. Then, I weave the concepts of rights and public space into a discussion of property, specifically what Sarah Keenan (2015) calls subversive property, and what I term primitive property (Langegger 2015). Subsequently I discuss two

related terms: appropriation and possession, which are threaded together by the concept of belonging. Appropriation is making something one's own by establishing a new relationship of belonging. Possession takes two major forms: one is ownership, which entails a subject–object relationship of belonging; the other centers on characteristics and identity and is therefore constituted by part–whole relationships of belonging. In the latter form of possession, people are embedded in complex part–whole relationships of belonging to their culture, their ethnicity, their gender, their sexuality, and so forth. This chapter offers a new perspective for exploring reasons that the relationships of belonging proved effective in dislocating Latinos from North Denver public spaces, spaces in which the other relations of belonging simultaneously locate gentrifiers. The seamlessness of this process comes into focus when we zero in on rights attached to property and on depersonalized behaviors that impede the quiet enjoyment of property. Public space regulations are concerned with eliminating or mitigating nuisance behaviors. As I argue in the following chapters, legal definitions of nuisance align more closely with dominant Anglo cultural assumptions about legitimacy than with corresponding ideas of legitimacy in more marginal Latino cultural complexes.

Rights, Property, and Belonging

Since urban public space in US cities is outwardly accessible to the "public," municipal governments are obligated to satisfy many different rights to public space and rights to practice culture in public. These rights can all be satisfied as long as behaviors in public are not seen as bona fide nuisances to others in public or to owners of abutting private property. It follows that the city is obligated to remove nuisance to the public from public space. Nuisance, an elusive concept laden with power asymmetries, is anything that bothers anyone else. Rights are less amorphous: they exist within social, not in physical, realities. It is important to recognize that rights are not discoverable: they are never stumbled upon like chromosomes, radioactivity, or photosynthesis. They are constituted by powerfully convincing narratives and perpetuated in social practice. The social practice of humans is a world of social facts constructed through language and other forms of communication, and delimited materially by the physical facts of nature (Searle 1995, 2010). In this material world, physical facts like concrete and asphalt give rise to other physical facts like sidewalks, streets, and swimming pools. Social facts, however, like the right to park

on a street or swim in a public pool, do not exist in the material world; humans invoke them in social and legal discourses. The rights to park or to swim, like all forms of discourse, cannot exist without interaction. Following Searle (2010) I recognize rights as a necessary but insufficient part of a power dyad comprising rights *and* obligations. Central to Searle's thinking is that rights are always *against* somebody else: one person's right always creates an obligation for another person or another entity. In other words, no obligation, no right. An example serves: in order for urban residents to possess an enforceable right to park on the street in front of their homes, the city would be obligated to essentially deed unconditional use of individual portions of every single one of its streets to each and every abutting property owner. This is obviously impractical. However, streets are a specific type of public property managed as a right-of-way. They are part of the transportation infrastructure upon which cities allow short-term vehicle storage. The right to park is not actually a right; lacking an obligation, it is a demand that cities sometimes acquiesce to, oftentimes by charging a parking fee. In contrast, rights-of-way are true rights. Because they constitute a major part of cities' rights-of-way, municipal governments are obligated to ensure movement along streets; therefore, cities routinely discipline all unpermitted obstruction of traffic flow.

There are two types of rights: positive rights obliging action from an obligating party and negative rights obliging inaction. Urban mobility is a positive right. The city is obligated to plan, regulate, and manage a variety of rights-of-way for electric current, fresh and waste water, trash removal, commuter traffic, pedestrian traffic, post and parcel delivery, among others. Negative rights include the rights to free speech and association. Ostensibly the government is obligated to not interfere with the speech acts and associations of its citizens. However, this constitutionally mandated obligation is never uncontested. For example, media reportage often makes a direct association between urban violence and youth gangs. Consequently, many police departments use media-propagated fear of gang violence to justify all manner of race-based profiling tactics. Many racial profiling protocols target groups as well as individuals. To illustrate, Chicago's 1992 Gang Congregation Ordinance essentially outlawed any public activity for groups of inner-city Black or Latino youth, including playing basketball, hanging out with a group of friends, or even talking to more than one other person (Geis 2002). A full seven years later, because this ordinance violated a right attached to personhood, namely, the constitutional right of association, the US Supreme Court declared it

unconstitutional (ibid.). Since constitutional rights attach to individuals, and since city regulations are bound by state and federal law (cf. Frug and Barron 2014), cities are obligated not to interfere with the association of their citizens.

Rights cannot exist without creating obligations. Without consensus, they would be unenforceable. Lacking contingent obligations and consensus on the cultural, economic, and political validity of these obligations, they would remain cries and demands, or they would be dismissed as requests with little legal force. Property rights operate in the same manner. That is, the force of property rights lies in obligating another party in some concrete way. For example, a property owner has the right to exclude people from his or her property. If he or she demands that a person vacate his or her home and that person refuses, then the state is obligated to remove the person who refuses as a trespasser. Property rights are intersubjective; they operate successfully within socio-legal systems in which they, along with the obligations they create, are widely recognized as legitimate. We live in a society that continues to endorse through social and legal discourses and through general consensus, the validity of a property owner's right of exclusion. Along with the right of exclusion, property owners enjoy rights of use and rights of alienation, all of which the state is obligated to satisfy.

Owning a thing, along with the subsequent rights to this thing, is about belonging. To illustrate, within a property regime, an object belongs to a subject; parks and streets belong to the citizens of a city. However, on closer inspection, the simple ownership model loses traction in the real world of multiple private, public, and public–private (cf. Zukin 2010) claims to public space. For example, even though American legal structures consider a public space in similar individualistic terms, and in terms of the absolute sovereignty of the city (Staeheli and Mitchell 2008), as the following chapters show, Latino ideas about public space hinge on family and community. Therefore, in order to properly conceptualize rights to public space we need to think beyond the individual property owner and beyond absolute sovereignty. Sarah Keenan (2015) helps us understand property as not simply a bundle of rights to a thing held by a singular entity, but as spatially contingent relations of belonging. Using this conceptualization of property as an optic, we can bring into focus pivotal questions about the ways in which certain spaces come to *belong to* particular people and the ways in which particular people come to *belong in* certain spaces. The chapters that follow scrutinize public access to several

public spaces, areas which typically in democracies *belong to* the "public." Each chapter deconstructs the processes by which neighborhood longtimers, particularly when practicing Latino culture that comes to be deemed a nuisance, have ceased to *belong in* North Denver's publicly accessible spaces.

The bundle of rights mentioned above can be termed *market property*, meaning property which is created by the process of primitive accumulation. This is a process which in the literature of political economy Springer (2013) sardonically associates with original sin in theology. Of central importance to this concept of property is that it is *not* a thing: it is a bundle of rights to a thing. It follows that market property is a bundle of rights to a locality. This bundle is constituted by the rights of exclusion, use, and alienation. Historically, the rights regarding property worked their way into English common law and spread globally with the British Empire. They represent a uniquely Anglo-Saxon conceptual frame which is rooted in John Locke's labor theory of property, which essentially goes like this: God owns the world. People own their labor. Therefore, if a person invests labor in a section of the world, like building a fence, draining a swamp, plowing a field, or building a structure, he creates property. The Lockean subject already has property in himself, and he does not need to acquire it through any social or legal process (Locke 1980 [1689]). In Locke's view, property is an extension of the individual white male. Though Locke's theory was regnant for centuries, not all notions of property have a divine right as their Archimedean point. Some theorists understand rights as produced by humans rather than proffered by God. Following Hegelian scholars, property is produced in practice, rather than already manifest within personhood (Wood 1991). In this view, property and subjectivity are intertwined. That is, a person only reaches the state of subjectivity by acquiring an object or a parcel of land and then convincing others of his or her rights to this thing. Recognition of these rights then obligates others to satisfy them. In these terms, property is more than a bundle of rights; it is a narrative, a convincing story (cf. Blomley 1994), one that requires both a narrator and an audience. Extricating ourselves from the God-endowed, Lockean concept of property, we are free to theorize that property is articulated in conjunction with networks of relations designed to serve the property owner. It is true that some scholars have seen property as not merely serving the property owner. For example, Joseph Singers's ownership model invests individuals with exclusive access to property, yet he still sees property as multivalent, serving multiple ends, individual as well as

collective (Singer 2000). Common to these three models of property is the essentially Eurocentric idea of the autonomous self (cf. Taylor 1989). But, as we have seen, considering property in autonomous, individualistic terms is far from unproblematic. This book will reveal complexities that arise when property-owning, autonomous individuals come into friction with Latino cultural complexes, better, with people ascribing to the world-view of Latinidad,[1] with its complex beliefs about communal ownership, particularly those currently prevalent in the American Southwest (Davis 2000; Diaz 2005; Rios 2010).

Property, according to critical theorists, is neither complete nor self-evident; its production requires a continual doing (cf. Blomley 2002). People exist in and are constitutive of space; woven within spaces of belonging, they cannot be conceptually or materially separated from them. Social properties like ethnicity, religiosity, and other characteristics generally associated with cultural complexes can therefore be interpreted in terms of the rights constituting property. Possession rights to property therefore are never simple. Davina Cooper (2007) theorizes that possession works in two ways. We can possess a thing and we can possess an attribute. She calls the first type of possession *subject–object belonging*. A subject possesses an object; an object *belongs to* a subject. In this view, rights over a thing or a space belong to a person or some other entity like a corporation, the federal government, or a city. Cooper's second type of possession is *part–whole belonging*. A part is *part of* and therefore *belongs in* the whole. In this interpretation rights of possession are vested within individuals. When normalized within a cultural complex, a person's attributes and characteristics are part of the greater whole comprising this particular cultural complex. In these terms, we are part of and therefore belong to our ethnicity, our culture, our gender, and our sexuality, and consequently have a right to express this relation of belonging. Obviously the expression of some rights of belonging, for example, to gay and queer cultural complexes, is not universally recognized. Race, in this context, proves a somewhat more stable variable. If we consider race to be a social, rather than a biological construct, we are able to conceive of racial privileges or lack thereof in terms of property rights. According to Cheryl Harris, whiteness can be theorized as a kind of property (Harris 1993). The social power of whiteness roots deeply in outmoded ideas of racial difference. Even though chattel slavery and colonial conquest are no longer legal practices, postslavery and postcolonial socioeconomic systems maintain status quo socioeconomic systems entrenched in racial

inequality. Currently, international law, labor law, civil law, and property law continue to recognize the sedimented expectations of white people, expectations of social and economic power that have been built on the privileges of white supremacy.

Use of the term whiteness begs a still-unresolved question about race. Do people belong to racial categories? There is a significant consensus among natural and social scientists that the concept of race has no objective basis because there is a greater variation of DNA *within* than racial categories than *between* them (Amin 2012; Gould 1981). Though related to visible racial characteristics, to phenotype, I postulate that the term identity hinges both on social discourse and on biology. Race, racism, and theories of racial superiority rely on differences in phenotypes; however, they are social constructions, constructions based on biological difference, but social constructions nonetheless. Through socialization within an ethnic group a person's identity becomes normalized in terms of this ethnic group. It follows that in growing up people come to belong to their ethnicity and, consequently, that their ethnicity comes to belong to them. Because human bodies are never fixed in space; the socialization of ethnic bodies is a spatial process. The phenomenologist Maurice Merleau-Ponty posits that relations of belonging are formed through the movement of a normalized body (Merleau-Ponty 2013). Through movement we confront and interact with social forces that sanction and therefore shape our expressions of identity: spoken dialect, gesticulation, body language, eye contact, fashion choice, and so forth. Echoing Massey and Keenan, Merleau-Ponty understands the body as belonging to, combining with, and including both time and space. Therefore, when moving, people necessarily take these spaces of identity-expression with them. Throughout this book I will use the term symbolic economy to capture this dynamic. For example, I will show that the symbolic economy of the predominantly Anglo gentrifier group in Highland features dogs and dog-walking as a regular feature of everyday life. As Chapters 6 and 7 illustrate, people tend to be aware that they take spaces of identity with them as they move through the city. Confidently "exploring the deeper parts of the neighborhood, just [her] and [her] dog," one White female took with her not only her dog, but also her whiteness, and the entire cultural complex of dog-walking, into the deeper parts of the neighborhood. Similarly, during the late twentieth century, because they belonged to the barrio, Latino youth inscribed their barrio cultural complex into wider arcs of city space as they drove lowriders on streets outside of their neighborhood.

Human subjects are always part of and therefore always belong to a particular culture, even though the environment in which this culture is expressed may change. However, legal geography tends to focus on subjectivity encapsulated in a human mind (cf. Keenan 2015). Challenging the dominant mind–body dualism and essentialism then being propagated by René Descartes and John Locke, Baruch Spinoza saw subjectivity as contingent on a world of factors outside of, rather than imbued in, a person by a singular divine force (Gatens and Lloyd 1999). Drawing inspiration from Spinoza's influential doctrine, modern scholars have contended that belonging does not center exclusively on personhood: rather, it can be construed as a socio-spatial concept. The Latinos and Anglos in the above examples belong to their ethnicities and they come to belong in the spaces in which their ethnicity is expressed. Doreen Massey claims that human subjects are interconnected with others and with space (Massey 2005): people are neither merely surrounded by space nor embedded in space. Instead, they are themselves part of space just as space is a part of them (Keenan 2015). Being interconnected with others and with space, people do not move seamlessly through space, but they take space with them as they move. Therefore, the Northside Latino youths who walked with pride in downtown Denver in the 1950s, or cruised West 38th Avenue in the 1990s, took space with them as they moved through the city. In doing so, they inscribed the barrio into spaces belonging to the politically and economically dominant Anglo majority of city residents.

Using Massey's (2005) concept of space as a network of relations, and Grewal's (2005) theoretical work mapping linkages between space, consumerism, and subjectivity, Keenan proposes a definition of property that focuses on the multi-dimensional spaces of belonging in which the subject is embedded, rather than on a one-dimensional, propertied subject (Keenan 2015). Spaces of belonging are spaces in which certain relations are maintained while other spaces of belonging are left unsupported. Property, in these terms, is a set of networked relations in which some subjects are embedded while other subjects are not (Cooper 2007). Networks are necessarily spatial. Therefore, property and personhood are (re)produced in the spaces in which they exist (Keenan 2015). Following this logic, Denver's Northside (re)produces Northsiders, and the symbolic economy wound up with the Anglo American Dream of ownership—particularly ownership of the single-family home—(re)produces the Anglo American middle-class. Thinking in terms of space rather than personhood, and of

property as a spatially centered rather than a subject-centered bundle of rights allows me to make a case that property constitutes a type of territory. A regime of territoriality, property controls people by controlling area. Property happens when space supports a relationship of belonging between a subject and an object, such as the 1971 incident that I discuss in Chapter 8, when Northside Latinos took control of a city park in North Denver. Property also happens when space braces a relationship of belonging between subjects and social characteristics, as each of the following chapters demonstrates in discussions of the link between Latinos and Latino cultural complexes.

PLACE, TERRITORY, AND PROPERTY

In the foregoing chapter, I argued that belonging is a seminal component of place. In this chapter I argue that property is constituted by relations of belonging. Place and property, therefore, are related concepts. Similar to property in that social networks and social processes produce them, places are constructed by "stories and counter-stories that are told in them and of them" (Blomley 2002, p. 571). As I have previously shown, place hinges on collective memory, on authenticity, and is conjured in a continual discourse about a locality. Allan Pred (1984) also insists that places are in a constant process of becoming: a place is never inert, it is continually (re)produced. Because it emerges from multiple networked systems, it can never be a discrete, permanent site. Never fixed, places are nonetheless "full of time," to borrow a phrase from Richard Sennett (1990). Places are moments. They are shared memories and therefore temporary and always malleable. Nonetheless, the reality of place is articulated at the very moment that it is named, bounded, and regulated, and thus acquires a collective meaning (Keenan 2015). I understand this articulation of place as a territorial process. In other words, places become visible when they are territorialized, bounded, and regulated. In this way territory and property are also related. That is, both the power to stipulate what occurs within a territory's boundaries and the power to demarcate territorial boundaries align with rights of property, namely, with the proprietary rights of use and exclusion. I understand both use and inclusion to be relations of belonging: particular behaviors (uses) belong within a territorialized area while others do not. Place takes on the power exclusion and regulation when it is territorialized. This process constitutes a type of property: it produces what I term *primitive property*.

Whether in reference to part–whole belonging (e.g., being a member of the Anglo middle-class), or to subject–object belonging (e.g., possessing a house), property is always constitutive of personhood, of identity. The private space of a home is not, in Pred's terminology, socially inert. The word homeowner, after all, is more than a noun; it is an identity trait. In myriad social, economic, and political ways, owning a home is a formative factor in a person's identity. Owning a home imbues a person with social status. There are many ways in which personhood comes to be attached to home ownership: owners can deduct home-mortgage interest from income tax returns; a fixed address allows friends, UPS packages, and tax bills to find their way to homeowners' doors. This determinative process works in a similar manner to public space. Publicly accessible spaces are physically manifest in the material world; however, they are not socially inert localities. Whereas individuals cannot claim individual rights of ownership over particular publicly accessible spaces, the fact that certain groups come to belong in them is a constitutive factor in group identity. For example, the word Northside is not merely a demonym. Not only does it identify someone as native to a particular place, but it also serves as an identity trait. Northsiders belong in their neighborhood and they belong to the Northside. Here the bridge between personhood and the physical world is not a privately owned space but networks of publicly accessible spaces in North Denver. More specifically, the bridge is between the bounding and the social regulation of these localities. The span between the physicality of North Denver and this collective identity is therefore the collective *memory of* and a collective *sense of belonging to* the Northside. If we consider property in spatial terms and think of it as a type of territory, we can discover dense relational geographies of belonging that would be obscured by a one-dimensional subject-centered definition of property (cf. Keenan 2015). This shift in perspective casts light on the normative, practical, social, political, even the visible, and audible aspects of property. The broader appreciation of belonging presented here encapsulates more than the simple possession of rights to a thing; it encapsulates the possession of sociocultural attributes, which, in turn, entails belonging to a larger whole. A further important point is that possessing certain attributes authorizes belonging in particular places.

As I will show in the chapters that follow, particular behaviors normalized in one cultural complex can be considered nuisances in other cultural complexes. The stories in this book demonstrate that the regulation of nuisance constantly reconfigures spaces of belonging in particular publicly

accessible spaces. These stories will offer manifold illustrations of workaday municipal governance that served to dispossess some groups' notion of place while lending legitimacy to that of other groups. In the end, there exists a murky space between individuals' collective sense of belonging and enforceable rights to property. Thus, who belongs in particular spaces, and when they belong in them, is always contested.

Primitive Property

Within singular publicly accessible spaces there exists much potential for conflicts between the paired concepts of authenticity and nuisance. As we have established, space is ever-evolving and heterogeneous, and property is contingent upon these patterns of flux. Thus, it should be clear that all attempts at territorializing place, that is, all attempts at establishing socially enforceable property rights, remain permanently unsettled, and that there will always be relations of belonging that stand in tension with dominant cultural complexes. Since property boundaries are constituted and disputed in social discourse, they are not outcomes of property; rather, they are essential means by which property is "materialized in the here-and-now" (Blomley 2016, p. 252). Put another way, convincing others of the existence and legitimacy of boundaries *is* property. Property is always conjured by appropriation, by establishing relations of belonging. Buttressed by narratives of white supremacy, mercantilism, and supported by structured inequalities in labor, housing, and education markets, colonialism dispossessed Native Americans of two entire continents (Blomley 2003). Colonialism created new regimes of property. Histories of conquest and colonization prove that appropriation is often enacted by force. Market property conjured by *violent accumulation* (Springer 2013) must be considered an act of violence.

David Harvey (2005) calls this violent process *primitive accumulation*, which entails taking land by enclosing it and expelling the resident population. Land is then released into the privatized markets to accumulate capital. My concept of *primitive property* builds on this compound definition of property. I use the adjective primitive to denote a new, basic, and original relationship of belonging. Primitive property is based on a story that convinces others of the reality of the existence of the boundaries and rules that make place visible. Because it results from cultural rather than legal imperatives, primitive property can be seen as existing both inside and outside of the law, as being anarchic (cf. Chomsky 2013; Proudhon

1840; Stoehr 2011). Existing simultaneously, both primitive and market relations shape behavior within particular localities. This process is ubiquitous: our world is crosscut with property boundaries: market and primitive. Going about workaday and everyday lives, people "navigate dense landscapes, inscribed with property's lines" (Blomley 2016, p. 252). These crosscuts impact the sense of belonging and entitlement for long-timers and newcomers alike. Market property is a codified, legal reality of deep concern to city governments. Primitive property arises socially and is therefore regulated outside the pale of municipal governance. Primitive property becomes manifest when relations of belonging carve out alternative spaces within the bounds of market property. As I will illustrate, the creation of primitive property is a commonplace occurrence. My discussion of the Pecos Garden, a rambunctious (cf. Marris 2011) Hmong garden, highlights how aesthetics impact and (re)produce conflicting types of primitive property, and thus conflicting relations of belonging. In Chapter 5, I counterpoise farmers markets and a newcomer block party called the LoHi White Tablecloth Dinner with similarly temporary uses of publicly accessible space by Latinos. Some forms of primitive property, like the pulses of lowriders taking it low and slow on city streets, which I discuss in Chapter 6, are fleeting. Some, like the takeover of La Raza Park, which I illustrate in Chapter 8, establish bounds and rules that exist for many years outside the sphere of municipal authority.

Above I argue that social relations comprise identity and that identity works to either support or dismantle spaces of belonging. Furthermore, I argue that spaces of belonging attach to individuals as they move through the city. Therefore, Anglo newcomers territorialize networks of neighborhood streets simply by walking their dogs down them. The performance of this seemingly innocuous activity, one normalized in dominant Anglo culture, sustains a vast network of property relations, including the social norms of canine ownership, of canine care, and of expectations about the unimpeded mobility patterns usually enjoyed by Anglo people. In this way the simple act of dog-walking inscribes Anglo middle-class culture in barrio spaces. During my field work in West Highland, where I lived, I noticed the inverse of this process taking place. One day my doorbell rang; I answered it to find an African American man carrying a ladder. He offered to clean my house gutters for a small fee. I accepted his offer. Later in the week, reading a neighborhood local message board, I learned that someone had called the police to investigate the purportedly "obvious criminal intent" of a "black man, carrying a ladder down the streets of

West Highland." Though shocking, the purported out-of-place-ness conveyed by this message aligned with what I was learning from my research. This man did not simply carry a ladder and his need for work into West Highland, he carried an entire cultural complex that the author of the blog post felt was out of place there. Feeling out of place is part of a slow process of dislocation. One Latina informant told me that she "feel[s] out of place, almost like a stranger in her own neighborhood." She continued, "A lot of times, just walking down the street, people won't even look at me." When I asked her why she thought they refused eye contact, she replied, "I don't know if it's because I'm brown or if they're just not friendly." Whatever the motivation for the refusal to engage by passersby, in a small yet impactful way, it dispossessed her of her sense of belonging to her neighborhood. Another Latino informant shared that he now felt out of place where he grew up, saying how weird it is, "walking down old streets, by new restaurants filled with yuppies." Rights to property once enjoyed by longtimers, in these examples presented in terms of relations of belonging to a neighborhood's publicly accessible spaces, erode as newcomers territorialized these spaces. Sometimes a lack of eye contact from new neighbors is all that it takes to dispossess someone of her feeling of belonging; sometimes it's the presence of others who took Anglo middle-class space with them to dine in a working-class neighborhood's new trendy eateries.

The Gentrification of Space

As I argue, feeling at home in one's neighborhood is thus not merely a matter of having deeded access to the private property of a private residence. Relations of belonging to publicly accessible spaces can reinforce or erode feelings of belonging in any neighborhood. These kinds of territories are not deeded to individuals and therefore not owned outright, yet they are bounded, ordered, and regulated. The maintenance of unofficial boundaries along with the communal regulation of behavior within these boundaries constitutes primitive property. Primitive property involves relations of belonging that exist outside of governmental authority. Primitive property is anarchic. It is vital to grasp here that anarchy and pandemonium are not synonyms. Anarchy is not a chaotic absence of order; rather, it is order in the absence of the state (Chomsky 2013). The relationships of place and territory I explore in this book are certainly complex; however, they are not disordered. Like market property, primitive property is actualized in the here and now by convincing stories, by narratives which

develop along themes of authenticity, belonging, and collective memory. As these themes become habituated in practice, the boundaries of primitive property become evident, more stable, and therefore more resilient to external forces.

As the illustrations in this book demonstrate, routinized habits of practice make both market property and primitive property obvious to others. Routines beget habits; like space, identity, and property, habits lodge in social networks and in personhood. Routinized habits of place and territory normalize the means for people to interact within physical space. Habit, like property, is not fixed; it becomes manifest through experimentation, conflict, and discourse. Property viewed in this light is not a metaphysical essence or a legal abstraction; rather, it is made manifest in the world through habituated, normalized practice (cf. Blomley 2015). Certain practices become sedimented in sociocultural norms by virtue of their uptake by a majority of a particular social group, while others become fossilized into wider regimes of legal doctrine and municipal code by virtue of the political efficacy of socially and economically dominant groups. When understood this way, property can never solidify into an undisputed practice. There are too many points of view, too many societies and their constitutive cultures, too many ways to interpret action and inaction—in short, too many habits. Primitive property is always necessarily a context-specific practice lacking known, predetermined outcomes (cf. Blomley 2015). One convenient way to conceptualize this process is to see property as being held together by a range of social processes, structures, and networks that give force to relations of belonging, both subject–object relations and part–whole relations. In sum, relations of belonging are held together when wider social processes, structures, and networks give them force (cf. Keenan 2015).

When people take space with them as they move, they have the potential to appropriate publicly accessible spaces from others. To appropriate property is to make something one's own by asserting or producing a relationship of belonging, where one did not previously exist. Lowriders' and dog walkers' habits, their bodies, their clothing, and their accessories (tricked out cars or trained dogs) express different cultural complexes. These embodied practices also mark these individuals as coming from, and therefore respectively belonging to, other spaces. Taking these spaces with them, Latino lowriders and Anglo gentrifiers express wider networks of belonging. Lowrider cars belong to those who parade them down city streets: cruising, lowriders express that they belong to the Northside and that the Northside belongs to them. Tricked out lowrider cars make

Latino symbolic economy manifest. Similarly, dogs belong to their masters. The social practice of dog-walking also fits into a whole–part concept of belonging. Dog walkers express that they belong to the dominant culture and that the dominant culture belongs to them. Dogs on leashes make Anglo symbolic economy manifest. Both expressions of belonging constitute primitive property.

Successful primitive property both opens and closes rights-rifts. This process functions for two reasons: land use law and nuisance law constitute a large portion of city governance, making cities well positioned to regulate behavior; and behaviors are not attached to personhood, making it difficult to establish a direct causal link between intentional discrimination on ethnic or racial terms. Public space regulation emerges from depersonalized behaviors, while discrimination always attaches to individuals. Such regulation may seem harmless, in that low-level municipal bureaucracies appear to be concerned with behavior, not with personhood, that is, not with a person's civil rights. Since dog-walking is a familiar part of Anglo cultural complexes within which these bureaucracies embed, dog-walking is normalized in physical space by the uncontested presence of dogs on leashes. However, since lowriding does not align well with Anglo cultural complexes, cruising creates friction with the bureaucratic management of efficient transportation infrastructure. Cruising also creates friction within the realms of enforceable property law, which supports the enjoyment of property rather than often-loud celebrations of culture. Other apparently commonsense primitive properties explored in this book include farmers markets and street festivals. The temporary use of streets for farmers markets and white tablecloth dinners aligns better with dominant cultural complexes than does Latino performances of the Passion of Christ, or the celebration of Mexican Independence Day. This is the gentrification of space: Latino primitive properties become dislocated from publicly accessible spaces, while Anglo primitive properties become habituated in these selfsame localities. As a consequence, today Highland is far more an Anglo space than it is a node of Latino cultural expression.

Note

1. Latinidad is a term used to reference the various worldviews and attributes shared by the people of Latin American. Latinidad does not reduce similarities of people and their descendants to any single essential trait. Latinidad is a social construct that references a specific

geopolitical experience and captures the complexities and contradictions of immigration, colonialism, postcolonialism, neocolonialism, race, legal status, class, nation, language, and the politics of location. Latinidad is a useful way to discuss amalgamations of Latin American cultures and communities outside of any singular national frame.

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Vacant Space

As key informant Martha "Marty" Roberts, often reminded me, in order to understand Highland and its public space, I must take a close look at its community gardens. In the early 1970s, Highland was a distressed neighborhood. Vacant lots and dilapidated structures had proliferated to produce an urban fabric marked by incompatible uses. Faced with this blighted reality, Roberts says, "the first thing we did, to change things for the better, was plant a garden." Father Landgraff, then pastor of Saint Patrick's Church, collaborated with Roberts on the design and construction of a community garden in his church's central courtyard. The primary beneficiaries of this garden were working-class Latinos and Hmong refugees. Though ethnically and linguistically diverse, Latino and Hmong immigrants shared a common need for food, for a place to socialize, and for a place where they could feel comfortable in public. And both groups were also linked by the traditional custom of gardening for family consumption.

In 1985, when it became apparent that the neighborhood's need for garden plots was outgrowing the space available in the Saint Patrick's garden, community activists began considering nearby vacant lots. It turned out that the Denver Housing Authority owned a vacant lot a couple of blocks from the church. Owing to its odd shape and small size, no multi-unit housing could legally be constructed on this sliver of land. Gardening activists enlisted the charitable organization Colorado Open Lands to assist in acquiring and administering the funds necessary to negotiate the sale of this parcel to the newly incorporated non-profit organization Denver Urban Gardens (DUG), a 'guerrilla' gardening group (cf. Villagomez,

2010) which subsequently oversaw the design and construction of Highland's second community garden, Shoshone Garden. Then, in 1987, Saint Patrick's Church sold DUG the vacant parcel upon which its former convent once stood. On this parcel of land now stands the Pecos Garden, which, significantly, is situated on the same block as the trendy new restaurant Root Down—a repurposed service station.

In this chapter, I begin my examination of North Denver's publicly accessible space with a type of locality that is usually not public property, but to which the public often has access: vacant parcels of land. I present two cases of what I term *emergent public space* (Langegger, 2013): two community gardens cultivated on vacant lots. I use the remarkable story of the "Troy" Chavez Memorial Peace Garden, later called the Peace Garden, to illustrate ways the rights-rift can close for longtime Latinos. This garden works to harmonize informal ideas of place with formal mechanisms of territoriality. In the second part of the chapter, I discuss the Pecos Garden. Originally planted by community activists to assist Hmong refugees in feeding their families and reconnecting with the agrarian culture they left behind in the hills of Southeast Asia, this garden serves as a primer for understanding how the rights-rifts can open for other longtimers. Currently, as Anglo newcomers are wresting day-to-day control of the garden from Hmong gardeners, the garden is outstripping its capacity to sustain Hmong culture practices. Hampered from practicing their culture in publicly accessible space, Hmong gardeners are losing legitimacy in the neighborhood. This is a clear example of the kind of dislocation or dislodgment from public space which, following Blomley (2004b), I claim precedes residential displacement.

COMMUNITY GARDENS

Often occupying parcels zoned for commercial or residential development, community gardens remain somewhat of an urban planning enigma. Historically, city managers have implicitly allowed and even encouraged community gardening as blight reduction measures (Bowman & Pagano, 2004). Community gardens work toward building neighborhood social capital (Kingsley & Townsend, 2006): they have been proven to foster political efficacy for marginalized communities (Martinez, 2010; Rios, 2009; Teig, Amulya, Buchenau, Marshal, & Litt, 2009). Urban gardening and farming ameliorate neighborhood health and food crises (Rein & Ross, 2009; Zukin, 2010). During the cascading municipal fiscal crises

in US cities in the 1970s, sweat equity and guerrilla gardening came to represent neighborhood resistance to urban disinvestment while also satisfying new ideals of urban ecology and social activism (Lawson, 2004, 2005; Staeheli & Mitchell, 2008a; Staeheli, Mitchell, & Gibson, 2002). Municipal governments, however, typically tend not to consider community gardens legitimate long-term land uses. Though, to my knowledge, no national research effort has yet explored this issue, permanent community gardens are not part of any US city's comprehensive plan, zoning codes, or development guidelines (Hou, Johnson, & Lawson, 2009; Lawson, 2005). One city alone serves as a rare counterexample: in Seattle, even though urban gardening is not listed as a land use in the city's zoning code, gardening is explicitly considered a legitimate, but still temporary, land use of vacant land (Hou et al., 2009).

However temporary, community gardens produce lasting positive effects. By populating vacant space, gardens increase neighborly contact and consequently reduce perceptions of neighborhood danger (Blomley, 2004a). In multi-ethnic and multi-generational neighborhoods, gardens facilitate neighborly contact through the simple interaction of sharing agricultural knowledge and skills (Glover, Parry, & Shinew, 2005; Saldivar-tanaka & Krasny, 2004). Importantly, urban gardens provide publicly accessible, or at least publicly viewable, spaces, which tend to increase surrounding property values (Voicu & Been, 2008). Rising property values in turn signal and sustain gentrification (Lees et al., 2008); therefore, community gardens exist in a tenuous space between neighborhood revitalization and the development pressure associated with gentrification (Staeheli et al., 2002).

Much scholarly literature presents pleasant portraits of community gardens as amicable places (Birky & Strom, 2013; L'Annunziata, 2010; Lawson, 2005; Saldivar-tanaka & Krasny, 2004; Staeheli et al., 2002). My field and archival work in relation to the Peace Garden aligns with this scholarship. There are, however, notable exceptions to this type of community garden. Miranda Martinez (2010), in a study of gardens of Lower East Side, New York City, describes profound contrasts in the purposes ascribed to garden space by gardeners in formal and orderly gardens and those in community-oriented "casita" gardens. At the core of this contrast were discordant, sometimes incompatible, visions of what gardeners expected from each other and how they experienced norms of interaction and social boundaries within the neighborhood. Further identifying these incompatibilities, Eizenberg (2013) describes three distinct categories

of urban horticulture practices and visions, (re)producing Puerto Rican, African American, or gentrifier community gardens, respectively. Focusing on the evolution of individual garden spaces, Zukin (2010) presents a developmental typology of community gardens. She uncovers a general progression from gardens as spaces grounding social-justice activism, to gardens used as sites of local and sustainable food production. This arc of urban-space research emphasizes spatial, cultural, and even temporal dissonances between different types of community gardens. Aptekar (2015) alters the shape of this arc by examining ways in which neighborhood diversity plays out within particular gardens. She develops a helpful categorical system for unraveling the complex visions of a community garden held by gardeners and those held by other neighborhood institutions, by the city, and by property developers. Aptekar's first category is *private property*, by far the most common vision of community gardens—a collection of privatized plots in a public space. Her second category is *green space*, a vision often supported by developers, city officials, and community activists concerned with revitalizing blighted areas—community gardens as means to remove the eyesore of blight and replace it with a green, artfully designed space. Third is *urban farm*, a vision of gardens driven by issues revolving around food justice and public health—community gardens as elements in a localized food production infrastructure. Her final category is *community space*, a vision of community gardens held by advocates of social justice, social learning, and social cooperation ideals—community gardens as diverse, quasi-public spaces.

Crucially, the green space vision is congruent with what other researchers have described as the image held by gentrifier gardeners and by non-profit organizations that fund and manage many city gardens (Eizenberg, 2013; Martinez, 2010; Staeheli & Mitchell, 2008b; Zukin, 2010). Green space, however, is not the only notion held by garden funders and managers. In balancing garden needs with funder expectations, Michael Buchenau, DUG's managing director, has come to understand funder mission statements as often moving targets. Buchenau says, "it's difficult to understand how they interpret how their funding dollars should be spent here at DUG. Furthermore, they often have people-based agendas, whereas DUG's mission is place-based/garden-based/neighborhood-based." The focus of funding has profound spatial impacts. For example, the mission statement of LiveWell Denver—a non-profit organization that makes substantial contributions to DUG's funds—orbits outdoor recreation and obesity prevention. In 2010, LiveWell insisted that a portion of

the funds it granted be used to install bike racks at certain DUG gardens. Aside from encouraging healthy transportation options, the presence of bike racks encourages a garden's socioeconomic diversity and shores up the idea of community gardens primarily serving as neighborhood amenities for gardeners and non-gardeners alike. There is good reason to manage gardens as amenities for a broad demographic. To put it pointedly, greater gardener diversity leads to greater chances that community gardens will resist mounting pressures for commercial or residential development as land values rise (Birky & Strom, 2013). Other DUG grantors, such as the Gates Family Foundation and the Anschutz's Family Foundation, expect their contributions to further goals of fostering self-sufficiency and individual capacity building. Focus on individuals and their individual garden plots aligns with Aptekar's category of private property—plots controlled by and benefiting individual gardeners. Urban scholars note that this privatized expression of common space can facilitate the social production of neoliberalism rather than that of the communitarianism commonly associated with community gardens (Pudup, 2008; Rosol, 2010, 2011). Each of the gardens considered in the pages that follow was established in accordance with goals of food production and neighborhood greening. However, the types of spaces produced within these two gardens are vastly different, along with the impacts these gardens have on trajectories of neighborhood change.

HIGHLAND'S COMMUNITY GARDENS

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The "Troy" Chavez Memorial Peace Garden
   This is my turf!
   Bam
   Bam Bam
   Bam Bam Bam Bam
   A mother lays her child beneath the green turf
   moist from her tears
   and his blood
"Turf" by North Denver priest Marshall Gourley—1995
```

Located just north of Highland in the Sunnyside neighborhood, this hidden yet vibrant, leafy, and tranquil space stands in sharp contrast to the immediate surroundings comprising concrete, asphalt, and traffic noise. The Peace Garden is no ordinary community garden. The front memorial
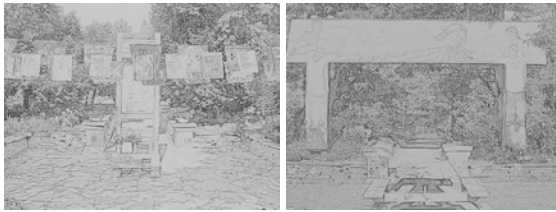
Fig. 4.1 The image on the left is of the unsecured entrance to the Peace Garden, replete with Chicano, Mexica, and Aztec symbolism. The image on the right was taken from the Aztec hatchl looking through the mural to the garden plots in the rear of this remarkable space. Images by Author

section is expertly landscaped with Colorado sandstone and wild plum trees; it is filled with Aztec statuary and Chicano murals. The garden plots are located in the rear of the parcel, behind the prominent features of the memorial. It is open to the street in highly unusual ways for an urban garden, lacking both a fence and a front gate. Instead of a barrier, plum trees arch over its entrance. Shady nooks and intriguing landscape architecture invite passersby to enter and explore this calming space (Fig. 4.1).

The "Troy" Chavez Memorial Peace Garden is named in memory of 16-year-old Troy Chavez, Ana and Jim Chavez's son, an outspoken anti-gang teenager who was one of 108 North Denver youth killed in Denver's 1993 Summer of Violence. Widespread community remembrance of Troy's pacific temperament mobilized the Northside Latino community to action. Marshall Gourley, then pastor of Our Lady of Guadalupe, began a month-long fast to protest gang violence in North Denver. During his fast, he organized a gun buyback campaign, exchanging Broncos[1] and Nuggets[2] tickets for firearms. At the same time, neighborhood youth began to hold candlelight vigils and peace marches at different locations throughout North Denver where deadly gang violence had occurred. The Peace Garden's genesis lies in these vigils and peace marches. According to the anthropologist Clifford Geertz, streets are essential to cultural continuity since they provide an opportunity for a culture to narrate its story to itself (Geertz, 1973). Though the narrations began as spontaneous acts of mourning by neighborhood youth and their families, they were expanded by community activists like Louisa Vigil, who increased the scale of the marches in order to reach a wider audience. Vigil shares:

Our idea was to have peace marches every Friday night from 38th [Avenue] to the Our Lady of Guadalupe Church in Highland. And it was amazing. When we got the word out, we had 300 to 400 people there, from all walks of life, even gang members. Seeing this success, I decided to get a group of well-known poets involved. Once we got to the church, the poets would recite poetry. [West] 38ᵗʰ [Avenue] became an avenue of poetry, of peace, of saying *enough*! *"¡Ya basta!"*

Taking note of the ameliorative and conciliatory effects the peace marches were having, members of the Latino community worried that this positive energy would fade with time. Ana Chavez said:

You have to fight for things to get better. You can't just say, "Okay we did a few marches this year." It's a battle you have to fight forever, to keep our children focused, to keep them on track.

Over the next months, community narratives shifted from peace marches to narratives of belonging in a specific place: words, poems, and stories began to produce property. Seeking to actualize the positive energy of the marches in a particular location, community leaders approached Leprino Foods[3] about a parcel of land it owned, a disused and vacant lot across West 38th Avenue from the company's North Denver facility that had become a local eyesore. Seeing an opportunity to utilize community activism in the improvement of the appearance of the neighborhood, Leprino agreed to lease the land to the community for a nominal fee. North Denver peace activists then sought the gardening and organizational expertise of DUG. Working closely with the Chavez family and other activists, DUG assisted in securing funds for the preparatory cleanup of the site and the construction of the memorial and garden spaces. DUG landscape architects drew up landscape design plans that spatialize Mexica[4] culture in site planning, architectural features, and landscape elements. The physical construction of the Peace Garden emerged from a protracted and passionate community-wide effort. Many people contributed what they could. Some volunteered to clean and prepare the parcel for construction; some volunteered during the construction process. A stone quarry donated the flagstone used in fabricating the outline of the memorial's central feature, a scaled-down version of a *hatchl*, an Aztec ball court. Various gardening centers donated top soil, plants, and seeds. Local stone masons crafted the Quetzalcoatl monolith that simultaneously

shields the interior of the garden from direct view and invites passersby to enter and explore the memorial. Graphic artists painted the mural; the local children painted memorial tiles (Fig. 4.2).

Immediately upon entering the garden (Fig. 4.1), we see a stone carving of Quetzalcoatl, the Aztec god of wind and learning. As we walk around this carving we enter the hatchtl—two rectangular areas connected by a narrow passage. Close inspection of the flagstone lining the hatchtl reveals an extensive array of hand-painted tiles. I interviewed Jim Chavez, Troy Chavez's father, in the Peace Garden, and asked about the tiles. He became serious, looked me in the eye, and said: "Each tile tells a story of the Summer of Violence." Pointing to individual tiles he said:
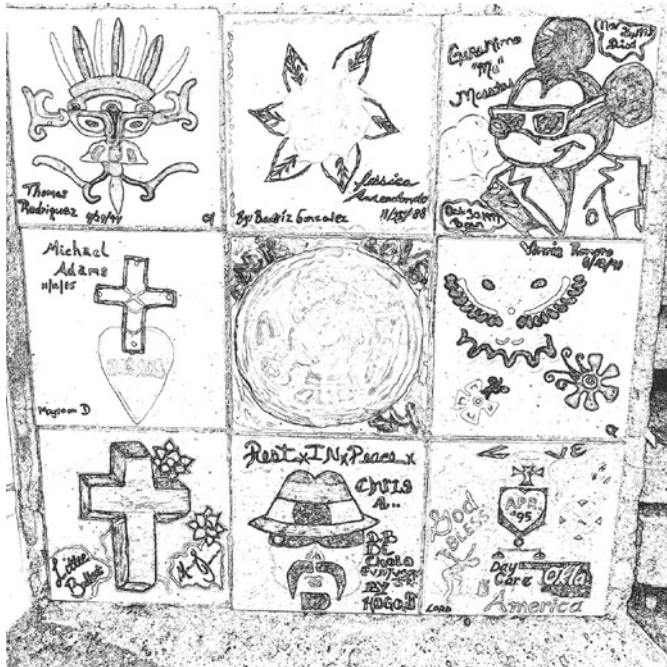
Fig. 4.2 Examples of the hand-painted tiles in the Peace Garden. Image by Author

Fig. 4.2 (continued)

> The tile, the one with the kid wearing the fedora, that's [of] Carl Banks. He was trick-or-treating with his little nephew. A group of kids wanted Carl's trick-or-treat bag. They shot him for his trick-or-treat bag. The other tile with little boy there, that's [of] Geronimo Mestas; he had a nice Denver Broncos team jacket. They wanted it; he didn't want to give it up. They killed him for his Bronco jacket!

The garden is full of other examples of poignant communal art. For example, a few steps further into the garden there is a large mural representing neighborhood grief over drug and alcohol abuse and gang violence (Fig. 4.1). The Peace Garden is also a community garden; therefore, much of its artwork involves symbols related to gardening and farming. In addition to representations of maize, beans, squash, amaranth, Mexican gourd

varieties, and a chili pepper garden, we find an Aztec herb garden and a butterfly garden.[5]

Today the Peace Garden serves concurrently as a memorial, a pedagogical space, a compelling representation of both Mexica and Chicano[6] culture, and a site for numerous gardening and cultural events. Finally, it is an urban garden. Every aspect of the Peace Garden reproduces Latino collective memory. These shared memories engage a collective sense of belonging *to* a cultural complex, and belonging *in* this publicly accessible space. To use terms presented above, this garden exemplifies primitive property produced through a convincing narrative and authenticated within a cultural system; as such, it successfully territorializes North Denver Latinos' conceptions of place.

Interestingly, the Peace Garden is sited on privately owned property, on two parcels that the Denver assessor lists as vacant parcels zoned for residential development. Rights of access and use are guaranteed by a lease between Leprino Foods and DUG. In fact, the lease is revocable, meaning that Leprino Foods could, at a moment's notice, vacate and dismantle the garden in order to either sell or develop the land. Nonetheless, even though Leprino Foods has expanded its main facility, located directly across the avenue, a number of times, the Peace Garden remains. Its continued existence alone is rather remarkable considering that community gardens are nearly always considered of temporary use for privately owned land until such time as they can be developed for a better or more profitable use.

The garden's narrative of property has become more coherent and explicit by means of pedagogy. Though neighborhood residents cultivate a handful of individual plots, students from the Escuela Tlatelolco, a North Denver Chicano charter school founded by the Chicano rights activist Corky Gonzales, tend the bulk of the garden. Though curricula have changed over the past 20 years, horticulture and agronomy courses at Tlatelolco built around the garden continue to help students understand indigenous gardening and farming practices. Practicing culture through gardening helps students not only learn about their culture, but also learn how to work to sustain it. This dynamic was explained to me by Tlatelolco students who shared stories of finally comprehending the totality of the Aztec myth of the "three sisters" (maize, beans, and squash) by the simple practice of cultivating their garden plots and learning to prepare traditional recipes. The three sisters are central to many mythic stories: they thrive in a cooperative relationship, in an edifying metaphor for how different types

of people must cooperate to sustain a community. The cornstalks provide a structure for the beans to climb. The beans enrich the surrounding soil with nitrogen. Finally, the low-lying squash leaves create a micro-climate that retains sufficient soil moisture. Unsurprisingly, the three sisters serve as the foundation of the regional cuisines of the American Southwest. Through gardening, Tlatelolco students learn both the historical and cultural geographies of cuisines indigenous to Aztlán. Once acquired, this knowledge then reverberates within families and throughout the community. To illustrate, a Northside Latina said, "Roasting chilies grown from seeds you put in the ground completes your soul." She also shared that her ties with her family were deepened by learning the traditional methods of tending the Peace Garden's chokecherry bush and then making chokecherry jelly alongside her mother.

Working on many levels and between many spheres of life, the Peace Garden renders accessible both Mexica and Chicano culture. These processes of cultural diffusion and cultural change reflect the 500 years of the Mexica experience. Bolstered by the tripartite framework of death, fiesta, and self (Paz, 1985), Mexica is a distinctively public culture. A colonized conglomeration of Aztec, Olmec, and other tribes, the Mexica were forced to combine European and Christian belief systems into a cultural complex derived from both ancient paganism and Spanish Catholicism (ibid). As many informants shared with me, by adjusting their celebrations so they would fit into European holidays and by changing war dances into forms of entertainment comprehensible to their colonizers, Mexica people secretly sustained elements of their original cultural complex through centuries of colonial and imperial domination. Today, many Mexica cultural ideas of place are territorialized in the Peace Garden. For example, the annual celebration of El Día de los Muertos[7] in the garden is particularly important to the practice of Chicano culture in North Denver. Community activist Cisco Gallardo helps us understand the complex directionalities of cultural assimilation and the importance of place in sustaining indigenous cultural complexes as they evolve:

> Even as the Mexica were colonized they borrowed from Europeans. So too, the modern day Mexica, the Chicanos, borrow from the past through Aztec dancing and through El Día de los Muertos. Muertos is a phenomenon. It's a good way to talk about death. At the same time it's a healthy way to talk about life. Celebrating Muertos at the Peace Garden is a way to do this. You want to have a baseline, a common denominator amongst generations. Muertos is this baseline.

Other annual events held in the garden that extend traditional cultural complexes into a modern sense of Latino identity include *Xupantla*—a summer solstice ceremony featuring Aztec dancers in full regalia of feather and sea shells—and an urban farmers market, which features indigenous foodstuff grown in the garden. Unlike both other farmers markets described in this book, this is a non-profit event, the funds from which are funneled back into the upkeep and maintenance of the Peace Garden.

The Peace Garden has always been about neighborhood youth, both those lost during the Summer of Violence, and Tlatelolco students. It was envisioned as a therapeutic, pedagogical space and continues to be so managed. Its design, programs, and ongoing management allow for multifaceted avenues of mourning and learning. Using Aptekar's (2015) categorical system, it becomes clear that in the Peace Garden visions of private property are subordinate to green space, community space, and urban farm space. I suggest that the garden is all three kinds of spaces at all times. It is (re)produced by multiple cultural complexes and lodged within many systems of spatial order. Private businesses, local institutions, neighborhood residents, gardeners, and students are all engaged in common narratives of belonging that align Mexica notions of place with legitimate territorial regimes. Thus, the Peace Garden grounds many manifestations of primitive property.

The Pecos Garden

As I explained above, DUG began as a guerrilla gardening organization, one whose early ethical intent was to help people in blighted neighborhoods like Highland negotiate the complexities of founding and operating a community garden. Today DUG functions in an advisory role, providing garden training and assistance in the planning, design, and construction of community gardens, as well as assistance in the management of these gardens. It also serves as liaison between individual community gardens and funding sources, as well as other urban–garden advocacy groups. In this sense DUG is both place-based and lodged in larger regional and national community gardening and urban farming movements.

Much of DUG's work hinges on public relations. Working to ensure that neighborhoods appreciate the DUG gardens in their midst, they manage complex relationships within gardens as well as public opinions about them. To ensure that its urban farms and community gardens are appreci-

ated as neighborhood assets by non-gardeners, DUG encourages its garden leaders to install or accept the installation of public art projects like murals and statuary. In this liaison work, DUG must juggle often incongruent demands: the communal and food-based desires of gardeners and the claims to privacy and stable property value of nearby non-gardening property owners. DUG's many new roles reveal complex layers of territory. By relying upon many different donor organizations for its operational funds, DUG must balance often discordant requests from donors with the demands of community gardens and neighborhood organizations. Managing and advising individual gardens, DUG faces several contradictory visions of its gardens, covering all four of Aptekar's categories: as plots of privately controlled space, as aesthetic green spaces, as vibrant community spaces, and as productive urban farms. And, just as crucially, DUG must balance neighborhood needs and desires with those of the gardeners who may not live in the same neighborhood as the one in which they garden. The outward, aesthetic appearance of gardens ultimately proves pivotal in this balancing act. As Highland began to gentrify, those who appreciated gardens as visual amenities often were Anglo newcomers to the neighborhood. Both the Peace Garden for Northside Latinos and the Pecos Garden for Hmong residents, like other gardens, were founded as sites of sanctuary. However, there is a profound difference between the two. The Peace Garden exemplifies Latino cultural complexes which are often vibrant, artistic, and open to the public. But this is not necessarily the case with manifestations of Hmong cultural complexes; Hmong history is similarly long and troubled, but their horticultural practices and values are less consonant with those of the Westerners.

The Hmong are among the many hill tribes in Southeast Asia who fled the expansion of the Qing dynasty between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries and settled in areas outside the reach of the powerful Chinese empire (Scott, 2009). Today, the majority of people of Hmong ethnicity, who number approximately 10 million in total, continue to reside in Zomia—the mountainous terrain of Southeast Asia including Vietnam, Laos, Thailand, and Myanmar, as well as the Yunnan and Guangxi provinces of southern China. Many Hmong live abroad in a global diaspora (Lee, 2006). The circumstances of their emigration deserve attention here: they contribute in important ways to Hmong cultural identity in the USA. Under the Geneva Accord of 1962, Laos was guaranteed neutrality during the Vietnam War. Nonetheless, both North Vietnam and the USA breached this accord and engaged in a "secret war" that paralleled the

Vietnam Conflict (Thao & Yang, 2004). Because the Hmong were adept at avoiding state surveillance and were familiar with the rugged terrain of Southeast Asia, the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) recruited and trained Hmong people for covert operations, such as hampering North Vietnamese supply lines through Laos (Pfaff, 1995). After the fall of Saigon in 1972, some of those who assisted the CIA were safely relocated to North America (Lee, 2007). Some of these political refugees found their way to Denver.

Prior to arriving in the USA, the Hmong have long been an undocumented people (Yang, 2009). Because they are essentially a stateless nation and therefore not constrained by the borders and national myths that characterize the modern nation-state, Gary Yia Lee characterizes the Hmong diaspora as a "transnationally alienated minority group" (Lee, 2006, p. 2) rather than refugees. In order to survive and thrive in rugged terrain under constant surveillance by many different colonial, imperial, and state governments, Hmong groups learned to farm with nature instead of against it. Not only has their polyculture farming technique been essentially invisible to the government's gaze, but it has also been designed to promote and sustain biodiversity. Polyculture requires a limited amount of human input to produce a maximum of farm produce (Altieri, 2002). It is a traditional agricultural method that employs multiple crops in a variety of ways to achieve benefits for both the land and the farmer (ibid.). In that it replicates the biological characteristics and dynamics of a natural ecosystem; it both serves as camouflage and prevents soil erosion. Thus, in urban settings, Hmong gardens can be seen to (re)produce the cultural complexes that emerged in response to centuries of marginalization and domination. Hmong urban gardens in the USA (re)produce relations of part–whole belonging. Through their traditional horticultural methods, Hmong gardeners are reaffirming that they belong to a broader, if diasporic, cultural complex. To Western eyes, however, Hmong gardens can look like overgrown and untended vacant lots. Even though they are in reality well-tended gardens and well-articulated expressions of culture, casual observers and even formally trained gardeners tend to regard Hmong gardens as manifestations of visible blight, as localities with no aesthetic value (Fig. 4.3).

Thus, it is clear that tensions can arise between Hmong ideas of authenticity and cultural memory, rooted as they are in polyculture, and Anglo cultural

Fig. 4.3 The luxuriant Pecos Garden, with Hmong gardener in the foreground and Denver's skyline visible above the wall in the background. Image by Author

complexes that envision gardens as aesthetically pleasing green spaces, enlivened community spaces, or neatly demarcated private properties. Within the Pecos Garden, tensions about gardening practices have become manifest between Hmong gardeners and Anglo newcomers who garden individual plots. This, according to Marty Roberts, negatively impacts the Pecos Garden. Referring to well-heeled newcomers, she says:

> These people come in without understanding the history, with no idea of community. The Hmong feel threatened by their presence, because they're white, because they walk around like they own the place, because they expect the Hmong to do the majority of the unpleasant work of maintaining the garden. Rich white people are very individualistic; they just come in, do what they do, and expect everyone to get out of their way. They're so disconnected. It's difficult when this mentality enters an established community garden.

In urban gardens, Hmong people connect to nature and reproduce the gardening traditions that facilitated centuries of cultural survival in the mountainous terrain of Southeast Asia. In this sense, Hmong people brought space (cf. Keenan, 2015), that is, the means of authenticating place and legitimizing territory, with them from Southeast Asia. Because they are accustomed to scattering seeds and then gently guiding resulting ecological processes, the Pecos Garden's Hmong gardeners are party to an increasing number of small skirmishes with Anglo newcomers, who prefer the comforting aesthetics of neatly weeded rows of plants over the visual chaos of wildly rambling ecologies at work.

As mentioned above, DUG attempts to balance the needs of individual gardens and gardeners with a city-wide community of gardeners and

within constantly changing neighborhood contexts. Because long-term garden viability is paramount, DUG attempts to ensure that each of its community gardens is considered as a neighborhood asset by communities larger than a small group of gardeners. It encourages garden leaders to incorporate engaging landscape architecture, art installations, an open gate policy, and even community events into the overall management of their gardens. Art and cultural iconography serve as the foundation for the memorial and pedagogical spaces constituting the Peace Garden. In the Pecos Garden, such efforts are met with resistance from the Hmong gardeners. Roberts recalls:

> A couple of years ago, DUG wanted to have art displayed in our garden. The gardeners didn't want it. They didn't want the garden open like that, with strangers just walking through the garden. So I told DUG no. They didn't like my answer. But I talked to the gardeners first. They said, no we don't want art in our garden. I kept asking DUG to stop. They finally did. They were intruding in our garden.

Art installations are only one aspect in the conflicts over aesthetics in which the Pecos Garden is embroiled. Perhaps because it is managed as an Hmong farm in an urban setting instead of a green space that invites people to gaze at Hmong cultural practices, some Anglo newcomers and even a few longtimers described the Pecos Garden as unsightly, implying that Hmong gardeners, in scattering seeds and permitting vegetation to decompose throughout the garden, did not take pride in their plots. However, from the Hmong point of view, these practices are not the result of neglect. Rather, they are deliberate and traditional practices that allow nutrients from the dying plants to directly leech into the soil in order to nourish seeds and seedlings. Utilizing a technique diametrically opposed to a row-by-row system of gardening, Hmong gardeners see their work in the garden not as imposing human order on ecological systems but as assisting natural ecologies. For Hmong people, this kind of farming coheres and sustains collective memory. These practices allow the Hmong to develop relations of belonging to their culture, which is of great importance for any cultural group, especially small, highly marginalized groups like the Hmong. In terms of the contemporary USA, the Hmong diaspora already faces significant linguistic, educational, and cultural barriers. To illustrate, prior to relocation to the USA, many had not lived in a house with plumbing or electricity (Pfaff, 1995). During

the 1980s and 1990s, the Pecos Garden was a Hmong primitive property; it territorialized traditional notions of place, simultaneously insulating Hmong residents from many modes of linguistic, economic, ethnic, and class-based discrimination and spatializing their relations of belonging to North Denver.

In ways astonishingly similar to the gardening practices employed in the Peace Garden, Hmong gardening practices reflect a cultural complex deeply bound to interdependences between the physical environment, the produce it yields, and the gardeners themselves. The Pecos Garden was long a place where Hmong people remained connected to a common history, reconnected to their food sources, and maintained traditional agricultural methods (cf. L'Annunziata, 2010). As gentrification advances in Highland, an increasing number of Pecos garden plots are being tended by Anglo gardeners. Mapping traditional gardening practices on to the rights-rift, we can see that in the Peace Garden Latino garden practices expressed in accessible ethnic artistry close a rights-rift between place and territory and, in so doing, (re)produce primitive property. However, the materiality and social practices at the Pecos Garden are often misinterpreted as either a patently ugly or a "pre-modern" element of the Hmong culture (cf. Chiu, 2004); therefore, a rift between ideas about place and the ability to concretize territory opens. The narrative arc of the Pecos Garden shows us how cultural regimes constituting primitive property succumb to other, more dominant regimes of primitive property, and how a unique vision of an urban farm yields to visions of green space and private property. Even though the Pecos garden reflects Hmong empowerment (cf. Allen, Massey, & Pryke, 1999), small decisions over aesthetics and minor battles over neighborhood legitimacy disrupt this garden's potential power to heal the wounds of displacement (cf. Winterbottom, 2007). Hmong gardening practices are increasingly coming to be considered as nuisance behaviors by Anglo newcomers. As this neighborhood gentrifies, the community-oriented, yet inward-looking, Hmong culture that was once sustained here is likely to become dislocated from North Denver. Because the Hmong arrived in relatively small numbers in the 1970s and because they never constituted a dominant ethnicity in the North Denver, any resulting demographic change that is precipitated by the gentrification of the Pecos Garden would be impossible to quantify. It is also true that the Peace Garden has probably not stemmed gentrification pressure in North Denver. Nonetheless, in dissimilar ways the histories of both Pecos Garden and the Peace Garden help us under-

stand with more specificity the complex relationships between belonging, memory, authenticity territorial authority, and the gentrification of publicly accessible space.

Notes

1. Denver's professional football team.
2. Denver's professional basketball team.
3. Included in the S&P 500 Index, Leprino Foods is the world's largest producer of mozzarella cheese (http://www.leprinofoods.com/).
4. Mexica (pronounced Meshica), from which the term Mexico is derived, refers to the native American tribes that inhabited the American Southwest and present-day Mexico, an area referred to as Aztlán by Chicanos. Aztlán includes the geographical extent of the Aztec, Anasazi, and Mayan tribes.
5. Much of the historical literature on Aztec culture represents it as overtly violent. According to Ana Chavez, "the greatest Aztec warriors were community servants not destroyers, and that the greatest warriors were granted eternal life as butterflies." Cultivating plants that attract butterflies thus serves as a living, vibrant way to thank warriors for their service to community.
6. Chicano culture is based in the civil rights movement and in this way it parallels much of the Black Power Movement. Both derived cultural expression through the zoot culture and both sought to abolish racism and racial discrimination through revolutionary action. Among many other things, what sets the Chicano Movement apart from the Black Power Movement is the Chicano cultural affiliation with the physical geography of Aztlán—the American Southwest and Northern Mexico, and the identification of Chicanos with both Mexica and Spanish culture. Chicanos see themselves as a mestizo (mixed) race, with a new and unique identity arising from both indigenous American and colonizing European cultures.
7. Spanish for (The Day of the Dead) is a holiday celebrated throughout Mexico, and by people of Mexican ancestry living in other places, especially the USA. The multi-day holiday focuses on gatherings of family and friends who honor people who have died. Celebrants travel to significant localities, like cemeteries, to build altars containing the favorite foods and beverages for, as well as photos and memorabilia of, the departed. This *oferenda* (offering) is intended to encourage

visits by departed souls. Celebrations and paraphernalia take on a macabre or humorous tone, mocking the specter of death as a transparent boundary between two coexisting realms of existence.

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Temporary Space

Institutions and Territorial Boundaries

Reformulating Marx's famous exclamation, Debray claims that religion turns out to be not the "opiate of the masses, but the vitamin for the weak" (Debray 2008, p. 33). Religious institutions are often organizational hubs for marginalized communities. Religion and religious institutions have long stabilized norms, especially for populations confronted with societal threats (Ruiter and Tubergen 2009). In Highland, the Catholic Church has served as a cultural refuge over many decades, as well as a space of community and community-organizing for Irish, Italian, and Latino immigrants. The Catholic Church was the principal institution to which North Denver residents looked for assistance and guidance during times of dramatic change. Today, however, it plays a marginal role in efforts to support minorities in resisting gentrification. Diminution of direct local influence reflects national trends. Church groups have gained political influence in national and municipal level governance (Beaumont and Baker 2011). However, when congregations attempt to exercise agency in local issues, such as eviction and residential displacement, they are confronted with varying agendas of organizational politics and incomplete access to networks of political power. Thus, they can only fill niches, providing support for those affected by displacement and gentrification, but able to do little to stem its advance (Cimino 2011). The opposite is true of other local institutions like registered neighborhood organizations and community advisory boards.

These organizations have proven in the past to be effective in accelerating, steering, and sometimes curbing neighborhood change (Brown-Saracino 2009; Brown-Saracino and Rumpf 2011; Butler 1997; Ley 1997; Modan 2007; Smith 1996). Much of their efficacy has to do with changes over time in local political power structures. As newcomers gain control of key political positions in these politically effective institutions, longtimers face *political displacement*—dislocation from positions of political power. Political displacement can both presage and perpetuate residential displacement (Martin 2007).

Its political inefficacy in local politics notwithstanding, religion is always a profoundly important element in cultural complexes. Religious identity informs feelings of propriety and belonging. As I have argued, both place and territory are cultural projects; therefore, both hinge on relations of belonging. People belong to their culture and they territorialize localities so that they belong in these spaces. It follows that the territorialization of publicly accessible space has significant implications for the public expression of sacred as well as secular values (cf. Ashworth 2011). Concentrating on both sacred and secular events in parking lots and along streets and sidewalks, this chapter explores how the perceptions of religious festivals and secular events foreshadowed and continue to perpetuate the gentrification of space in Highland.

Two extended quotes by Father José Lara—pastor of Our Lady of Guadalupe Church during the 1970s—and Father Marshall Gourley—pastor of Our Lady of Guadalupe Church during the 1980s and early 1990s—serve here to establish the importance of the Catholic Church and religious events in both expressing and sustaining Latino culture in Highland. José Lara stitches together a history of symbolic violence and cultural resilience that reveals the trenchant, undisguised racism Denver's Latino community once faced. His words highlight how public practice combines with the built environment to form a conduit of cultural meaning. Early in the twentieth century, Highland was a White working-class neighborhood where racism was openly expressed. Lara illustrates,

> During the 1930s there was a small group of Hispanics[1] in North Denver; at this time the majority of the community was Italian. You've got to realize, the whole area around there was pretty hostile. For example, when the Hispanic GIs came back home from World War II, there were signs posted on businesses which read: No Mexicans or Dogs Allowed!

Nevertheless, during the 1930s, the predominantly Catholic Latino population grew. Finding a place to practice their faith proved problematic. Lara continues,

> The Hispanics wanted to have their own place of worship. They were not welcome in the local churches, even though St. Patrick's [Irish Catholic Church] and Mount Carmel [Italian Catholic Church] were very close. At this time Hispanics were not part of the community. They were outsiders, so to speak. They didn't speak English very well, things like that. So they collected funds and bought a storefront in Highland. This small group celebrated mass and occasionally had a little bazaar or religious events on the sidewalk. You know, little celebrations, but they were a means of saying, "Hi, we live here too." In this tiny church and with these events, they found places in which they could communicate, to continue their culture, to feel at home in the everyday rituals of the Catholic brotherhood.

In the 1940s Latinos continued to move to Highland, many of them purchasing houses from Italian Americans who were moving to Denver's outlying suburbs. Church attendance at the Italian Our Lady of Mount Carmel fell accordingly. As more Latino families moved to North Denver and as their families grew, the storefront church proved to be too small for the expanding congregation. In 1944, Latino community leaders decided to approach the priest at Our Lady of Mount Carmel, to determine whether they could negotiate a deal to buy the church. According to a story Father Lara heard many times during his tenure in Highland from many different parishioners, the Italian priest responded to the Latino community leaders' request with this statement: "Before you get this church the Japs will." During World War II, when Highland men of all ethnic origins were fighting the Japanese, and some were dying for their adopted country, such a declaration unveiled naked prejudice. Still in need of a place of worship, the Latino community decided to raise funds and build their own church. The Latino church, Our Lady of Guadalupe, was completed in 1947. Father Lara's account shows that this chapel was not built due to any need for additional Catholic worship space in Highland. It was constructed because of the barefaced racism then prevailing in the neighborhood, as exemplified by the blatant bigotry of one of its purported leaders.

During his years as head of Our Lady of Guadalupe, Father Lara was instrumental in developing the public presence of Latinos in North Denver. Lara increased the number of fund-raising bazaars. By hosting United Farm Worker and other social justice demonstrations on church

grounds, he also tied his church to the national Civil Rights Movements of the 1960s. In many ways and on numerous geographic scales, Our Lady of Guadalupe became the public face of North Denver Latinos. This Latino public presence expanded theatrically, if not quantitatively, during Marshall Gourley's time as pastor. He tells of street festivals that did a lot more than meekly state "Hi, we live here too." Father Gourley's events proudly and loudly publicized Latino culture. Gourley shares:

> We had a lot of street theater for Holy Week; we would reenact the Passion of Christ inside the church. We didn't just read it. We acted it out, with nails and blood and screaming, the whole thing! It was just *incredible*. It started within the Church's walls. This was just the beginning though. Then, on Good Friday, we'd hit the streets. The women, the servants of the mother of Jesus, the *Dolarosa,* would promenade through one area of the neighborhood. Bearing crosses, the men would walk through another area of the neighborhood. These were all candlelit processions; they'd pray at different Stations of the Cross throughout the neighborhood. The whole process would take a couple of hours. Finally, they'd meet back at the church. They'd continue this procession for blocks beyond the church. And after parading through the neighborhood they'd come back around to Our Lady of Guadalupe.

These public geographies are important. Lara insists that the small public bazaars allowed Latinos to establish a presence in Highland, and Gourley claims that the theater of Holy Week was "a way of using neighborhood streets to tie the community together." Both of these sets of events established two things: that Latinos *belong to* the Catholic faith and that Catholic Latinos *belong in* Highland. Both created narratives establishing primitive property, and both expanded the boundaries of Catholic Latino space beyond the private boundaries of the church.

This chapter will demonstrate that events that tie communities together by means of shared public practices can result in both cultural emplacement and cultural displacement. Extending Geertz's (1973) concept of public space as a medium upon which a culture narrates its story to itself, the events described here will show that certain uses of everyday public space also allow a culture to narrate its story to itself. Moreover, these accounts will demonstrate the different ways in which temporary events can chronicle a culture's story to others. Both the type and directionality of these narratives are central to the formation of primitive property.

I argue that temporary events held in the public right-of-way,[2] though by definition impermanent, can have long-standing effects and act as powerful components of the gentrification of space. Evidence presented in

this chapter indicates that temporary events work toward the establishment of cultural hegemony, and consequently of territorial hegemony. Beginning with considerations of diversity in cultural practice, this chapter brings together two central propositions. First, the use of public space for temporary events, while capable of fostering diversity, can serve to achieve the opposite: it often maintains social distance, reinforcing existing barriers between longtimers and newcomers. Second, municipal permit-granting processes which appropriate publicly accessible space for temporary events can function as means of cultural displacement. By definition, a temporary space cannot be permanent; it therefore cannot achieve permanent dislocation from publicly accessible space. However, as I will argue, temporary bursts of sporadic dislocation of longtimer cultural practices from publicly accessible space can be seen as a means of *gentrification by stealth* (cf. Bridge et al. 2012).

Diversity, Temporary Events, and Neighborhood Preference

Diversity, tolerance, and social mixing are central to urbanity. Democratic governance presupposes that a diverse public will enter into debates over collective futures (Sennett 2012). In cities, diversity and tolerance are linked in unique and important ways (Lofland 1998). Urban engagement in public, non-intimate, non-communal relationships helps us accept difference in others, while it also enables us to expose our cultural idiosyncrasies to others (Young 1990). Dealing with diversity teaches us that we do not need to share common bonds in order to share common ground. Sennett writes, "the ethics of difference, the moral exposure to others, the creative act of disorientation recall the experience of sympathy, as it was championed in the Enlightenment" (Sennett 1990, p. 226). On grand and humble scales, diversity fosters tolerance; in fact, the very concept of human rights rests on the recognition of humanity in humans different from us (L. Hunt 2007).

On the ground, due to over a century of racial zoning, racial covenants, redlining, white flight, blockbusting, and predatory lending, urban neighborhoods tend to have become segregated, that is, uniform in terms of residents' position in the economy, and consistent in terms of ethnic and racial composition (Jackle and Wilson 1992; Massey and Denton 1993; Pietila 2010). Nonetheless, it is vital to understand that these areas are usually overwhelmingly diverse in terms of age, gender, ethnicity, race, sexual orientation, and disability, as well as in terms of factors like work,

interests, and religion. David Diaz (2005) writes that in South Central Los Angeles on weekends and warm evenings, "barrios are social kaleidoscopes of mini-festivals and celebrations" (p. 145). As my fieldwork in Highland revealed, densely populated housing leads to myriad uses of the streets, alleys, sidewalks, and other interstitial spaces for unstructured play, everyday socializing, and temporary events. Longtime Latino Northsiders shared many stories of the "crazy places" that enlivened their neighborhoods. During weekends in the 1980s and 1990s, the four blocks West 32nd Avenue between Zuni and Clay streets would be transformed into a cultural carnival, replete with aromas of *burritos con carne asada*, *tacos con chicharrón*, and deep-fried *gorditas*, with grandmothers buying food for family gatherings at the back doors of taquerías; while gangsters paraded by in their Mercedes or BMWs. Teenagers courted and socialized along sidewalks. Street musicians performed mariachi standards. Children played. Parents gossiped. Lovers quarreled. Today, this type of wildly diverse public space is confined to two areas: the parking lot of Chubby's, an archetypal local taquería full of "all sorts of people, doing all sorts of things" (as a longtime North Denver Latina put it), and the block containing Our Lady of Guadalupe Church before and after its many weekend masses. During these planned and unplanned events, Latino culture envelops publicly accessible spaces—physically, aurally, visually, and aromatically. These events represent various types of primitive property, emerging from manifold public practices, but each one deriving from and expressing similar cultural complexes. In the 1980s, Marshall Gourley's Stations of the Cross enactments spilled from the church and inscribed territorial boundaries into the neighborhood. Aztec dancing festivals, with the perseverating rhythms of enormous drums and percussive shells strapped to dancers' ankles, were heard far and wide, expanding the aural boundaries of Latino territory in North Denver.

Such temporary events continue in Highland; however, instead of Latino cultural norms, they are increasingly broadcasting Anglo cultural norms into public accessible space. Farmers' markets, art-walks, and Halloween parades now territorialize gentrifier symbolic economy within Highland. These territories have an effect on residential location decisions. Having explored inner-city neighborhoods by attending temporary events, some middle-class people decide to relocate from the suburbs to the city. Why middle-class people choose to move from suburbs, which tend to be more homogeneous in terms of socioeconomic status and ethnicity, to urban settings such as Highland, which are usually more diverse, is a question that lies at the center of much urban research. Freeman and

Cai (2015) speculate that this new phenomenon is contingent both upon a general abatement of overt racism and upon the dramatically lower violent and property crime rates of the 1990s. This explanation fits the early residential preferences of white middle-class urban pioneers in Highland. Here we are examining the entire neighborhood, and thus neighborhood preference is privileged over residential preference. In order for a working-class neighborhood to gentrify, by every definition, middle- and upper-class people must move there. Urban scholars have determined that the choice to relocate is based on many factors, including, but not limited to, the volatility of real estate markets, the quality of the built environment, the location and quality of schools, municipal (in)attention to the neighborhood, the retail and restaurant scene, familial, cultural, and racial factors, and the distance and/or difficulty of daily commutes. Considering newcomer relocation decisions in these broad terms, I posit that some of the perceptions upon which neighborhood searches are based are informed by the type and tenor of temporary and unstructured events (cf. Bader and Krysan 2015).

Permitting Change, Policing Play

For as long as any of my informants could remember, it was common for older Latinos to gather in the Scottish Plaza[3] parking lot to socialize after church on Sundays. They called this publicly accessible space, of which they made regular temporary use, their *placita*[4]. By the mid-1990s, it became increasingly commonplace for Denver police to arrive during these gatherings and disperse the participants. Officers informed those gathered in the placita that they were in fact committing a nuisance offense amounting to loitering on privately owned property. It was new residents who had called the police. They were concerned about "Mexicans gathering in the parking lot." This action typifies the criminalization of longtimers social practices which is vital to the crux of my argument. Scholars have documented similar cases of criminalizing working-class demonstrations of sociability (R. Chaskin and Joseph 2013; Freeman 2006; Pattillo 2007). A point worth repeating here is that in North America, where white people continue to maintain a political, cultural, and economic hegemony, white middle-class norms and ideals are embedded in all manner of land use, building, and public decorum codes (cf. Perin 1977; cf. Valverde 2005). It follows that irrespective of Latino norms of public sociality, a group of people gathered in a parking lot without an official city permit were, in fact, according to Denver's municipal code, a nuisance. They

were loitering. In keeping with traditional Latino norms, as expressed in their customary ways of belonging to and within North Denver, residents were ignorant of this nuisance violation: before middle-class people began moving to Highland, no one had bothered to call the city. No one had called because, according to neighborhood commonsense, the practice was not only authentic, but constituted a legitimate temporary use of publicly accessible space. Longtimers being ticketed for loitering in their accustomed meeting place reveals a *rights-rift*, a disconnect between long-timer notions of what feels right in doing—actions which feel comfortable and familiar when performed with regularity—and municipal codes that delimit what people have a right to do. This disconnect lies at the core of my thesis: dominant classes articulate the design, regulation, and polic-ing of publicly accessible spaces in planned, strategic, and often in passive aggressive ways. Consequently, cultural practices that make perfect sense to the practitioners come to be marked as nuisance behaviors that are policed from public space. In this way indigenous cultural practices are dislocated from neighborhoods.

Not only were adult practices targeted by newcomers, but even child's play became suspect. Highland has always been park-poor, and in the late twentieth century it was also very densely populated. The combina-tion of population density and park scarcity led to the easily observed fact that Highland's streets were often filled with playing kids. Not everything has changed. During my fieldwork, I found ample evidence of children's play along sidewalks in Latino-majority streets proximal to Our Lady of Guadalupe Church. This evidence included engagement in active games, scattered toys, and even a basketball hoop installed on the corner of Navajo Street and 34th Avenue. Child's play is in no way a crime. Nevertheless, in the 1990s, urban pioneers called the police to remove from the street the nuisance of children playing too loudly. This enforcement of extant municipal codes was met with incredulity. One longtimer put it succinctly, asking me, "Who calls the cops in on kids playing on the sidewalk?", and then quickly answered, "Gentrifiers, that's who!" Modan's (2007) use of the term *moral geography* is helpful in dis-cerning differences between gentrifier and Latino relations of belonging. Longtime residents feel that they belong in Highland because of a shared deep knowledge of the built and social environments, a collective memory that emerged from continual public practice. In contrast, newcomers feel that they belong because of ownership of market property, from a bundle of rights, which belong exclusively to them. Because middle-class cultural

complexes harmonize with standard municipal codes (cf. Valverde 2005), legal mechanisms that eliminate nuisances like incompatible uses, loud noises, offending smells, and unsightly vistas (cf. Blomley 2005) purify (cf. Sibley 1995) adjoining public spaces and consequently protect the value of market property.

Thus, there are clearly profound dissonances between suburban Anglo and inner-city Latino ideas about public propriety. It is significant that both of these kinds of ideas are unsurprising to their participants. This is because both sets of ideas about propriety in public have become solidly rooted in their respective cultural complexes, and consequently within shared notions of belonging, legitimacy, and authenticity. Spatial customs are seldom surprising to those that hold them. Latinos see public space as a realm of miscellany and surprise, and they consequently understand public etiquette in terms of tolerance of a diversity of public practices and temporalities. Anglo ideals of civility in public tend to pivot on single uses and distinct temporalities. The latter perspective, not coincidentally, fits the protocols of municipal permitting processes, which are regimented, quantified, and discrete. A middle-class Latina informant, who grew up and still lives in North Denver, counterpoises this categorical sense of propriety with the unexpectedness and diversity constituting what she called *zócalo*. She uses the word in the abstract sense, neither to refer to the famous Plaza de la Constitution in Mexico City nor to any other physical zócalo. To her and her community, zócalo is a place that can emerge anywhere, one full of surprising encounters and defined by blurred boundaries. To her:

> It's logical, it has history, and it has nature. It's not just a place; it's a state of mind, the community's mind. It's where everything happens; it's where weddings happen; it can be a park, a plaza, or a street corner; it's where quinceañeras happen; it's where the locals fight, because they're out of the bar; it's where the grandma goes to see the new babies in the neighborhood.

Whereas Latinos welcome and rely upon freedom of congregation and movement in public space (Rios 2009; Rojas 2010), Anglos tend to be more comfortable in predictable, regulated spaces designed and regulated around specific functions (Schaller and Modan 2005; Williamson 2010). In the following quote, Cisco Gallardo highlights the manifest difference between urban Latino concepts of publicly accessible space and those held by middle-class Anglos he terms "yuppies." To him:

Unlike with yuppies, in our community to see large groups hanging out in the street, in public areas, is totally normal. It goes back, it's part of our history. I mean, if you go to any Mexican town, there's a plaza on every corner man! People really like that; they need it. But in the American suburbs, it's totally different. You don't have the same spaces. If you do, they're very restricted. They're not even functional! Just look at a city plaza versus a suburban park. A park has grass, right? A plaza, even though it might have *park-areas*, it's got lots of seating. It has vendors, it encourages small business-you can sell anything you want, see lots of people; you know what I mean? It can be used in religious ways, in community ways, all kinds of ways.

These quotes encapsulate how diversity can be expressed as place. Zócalos are ephemeral; they are everywhere and nowhere. They stage important cultural events, like weddings and girls' fifteenth birthday parties—*quinceañeras*. They are also an essential part of the quotidian. They can be both intense and intimate spaces. Importantly, they constitute a *habitus* (Bourdieu 1977), and are therefore a means of survival. Zócalos are primitive properties that take shape as planned festivals or as daily interaction rituals. In so doing, they reproduce a Latino way of *being-in-the-world* (cf. Richardson 1982). Moreover, because they foster communal confidence in public, they also provide a means of coping with the discrimination and profiling individual Latinos risk facing while working, shopping, or driving.

In Latino communities, the spontaneous practice of culture has self-sustaining qualities. However, as I indicated, the narration of culture in public can engender tension with other cultural complexes. A brief vignette of a local fiesta in temporary space serves as a prime example of culturally based antagonism. On September 14, 1997, the *Avenida Trente y Dos Comerciantes y Residentes Unión*, then under the direction of Arturo Jimenez, hosted its second fiesta for Mexican Independence Day, an event focusing on Mexican culture. This street festival stretched for four blocks along West 32nd Avenue between Clay and Zuni Streets. A dance troupe anchored each end of the fiesta. At Clay Street, Aztec dancers arrayed in traditional feathered headdresses festooned with anklets made of seashells danced rhythmic war dances to pulsing beats hammered onto *huēhuētl*[5] and *teponaztli*[6] drums. Further west, at Clay Street, mariachi musicians played trumpets, accordions, violins, and guitars, while female dancers twirled colorful petticoat skirts. Vendors offered traditional food including *gorditas*, *tortas*, *burritos*, and *tacos*. The aroma of scorched tortillas and roasted chili salsas wafted down the street. The boundaries of the celebration expanded and contracted with action, sound, sight, and aroma. This small but vibrant event expressed the Mestizo component of

Aztlán; it publicly enacted, and therefore territorialized, many Mestizo cultural complexes.

Not all Highland residents reveled in this public display of Mestizo culture, however. Many White neighbors openly boycotted the festival, asking why Mexican Independence Day should be celebrated in the USA. One white family, whose house faced West 32nd Avenue, even barricaded their front porch behind a makeshift barrier and covered their stone, sidewalk lining fence with dog feces (R.A. Hunt 1999).

According to Jimenez, acquiring the necessary permits to close off West 32nd Avenue for the 1997 festival was fraught with bureaucratic hurdles. Nonetheless, to him and to North Denver Latinos, it was worth it. As soon as the 1997 festival ended, planning for the 1998 festival began. While applying for the requisite permits, Jimenez and fellow organizers faced local and city opposition for this popular festival. Neighborhood organizations, by now increasingly dominated by Anglo newcomers, argued that the event created parking and neighborhood mobility problems. Residents insisted that the performances were too loud. Consequently, city officials became increasingly resistant to permitting the closure of West 32nd Avenue for such a large event. Ironically, as of this writing, the Highlands Street Fair—which begins 725 meters west of Clay Street in the West Highland neighborhood, stretches for a full six blocks, features live music on two stages and 180 vendors, and attracts upward of 40,000 visitors—is gearing up for its 33rd year. Thus, obviously the argument rings hollow for not issuing permits for the 1998 *Avenida Trente y Dos Comerciantes y Residentes Union* based on issues of crowd control, neighborhood parking, mobility patterns, and noise. Contrasting these two events exposes thinly veiled disagreements over what constitutes a legitimate festival. It reveals dissonances between Latino and Anglo cultural complexes. As gentrification accelerated in the 2000s, events that express and therefore territorialize Anglo symbolic economy increasingly overwrote Latino festivals. Informal truck farm markets gave way to the weekly HUNI Farmers Market. The Highland Haunt dislocated El Día de los Muertos celebrations from West 32nd Avenue. As a consequence, Anglo newcomers have come to belong in Highland, while Latinos are losing their ties to their neighborhood, one once chock-full of zócalos.

Church Bazaars and Festivals

Though certainly central to the neighborhood preference of some home-buyers, evidence of religiosity is not always considered a neighborhood amenity. The manager of Our Lady of Mount Carmel, Bill Coffee, told

me of an Anglo newcomer couple who complained that the church's bells, rung at 6:00 AM, at noon, and again at 6:00 PM, were disturbing their dogs. According to Coffee, the priest politely said that the bells had been ringing for nearly 100 years, and "would not stop on account of two new neighborhood dogs." Religious spaces also ground ethnic tensions. For example, Coffee shared that, in the 1970s, when Our Lady of Mount Carmel was the starting point of the Columbus Day parade, Aztec graffiti would appear in the church's alley. Aztec symbolism served as an outward sign of the animosity held by many Latinos, particularly Chicanos, toward the celebration of Columbus Day. Many Chicanos bristle at celebrating an Italian explorer's "discovery" of America for the Spanish.

For many residents, however, outward signs of religiosity reinforce their sense of belonging not only in a neighborhood but to a broader community. As I have shown, Catholicism has for generations been socially and physically inscribed in Highland. Currently, its presence is most apparent in the northeastern section of Highland, particularly in the blocks proximal to Our Lady of Guadalupe Church. At the corner of West 36th Avenue and Kalamath Street, tucked into the upper east corner of the neighborhood, this church sits along an inward curve of Interstate 25 and is thus separated from Downtown Denver by the Platte River Valley and by the 12 lanes of Interstate 25. The predominantly Latino residential pocket surrounding Our Lady of Guadalupe actually factored into the relocation decisions of some Anglo new-

A view down West 36th Avenue with the tiled roof of Our Lady of Guadalupe church on the left and the twin towers of Our Lady of Mount Carmel 3 blocks in the distance. Image by Author

comers, a handful of whom shared with me stories of stumbling across this "unexpectedly quaint" area while strolling through the neighborhood. They told me that finding this concentration of Latino culture in a gentrifying area was an enchanting surprise, which legitimated their decision to move to a still slightly edgy neighborhood. For Latino residents, this church, its parking lot, and the surrounding streets and sidewalks have no such touristic resonance, but constitute a familiar locality where they have always been comfortable practicing their culture. Below, I offer glimpses of two temporary events, each highlighting tensions between Latino and Anglo cultural complexes.

Scenes from the Ceremonia Tonatzin held on Kalamath Street and West 36th Avenue in Highland. The images left and center are of the Aztec dancing ceremony. The image on the right is of the street fair. Images by Author

Though it was a chilly December day, throngs of people filled Kalamath Street as I walked toward a primal sound of pounding huēhuētl and teponaztli drums. I arrived at the *Ceremonía Tonantzin* between Aztec dance routines. Many feather crown-festooned dancers, having just finished long and grueling performances, were walking to their cars to rest and to spend time with their families. Just past the dancers in the parking lot behind the church, a street fair was in full swing along West 36th Avenue. The crowd was extremely diverse in terms of age, gender, and even ethnicity. Many people were conversing in Spanish. There were infants, teenagers, young couples, middle-aged people, parents, and grandparents. Some attendees of the ceremony wore cowboy hats and enormous shiny belt buckles, in clear indication of their Mexicano identity; a few Chicanos presented themselves in fedoras and Ray-Bans.

Held on December 12 each year, the Ceremonía Tonantzin is prime example of Mestizo celebratory practice. A mestizo is a person of mixed Spanish and Native American biological and cultural traits (Beezley and Meyer 2010). Arising from both the physical and symbolic violence of conquest, the Ceremonía Tonantzin spatializes a combination of Aztec and European cultures. The relatively rapid Spanish military conquest of the Aztecs was followed by centuries of cultural assimilation. In Mexico, Catholic priests worked hard to convert Native Americans to Christianity by incorporating Roman Catholic saints into the Aztec religious pantheon and by allowing the continuation of certain aspects of Aztec religious practices on condition that Catholic saints be substituted for Aztec gods in celebrations, poems, and songs (Beezley and Meyer 2010). In this manner, the Aztec Goddess Tonantzin, goddess of sustenance or simply Mother Earth, was syncretized[7] with the Virgin Mary and Christianized as Our Lady of Guadalupe (Kurtz 1982). Catholic iconography and practices tie modern Latino culture to its ancient, indigenous roots in Mexico

Fig. 5.1 The Iconic Virgin of Guadalupe. Image by Author

(Brading 2001). This religious synthesis exists to this day. For example, iconic images of Our Lady of Guadalupe (Fig. 5.1) were ubiquitous at the Ceremonía Tonantzin. And, of course, the very church at which the ceremony took place is named in reverence of Our Lady of Guadalupe.

Like the Ceremonía Tonantzin, the annual fund-raising bazaar at Our Lady of Guadalupe (Fig. 5.2), traditionally held in late July, showcases the cultural diversity of the Latino community. During the 2011 bazaar, the live music was a cornucopia of styles, ranging from Mariachi standards rendered by well-groomed musicians in traditional sequined white suits and wide-brimmed *sombreros*, to Aztec and Mayan folk music played by men and women in traditional, colorful ponchos, to hip-hop rhymes belted out by MCs wearing baggy jeans and baseball caps. The attendees consciously presented their own version of ethnic identity in public (cf. Goffman 1959), showcasing the breadth of Latino fashion including edgy *cholos*[8]; fedora-wearing *pachucos*[9]; Mexicanos wearing cowboy hats and spit-polished cowboy boots; and younger Latinos dressed according to the fashion norms of the American middle-class. In this zócalo, grandmothers greeted new mothers and babies; teens flirted; old friends caught up. As one young Latina informant succinctly pointed out to me, gesturing to the diversity of the bazaar in front of us, "*This* is our culture!" Within this

Fig. 5.2 Scenes of the 2011 Our Lady of Guadalupe Bazaar, held on West 36th Avenue in Highland. Images by Author

territory there are nonetheless subtle signs of conflict, specifically between conservative Mexicanos, who are often nervous about their immigration status and tend to shy away from agitating for housing and worker rights, and Chicanos, some of whom tend to align with the vociferous political left. There is also a recognizable difference between Spanish-speaking Mexicanos who raise large families and Chicanos who often do not speak Spanish fluently: the latter are more acculturated to the American ideal of the nuclear family, and so they tend to come from and subsequently to raise smaller families. Graeber (2004) insists that all societies are, to some degree, at war with themselves. Necessarily based on the pursuit of different kinds of values and reinforced by tensions between incongruent interests and disparate factions, they function nonetheless. The endless work of achieving consensus on a broad set of common principles familiar to all serves as any community's binding agent. I argue that consensus is an instrument for reaching definitions of shared abstractions like place. For Latinos, such consensus is worked out through public practice: consensus on what it means to belong to a culture or in a neighborhood, on what should be remembered, on how memories should be celebrated, and on what constitutes cultural authenticity.

The Ceremonía Tonantzin and the Our Lady of Guadalupe Bazaar are public expressions of *Mexicanidad*—the quality of being Mexican—the ancient and hybrid nature of which is expressed in the many masks that Mexicans wear (cf. Paz 1985). As illustrated in Chapter. 4, el Día de los Muertos serves as another example of Mexicanidad. Rooted in two seemingly contrasting traditions—the religious imperatives of colonialism and the nineteenth-century politics—the iconography[10] of El Día de los Muertos reproduces a recognizably separate strain of Mexican culture (Brandes 1998). By temporarily appropriating publicly accessible space, the Ceremonía Tonantzin and the Our Lady of Guadalupe Church Bazaar serve as components of Latino cultural complexes; they reproduce Latino culture in North Denver. These festivals ensure the passage of cultural norms and meanings between generations, all the while sustaining and intertwining religious, linguistic, and social practices.

For newcomers coming across public celebrations such as these, the sudden experience of foreignness is often an unexpected entertainment: touristic, almost voyeuristic. One Anglo newcomer mentioned that while out on an afternoon walk she ran into "a Mexican street fair." She continued, "I felt like something magical happened, like I was in a dream." Other Anglo newcomers used phrases such as "It's like walking

back in time," and "It's like walking down a street in Mexico," and "All you hear around is Spanish being spoken, it's definitely a different type of experience." The festivals' temporality and the dependable periodic rhythms of their occurrences are also important. Within Anglo cultural complexes, seasonal festivals and Sunday masses are usually things one visits; they are occasional experiences. Furthermore, they tend to be viewed rather than lived; in other words, they do not sustain the same sense of communal continuity as they do for Latino longtimers. The routine regularity of festivals shores up neighborhood choice for newcomers; it reassures them that they relocated to neighborhoods that, though culturally diverse, are safe. Many Anglo newcomer interviewees, while describing events such as these, used words like cool, global, ethnic, and charming. Outward evidence of colorful foreignness instead may have influenced neighborhood choice for some. For example, watching "cute little kids dressed up in traditional Mexican costumes, dancing, and running around" reinforced one Anglo couple's decision to move to Highland. Not inconsequentially, there is a noticeable shift in agency at work in such observations. Turned into performative objects of the *tourist gaze* (Urry 2002), people simply practicing their culture (Calhoun and Sennett 2007) became neighborhood amenities, and in so doing, added to Highland's hip, ethnic, and appeal.

The tenor of Highland's festivals changed considerably as gentrification advanced. In the early 1990s, due to "complaints from new neighbors" and "potentially worrisome homebuyers," Father Gourley confined a subdued Passion of the Christ performance within the walls of Our Lady of Guadalupe. Along with the festivals themselves, the permeability of the boundaries between public and private, sacred and secular, familial and communal has also changed. Instead of narrating relations of belonging among themselves, North Denver Latinos found themselves performing their culture for Anglo newcomers. The Ceremonía Tonantzin and Our Lady of Guadalupe Bazaar became tourist destinations in which Latinos not only practice but also perform their culture. This change was an incremental process. By calling the police to disestablish temporary boundaries of spontaneous gatherings like the Scottish Plaza Placita, by resisting planned events like the Avenida Trente y Dos Comerciantes y Residentes, and by passively consuming religious festivals, Anglo newcomers change streets that had once knit the Latino community together into conduits of neighborhood change. In terms

of my theoretical frame, Anglo newcomers take space with them as they touristically consume Latino culture. In this way, the rights of Latino longtimers to practice their culture in public become attenuated, a rights-rift widens, and regimes of primitive property become difficult for Latinos to sustain.

The LoHi White Tablecloth Dinner

Often filled with people from vastly divergent cultural, religious, and social class backgrounds, the public right-of-way—streets, alleys, and sidewalks—remains one of the few publicly accessible spaces wherein newcomers and longtime residents come into contact. Acknowledging that their presence is altering these publicly accessible neighborhood spaces, many newcomers puzzle as to how to use neighborhood streets to build cultural bridges—what Anderson (2004, 2011) would term cosmopolitan canopies—to foster interethnic contact between newcomers and longtime residents. The LoHi White Tablecloth Dinner serves as an example of the outward construction of such a cosmopolitan canopy. It also serves as an example of newcomers taking Anglo space with them onto a public street. Meticulously planned and executed, this temporary event lacked some of the spontaneous and kaleidoscopic attributes of the temporary spaces produced by Latino appropriations of public space discussed above.

The LoHi White Tablecloth Dinner was envisioned as "the *whole* community coming together for a beautiful dinner on a lovely summer evening," as one of its organizers told me. It was planned and executed as a means to use a meal shared in public to build a common ground for the entire neighborhood, middle-class and working class, newcomer and longtimer, and Anglo and Latino. However, centered on a street-length table draped with a series of white tablecloths, the initial visuals of the affair appeared to trumpet exclusivity and Anglo middle-class conceptions of fine dining. The formal setup of the event did little to proclaim the kind of colorful spontaneity of local festivals expressing Mexicanidad. Advertising the event as an expression of neighborhood diversity, invitations requested that attendees bring "dinner and drinks for your family, a dessert to share, plates, cups, utensils, and a family candle." This way the table would be filled with, as the invitation continued "different candles lighting the individual faces of *diverse* people at the table." In order to ensure attendance by what the organizers considered adequately "diverse"

Fig. 5.3 The 2011 LoHi White Tablecloth Dinner held along Bryant Street. Image by Author

people, neighborhood food stamp recipients were invited: in this way mixed-income became a proxy for ethnic and racial diversity (cf. Berrey 2005).

The night of the dinner was beautiful; participants enjoyed the food and conversation. The setting was certainly unique—an elegantly set table extending down tree-lined Bryant Street in the western section of Highland (Fig. 5.3). However, the event exposed vast cultural differences in how dissimilar cultures narrate their stories to themselves and to others. Because the dinner celebrated Anglo culture, some longtime residents I spoke with criticized it sharply. First of all many longtime residents tend to disassociate themselves from anything to do with the realtor-coined "LoHi" nickname for Highland, which was inscribed in boldface type on the invitations. Others simply felt uncomfortable with the idea. One Latino informant thought the event was "too fancy for the street," and another said it was "too sophisticated for *el barrio*." Along with the HUNI Farmers Market held along Boulder Street and various block parties, the LoHi White Tablecloth Dinner narrates Anglo ideas of place and celebration along streets used less and less for variegated public displays of Latino culture. It proclaimed public Anglo relationships of belonging: belonging both *to* a dominant, "sophisticated" culture and belonging *in* Highland.

Although developed in the context of mixed-income developments, the term *incorporated exclusion* (R.J. Chaskin and Joseph 2015) is helpful in unpacking the LoHi White Tablecloth Dinner dynamic. Incorporated exclusion captures two types of exclusion—formal and informal. It is engaged by individual and organizational mechanisms working in concert with rule structures that specifically target social, economic, and cultural differences. Marginalized people are formally included in situations, spaces, and dialogues. However, this inclusion is pregnant with preconditions. To be included, marginal groups must informally agree to conform to dominant beliefs about propriety, cultural significance, and social sanctions. Although there was no discoverable evidence of malicious or openly patronizing intent in the planning or execution of the LoHi White

Tablecloth Dinner, the event privileged Anglo over Latino practices. In an ostensibly inclusive outreach effort, longtime residents were invited; however, the framing of the event was devised and structured according to their own norms by members of a newly dominant culture. In effect, event organizers sought to incorporate Latino bodies while failing to take into account Latino cultural preferences and practices.

Central to notions of place and belonging, the concept of authenticity is obviously key to analyzing what happens in outreach efforts like this one. A slippery term, authenticity is a practice, not a trait. It is best thought of as a sense of realness of experience that all people, including both longtimers and newcomers in urban settings, strive to achieve in everyday life. In Zukin's words, "[a]uthenticity is a consciously chosen lifestyle, a performance" (Zukin 2010 p. 4). Supplanting rather than supplementing the less formal public practice of Latino culture, organizers of the LoHi White Tablecloth Dinner sought to establish candlelit meals shared together as an authentic means of knitting a diverse set of people into a neighborhood community. By constructing the event around a European ideal of fine dining, it territorialized Anglo relationships of belonging. The organization of the event allowed newcomers to legitimate Anglo notions of diversity and inclusiveness. By inviting the entire neighborhood, by (as one LoHi White Tablecloth Dinner organizer told me with no apparent irony) "making concerted efforts to include Latinos, we're trying to tell them: It's your neighborhood too." The fundamental point here is that Latino cultural complexes were thinly incorporated into this temporary event. Aside from the "ethnic" food they were requested to bring, and may have brought, Latinos were not included in terms of their entire cultural complex. That is, the event was scripted rather than spontaneous, monochromatic rather than kaleidoscopic.

This well-meaning but insensitive effort at integration also works in the opposite direction. Newcomers strive to be a part of, not just party to, longtimer events. To illustrate, many Anglo newcomers support and volunteer for Latino public events like the Ceremonía Tonantzin and Our Lady of Guadalupe Bazaars as efforts to "be accepted in the neighborhood," as a former president of HUNI shared with me. Importantly, newcomers to Highland tend to see their neighborhood as Denver's newest "hip, happening place" and want to share this enthusiasm with longtime residents. However, these concerted efforts to be accepted in the neighborhood can appear to many longtimers, reminiscent of the Spanish colonization their ancestors experienced. Just

as Anglo newcomers attempt to be accepted in Highland, so too did colonial Spanish settlers seek acceptance in the Mesoamerica by making determined efforts, frequently through the Catholic Church, to syncretize native and Christian religiosity and change Aztec cultural practices through the infusion of European worldviews. "It's odd," shared a former Chicano activist, drawing a comparison between contemporary gentrification advancing in North Denver and the Spanish Conquest of Mexico, "it feels like we're being colonized, *again*".

Notes

1. Although I use the Latino/a to signify people of Mexican, Mexican-American, South- and Central-American, and Chicano descent, I transcribe verbatim the terms that my informants used as markers of ethnicity.
2. Used by the city to deliver public goods like mail delivery, police service, and a city-wide transportation grid, this network of streets, alleys, and sidewalks is the largest publicly accessible locality in cities.
3. A strip mall in the Northwestern portion of Highland, near North High School, which has since been razed and replaced with a large condominium complex.
4. Spanish for little plaza.
5. An upright tubular, wooden drum with an animal skin stretched over its top and opened at the bottom. A large drum, it stands on three legs cut from its base.
6. A slit drum made from a hollowed-out hardwood log.
7. The combination of different religious beliefs, often while melding practices of various schools of thought and practices.
8. *Cholo* is a term that refers to a Latino male who typically dresses in chinos (khaki pants), a sleeveless tee-shirt, or a flannel shirt with only the top buttoned, a hairnet, or with a bandana around the forehead. Cholos often have black ink tattoos, commonly involving Catholic imagery.
9. *Pachuco* refers to a particular old school subculture of Latinos associated with zoot suits, street gangs, nightlife, and flamboyant public behavior, representing the look and attitude of mafia bosses of the Chicago gangster era.
10. Skulls, skeletons, coffins, and other symbols of death, presented in humorous forms, often as candies, breads, and sugary treats.

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Sidewalk Space

Originally built to connect streetcar lines and automobile traffic between North Denver and Downtown Denver, 16th Street Viaduct was straight, one-kilometer long, and therefore virtually unpoliceable: it became a popular drag racing strip during the 1950s and 1960s. In 1993, however, as a logical consequence of both the pedestrianization of the downtown 16th Street Mall in 1982 and the multi-decadal development of the Central Platte River Valley, the city made the decision to demolish this bridge. Today a series of three pedestrian bridges (the Millennium Bridge, the Platter River Bridge, and the Highland Bridge) make a very different type of connection between Highland and Lower Downtown, one based on cycling and walking instead of driving. The 2006 opening of the Highland Bridge, which spans Interstate 25, completed this link and underpins patterns of both mobility and sociality in lower Highland. This chapter connects elements of transportation planning, parking management, land use planning, licensing, and public relations. I examine conflicts over authenticity and legitimacy that hinge on locales that constitute perhaps the quintessential everyday pedestrian space (sidewalks and alleys), and show how the dispossession of North Denver longtimers from these locales contributed to the gentrification of Highland.

Everyday Mobility and Quotidian Tension

Commuting from home to work and back, finding a place to park after running errands, waving hello to people sitting on front porches, talking about the previous day's Bronco game on the way to the bus stop, shoveling snow, or doing yard work, Highland residents engage in a distinctively quotidian production of public space. Combining the social and the physical, these everyday practices give force to relations of belonging (cf. Keenan 2015), and inscribe regimes of territoriality throughout North Denver. Some public practices, like clearing sidewalks of snow and mowing lawn grass, are mandated by the city. Others are part of everyday social relations. Throughout this book I have foregrounded two cultural complexes dominant in North Denver: Latino and Anglo. This chapter considers everyday hostility between the two, which is often expressed in friction that John, an Anglo newcomer, describes as "a blatant, cultural tension that you can sometimes cut with a knife." The word "cultural" could here be seen as a code, a rhetorical device that distances the speaker from uttering outwardly derogatory or racist epithets. Similarly, Marie, a neighbor of John, gives as an example of strained relations an observation about a neighbor's children, describing "the kids from the house down the street [as] *culturally* quite different. They don't play with the white kids." Central to the argument I present in this chapter is that people who appropriate publicly accessible space take it from others. Sometimes, this appropriation is overt. Sometimes, people colonize everyday space, permanently preventing others from occupying it. One group of newcomer neighbors actually blocked off a public alley, "to keep *local* kids from hanging out back there," as Marie put it. Appropriation is usually more subtle, resulting from everyday, commonplace cultural practices. Walking dogs, parking cars, even having a conversation on the sidewalk, people remove, if temporarily, some of the opportunity for others to use publicly accessible spaces.

Taken as a whole, networks of sidewalks and alleys comprise any city's largest public space (Wolch et al. 2010); however, urban planners worldwide have applied little imagination to the diverse and contested spaces of either sidewalks (Kim 2015; Loukaitou-Sideris and Ehrenfeucht 2009) or alleys (M. Martin 2002). A central reason for this oversight is that architects and planners see the city in terms of its built environment and its property boundaries. This perspective is predicated on singular land uses and fixed boundaries. Alleys and sidewalks, on the contrary, are always

spaces of mixed use and blurry boundaries. Throughout the day they support transportation, utility service, trash removal, storage, and vending uses alongside and contingent with social and political functions. For example, a person may emerge from his house (zoned single-family residential), and, scarcely leaving the sidewalk, have a chat with his neighbor, walk to the barber shop (zoned commercial) for a shave and a trim, then, on his way to check on his car at the service station (zoned single-use industrial), take part in a survey, read a playbill stapled to a telephone pole, socialize at a block party, politely avoid signing a petition, then take a shortcut through an alley back to his house. While on this short journey, he negotiates multiple ephemeral boundaries within the public space of the sidewalks and alleys, along with many others engaged in similarly quotidian ends. Jane Jacobs calls this process of everyday cooperation the *ballet of the street* (Jacobs 1993). Unchoreographed, this dance is decidedly diverse and necessarily public. The sidewalk is where we present the banality of our existence to others as we interact with other narratives of self and community, some quotidian, some extraordinary.

Although people unthinkingly establish primitive property, often formal regulations facilitate this everyday appropriation of publicly accessible space. Webs of bylaws structure these spaces within a legal framework. Land use codes, building codes, business licenses, and public health codes, in concert with the logics of liquor licensing, and parking policy delimit localities and shape relations of belonging therein. Sometimes mobility patterns fit neatly into these rule structures, but at other times they are diametrically opposed. Materiality also matters. Irrespective of their degree of congruity with municipal governance, public practices are heavily dependent on the presence or absence, the type, and the quality of sidewalks and alleys as well as the physical characteristics of the surrounding built environment.

BLIGHTING HIGHLAND

Most longtime Highland residents whom I interviewed made numerous implicit and explicit references to gentrification by describing the people and actions they noted on the sidewalks and commented that what they saw made them feel either more, or less, at home in their neighborhood. It is clear that that a considerable proportion of people encountered on neighborhood sidewalks, especially in inner-city neighborhoods characterized by a mixture of residential and commercial land uses, necessarily

reflect the type and tenor of this neighborhood's commercial components. Sharon (Zukin 2010) uses the term terroir to capture the character of commercial scenes—terroir is a culinary concept that maps the character of a region's cuisine onto the qualities of its soil, its micro-climates, its prevailing weather patterns, and its agricultural traditions. It is better to think of terroir as a process rather than an end state. Always changing, a region's wines result from multiple interpenetrating processes, including geological, climatic, and meteorological. A similar processual dynamic is true of neighborhood terroir. Just as neighborhood streets do not miraculously transform into trendy corridors featuring high-end retail and expensive restaurants, neither do they mysteriously decay into blighted areas marked by unsavory and incompatible land uses. Neighborhood change culminates from many intertwining processes.

I spoke to many longtimers who painted an unwholesome portrait of 1980s era of North Denver. They spoke of unreliable trash removal, an oversupply of bars and liquor stores, high-volume streets lined with gas stations, and junkyards with mean-spirited dogs. Some longtime residents shared stories of owners of corner bodegas finally closing them down after one too many burglaries. One longtimer spoke of a drinking fountain at a small park that was ripped from its foundation to become a wretched little spring that the city ignored for months. Dive bars along or near West 32nd Avenue, like the Mahogany Lounge, the Dog House, the Junction, and Pic's Corner, were famed for rowdy bar fights which frequently spilled out onto the streets. These bars were also notorious for illicit drugs, underage drinking, and prostitution. "They sold heroin across the bar, in those places," recalled Marty Roberts. During the 1980s and 1990s a central goal of neighborhood organizing in Highland was the closure of establishments like these, which were openly violating criminal laws and business codes.

This type of vice-ridden urban environment begs the question: why do poor neighborhoods decline so precipitously into vice and violence? Why do certain urban areas have a proliferation of bars, liquor stores, and junkyards? Neighborhood decay is not due solely to lax policing and sporadic code enforcement. Land use planning also contributes to neighborhood blight. Land use zoning sets a groundwork for uneven development patterns (Wilson et al. 2008), and it can also lead directly to urban decay. By means of comprehensive plans and zoning maps, city planners distribute land uses—commercial, residential, industrial, public, and noxious—according to layers of socioeconomic, politico-legal, and cultural

logics. Since they are versed in the often obscure details that constitute zoning codes and land use laws, planners exercise great power in laying the groundwork for both urban development and urban decay (Takahashi and Gaber 1998). Articulating this power, planners concentrate morally offensive or environmentally damaging facilities, like junkyards, power plants, gas stations, liquor stores, marijuana dispensaries, sex-oriented retail establishments, and striptease cabarets, in neighborhoods with high percentages of low-income and minority residents. Thus, ghettoization is often an indirect consequence of multiple strategic land use zoning and business licensing decisions, emerging from the harsh reality that affluent neighborhoods have more power to exclude offensive land uses from their own neighborhoods.

It is crucial to stress here that the orchestration of comprehensive plans and citywide zoning codes by no means makes up most of the workaday labor in planning offices. Much of a city planner's day is consumed with the details of policing compliance along with granting or refusing specific property variances (cf. Valverde 2005). A much understudied problem, but one that is of fundamental concern to this book, is that these low-level levers of governance (e.g., granting zoning variances and licenses, issuing building permits and temporary use permits, modifying municipal codes, and promulgating parking policies) are tools that can ratchet up either neighborhood decline or gentrification. Neighborhood change is a multi-directional process whose dynamics put a spotlight on the hidden power wielded by members of the city council. Near the end of my field-work, I had the opportunity to become acquainted with Sal Carpio, a man whose name came up in nearly every conversation I had with Highland longtimers. Carpio served on Denver's City Council and directed Parks and Recreation for a number of years. His insights prove enlightening. Before Carpio was elected to represent North Denver in 1972, Geno Di Manna, a scion of the then vestigial Italian power structure, was instrumental in providing the codified framework which accelerated the decline of North Denver. Junkyards, storage lots, dive bars, and liquor stores did not just appear in the North Denver neighborhoods. In reality, they were zoned and coded into place by granting zoning variances, manipulating construction-permission processes, and fast-tracking business licensing procedures. During the 1960s, Geno Di Manna was instrumental in providing a legal scaffold to facilitate Highland's decline. Di Manna was notorious for using his political and business connections to grant favors to cronies. Consequently, during his tenure, incompatible land uses

proliferated throughout North Denver. Sal Carpio recollects that "Geno came from the '*good ol' boy* era, you know, backroom deals type stuff." Backroom deals, according to Carpio, did a number on the Northside. Di Manna was the go-to councilperson for developers who wanted to insert incompatible land uses like topless cabarets or junkyards into politically powerless residents' neighborhoods. If developers had a line on a residential parcel that they wanted to develop into a commercial property, "they'd go to Geno," recalls Carpio, "they'd say, 'Hey I want to do this thing, but I can't because of the *zoning.*'" Di Manna would take care of the details. He would persuade certain city council persons to vote for granting dramatic zoning variances, such as from a low-density residential duplex zone to a high-intensity commercial zone, to accommodate construction of a service station. He would call in favors with Excise and Licensing so that the developer could quickly obtain the necessary permits and licenses.

Although the Italian population was diluted by the 1950s, its political legacy was still apparent in 1972, the year that Sal Carpio was elected Denver Councilman for District 9 (North Denver). In no small measure, the combined work of community activists like Marty Roberts and social justice groups like the Crusade for Justice, in tandem with the efforts of Our Lady of Guadalupe's priest José Lara, factored into the shift of political power toward Northside Latinos during the 1960s and 1970s. This reconfigured political landscape reflected long-standing changes in demographic topography; moreover, it contributed to an ongoing process of amending the causes and effects of many of these deleterious land use decisions. However, political environments change more rapidly than physical spaces. As the current proliferation of bars and restaurants in Highland goes to show, much of Di Manna's handiwork is still apparent. Irrespective of ownership and concept, once these commercial land uses materialized in the physical world as actual restaurants and bars and once they were reinforced by self-supporting webs of business licenses, building permits, and business practices, they became part of Highland's built, economic, and social environment. As such, many of the minor land use decisions made in the 1960s are still in evidence to this day in North Denver.

A prime example of Di Manna's power was the blight he inflicted on the Northside even after he lost his council seat in the 1970s. He had constructed a network of familial and business relationships that served him well into retirement. After his political career ended, he continued to own one of Highland's most notorious dive bars, Pic's Corner. During the early 1990s, community activists concentrated on repairing much of Di Manna's

damage to Highland. For example, they redeveloped a junkyard on West 32nd Avenue and Zuni Street into an affordable housing project. Activists protested that liquor stores and bars were not compatible with the residential nature of the neighborhood and they were finally able to shutter many dive bars. Although their efforts were effective in the end, Marty Roberts illustrates exactly how hard it was for activists to work against what she termed the long-standing "anything-goes Di Manna machine." Recalling the efforts to close Pic's Corner, she says:

> At the hearings there were Denver police officers arguing that Pic's was an *asset* to the community. You see, Di Manna, he had family, sons and son-in-laws, in the Denver Police Department. The same guys that were called in to break up bar fights, investigate prostitution charges, what have you, got up on the stand, swore to tell the truth, then lied. They just lied. It was amazing! Well, the facts were pretty indisputable, so we were able to close it down along with most of the neighborhood dives.

Irrespective of the physical environment at any given moment, municipal codes and licenses endure. Closing the individual bars eliminated these disreputable businesses; it did not eliminate prevailing regimes of land use and zoning. Understanding that land use decisions impact neighborhoods well after the political regimes change, Roberts comments on how the long-defunct Di Manna machine currently fuels gentrification, saying: "Funny thing! Now these same locations are being reopened as *trendy* restaurants and *hipster* bars."

Just as changing the type and tenor of the bar scene impacts neighborhood life, changing transportation infrastructure also impacts the field of possible relations. Street design (Bosselman et al. 1999; Zavetoski and Agyeman 2014), street geometrics (B. Appleyard 2005; D. Appleyard 1981; Dumbaugh 2005), along obvious parallel arcs, sidewalk design (Loukaitou-Sideris and Ehrenfeucht 2009), and the regulation of behavior on sidewalks (Blomley 2011; Kim 2015) delimit and make possible a host of different types of social relations of belonging. Throughout the mid-twentieth century, transportation planners worked hard to move automobiles through North Denver to the suburbs arising on the city's periphery. City of Denver transportation planning documents indicate that during the 1950s and 1960s, North Denver neighborhood streets were reconfigured to carry thousands of vehicles every day, from white collar jobs downtown through Highland to suburban municipalities like

Lakewood, Arvada, and Westminster. In similar ways that land use zoning sets predictable trajectories of neighborhood development, transportation infrastructure influences residential, commercial, and retail development. Both impact sociality along sidewalks. As an economic consequence of increased traffic levels, service stations sprang up along North Denver's newly high-capacity streets. Starting in the 1970s, community activists began lobbying the city for safer streets. Roberts recalls:

> First we concentrated on fixing the sidewalks and painting street crossings, then we started petitioning for streets to be changed from one-way collector streets to two-way neighborhood streets. We worked to have stoplights replaced with stop signs to make Highland a safe place for families, a safe place for kids to play.

As with land use and licensing, subtle alterations to the rights-of-way later cascade to other neighborhood changes; the ensuing process, however, is neither immediate nor predictable. To illustrate, Osage Street was reconfigured from a high-volume arterial into a local-serving street in 1983. Consequently, Johnies Texaco, a service station on 33rd Avenue and Osage Street, went out of business in 1985. The site and structure sat vacant for 20 years. It is located directly across the street from Saint Patrick's Park.[1] Some of my Anglo longtimer informants referred to this area using words like ugly, crime-ridden, and dangerous. However, despite the fact that there was a vacant building on the corner, Latino longtimers tended to have favorable recollections of this micro-geography. This contrast in attitude makes it manifest that the current cultural tension that Anglo newcomer interviewees allude to is nothing new in Highland. In 2005, Johnies was repurposed as a restaurant, and is currently one of Denver's popular eateries: Root Down. Illustrating how low-level decisions impact neighborhood terroir, this redevelopment project required a zoning variance changing its land use from commercial-service station to retail-restaurant. This change cascaded to a raft of other business licensing and building codes. Eager to approve this redevelopment, Denver planners recommended and city council approved all the applicable zoning and licensing changes. Inexplicably, planners required that this restaurant only provide three off-street parking spaces, even though the projected clientele largely lived outside of Highland. At present, Root Down has a dining room capacity for well over a 100 guests, most of whom now compete with residents of this Lower Highland area for on-street parking spaces.

Land use decisions such as these delimit what a property owner can do with private space. Moreover, levers of low-level governance also impact publicly accessible space. Not only did land use decisions impact neighborhood parking dynamics, but the creative reuse of this former service station also affects how newcomers currently perceive this block. One Anglo newcomer insisted that the opening of Root Down changed not only her perceptions of this area but her mobility patterns through her new neighborhood. When I asked what she likes about Root Down, she answered, "It's lively; it's bustling; people are there having a good time. I walk by it frequently and I hear a very pleasant buzz of conversation." The difference between current newcomer perceptions of this block and the memories of longtimers is striking. Longtime Latinos lament that Saint Patrick's Park was once a lively neighborhood park, filled with conversation and accented by peals of laughter. In contrast, some Anglo longtimers remember this block as being particularly dangerous. In the 1980s while Anglo residents feared it, Latinos belonged in this section of Highland. Today, Anglos feel that they belong here. Interestingly, both directionalities of belonging are deeply contingent upon low-level land use decisions impacting open space and retail space.

Repurposing a service station as a restaurant was not the only adaptive reuse of architecture that in concert with the machinations of low-level municipal bureaucracies worked to inscribe Anglo cultural complexes within Highland. On the corner of Boulder Street where 16th Street changes to Tejon Street and arcs up the Highland Bluffs, stands the former Olinger Mortuary. According to neighborhood lore the body of Buffalo Bill was embalmed in this building in 1917. Today this industrial complex houses three trendy restaurants—Lola, Vita, and Linger—as well as a coffee shop, a hair salon, a yoga studio, and the popular Little Man Ice Cream stand. The owners of Linger inventively transformed the enormous, iconic Olinger Mortuaries fluorescent sign to read, "linger eatuaries" when lit up at night. The complex's redevelopment and much of its funky irreverence was real estate developer Paul Tamburello's brainchild. He saw development potential not only in Highland's ethnic history but also in its abandoned mortuary. It is absolutely vital to understand here that these restaurants do not exist in isolation from the rest of the neighborhood. Restaurant patrons park their cars on neighborhood streets and walk to and from these trendy destinations along its sidewalks. In these public practices, they take space with them. They authenticate new relations of belonging at the same time as they delegitimize longtimers' sense of belonging to Highland.

Sidewalks and Alleys: Intensely Public, Highly Regulated, Little Understood

Because of the slower pace of travel and the immediacy of human contact, social relations along sidewalks and neighborhood streets tend to be more familiar than those which occur along high-capacity streets. This sense of intimacy contributes to a widely held belief that local streets and sidewalks serve the community rather than the state (Jackson 1994). In point of fact, sidewalks and streets are territorialized by the city to serve regional rather than predominantly local purposes. The need for parcel and post delivery, police protection, maintenance of a citywide transportation grid, and the provision of a networked public right-of-way is the rationale of the government of these publicly accessible spaces (Blomley 2011). Though sociality often takes place either in ignorance of or irrespective of city regulation, it must necessarily play out within rigid rational orders.

It is precisely at this intersection of sociality and right-of-way governance that the rights-rift can open, revealing latent ruptures in linkages between place and territory. On the one hand are the anarchistic instincts of neighborhood communication and community legitimacy. On the other are the city's efforts to territorialize sidewalks within a rational order of spaces of urban mobility. These fissures often work in favor of the interests of newcomers because Anglo cultural complexes align with the commercial and real estate interests that are preeminent in the neoliberal city (cf. David Harvey 2006). This alignment is communicative. Both patrons walking to and from trendy restaurants and people walking their dogs down sidewalks inscribe Anglo symbolic economy onto Highland's publicly accessible spaces. This effect increases as more dog walkers and diners encounter other people walking dogs and other people walking to and from restaurants. This is primitive property in action. Public space is always an amalgam of cultural territories, constantly shaped and reshaped by symbolic boundary work. Changes to the contours of these boundaries establish, in Kennan's (2015) terms, new territories. Primitive property can also serve to index neighborhood change. Longtime Northsider Michael Rivera puts this into words: "Fifteen years ago Highland was a working-class Mexicano and Chicano barrio; now all you see on the street is hipsters with money to spend." When I asked Marie, an Anglo newcomer, about her first impression of Highland's streets she enthusiastically answered, "Lots of dogs! It's wonderful to see people walking dogs, or walking babies, or walking both." I suggest that this kind of enthusiastic

perception and the changes that gentrification brings are causally linked. After all, the perceptions of neighborhood livability upon which neighborhood property searches are often based derive from what Rivera is alluding to: Latinos have become a rare sight, while *hipsters* confidently appropriate North Denver sidewalks (cf. Bader and Krysan 2015). I do not believe it is a stretch to suggest that a significant proportion of newcomers who bought or rented real estate in Highland first experienced the neighborhood as restaurant patrons. Of those making the effort to drive to Highland and walk to a trendy restaurant or ethnic taqueria from their car, it seems very probable that many came because they felt at home in a neighborhood where familiar activities like culinary tourism and dog-walking occur. In the next section I take a closer look at restaurants, specifically liquor licensing protocols and parking policies designed to benefit restaurant patrons. The final section of this chapter reveals how walking the dog holds up distinct social relations and thus traces Anglo territory into Highland along paths taken by dog walkers.

Parking and Liquor Licensing

Historically most of Highland's restaurants and retail stores were neighborhood-serving, meaning that most people did not need to drive to patronize them. In recent years, with new restaurants attracting patrons from outside Highland, on-street parking spaces have become more difficult to find during lunch and dinner hours. On weekends, during brunch, lunch, and dinner rushes, it became common for local residents to have difficulty finding a parking spot on blocks near eateries. By 2008, on-street parking had morphed into a highly controversial issue: who had the greater right to park, those who live in a neighborhood, or those who patronize its businesses? In 2010, the City of Denver responded to neighborhood association calls for substantive action. Based on a detailed parking study, the city implemented dramatic changes to on-street parking in Highland. Along streets near busy restaurants, newly revised parking restrictions limited daytime parking to two hours. This time limit clearly inconvenienced nearby residents, who obviously need to park for more than two hours at a time and consequently must store their vehicles elsewhere, but opened many parking opportunities for potential diners. Along streets near the Olinger building's cluster of busy restaurants, residents are permitted to park in these two-hour zones for extended time periods; however, to do so, they must first go through the process of obtaining a residential parking permit from the city.

The wording of Denver's Highland parking policy explicitly states that these changes in parking policies are intended to "change the parking habits of Highland residents" in order to "free up street parking space for restaurant customers." The parking policy document thus openly expresses that the city proposes to micro-manage the geographies of neighborhood mobility and automobile storage—in effect, to territorialize the public right-of-way. The new regulations make territoriality explicit by privileging restaurant customers over neighborhood residents. Unsurprisingly, these parking restrictions are not unanimously popular. In railing against this territorial infringement of their rights, some Highland residents have resorted to guerrilla tactics. One resident uses traffic cones to save room for his car in front of his house; another boasted of once deflating an offending car's tires as "payback for stealing my spot." The symbolism of resistance employed here runs deep in the longtimer community. I spoke to elderly residents who applied for handicap spaces in front of their residences along Pecos Street even though they did not drive, in order to, as one put it, "make sure the hipsters *doing brunch* at Root Down can't find a parking spot on my block." Such claims of personal ownership of the public right-of-way and related territorial tactics come into focus when we consider that the borders between residential space and publicly accessible space are often indistinct and therefore prone to conflict. Anderson (1990) argues that a car parked on the street in front of one's residence, particularly in urban neighborhoods, serves as a paradoxically vacant extension of self and identity into public space. On-street parking in front of one's residence thus blurs boundaries between public and private spaces. People react strongly when they are deprived access to this space, the convenience it affords, and the identity management it stages. On-street parking restriction is taken to be an insulting appropriation of public space previously used to private ends. Furthermore, this appropriation is seen as particularly egregious when pulled off by people who not only live elsewhere but are perceived to be rich and snobby.

As a direct consequence of these new parking regulations, there has been a noticeable change in mobility rhythms near commercial corridors and busy restaurants like Root Down. Residents arriving home from work in the evening must now compete with diners for on-street parking. Many park on other streets or clear out garages to make room for their cars. Now instead of one rhythmic pattern of automobile mobility there are multiple patterns. Before these restaurants opened Highland's streets emptied of automobiles in the morning then slowly filled back up with cars depositing weary commuters at their front stoop in the evening. Currently, lunch patrons easily

find a spot to park; then cars rotate in two-hour cycles; finally work-weary commuters compete with happy-hour and dinner patrons for street space. During the weekend, parking activity literally pulses with brunch, happy-hour, and dinner rushes. Considered in terms of patterns of mobility, this facet of the gentrification of space can be understood as not merely a spatial but also temporal, rhythmic process (cf. Lefebvre 1996a, b).

Who parks, residents or customers, and when they park, are related dimensions of the conflict over legitimacy in the public right-of-way. The issuance of liquor licenses constitutes another aspect of this dynamic, one that clearly reveals the spatial priorities of opposing cultural complexes. After all, many of the same people who wait in long lines on sidewalks and amble back to their parked cars are those who drive to Highland specifically to eat, drink, and socialize. Not only did many longtime residents broadly resent changes brought about by gentrification, they also felt embittered that Highland's new restaurants are primarily marketed toward people who live outside the neighborhood. Again, it is helpful to use the representational system of symbolic economy as a lens to bring this conflict into focus. In analyzing liquor license hearing transcripts and discussing neighborhood change with business owners and newcomers, I noticed terms like "revitalization," "positive energy," and even, paradoxically, the word "everyone" used as a proxy standing for middle-class, trendy, and desired. Such linguistically coded terminology betrays a bias toward hip terroir as a replacement for ethnic terroir and demarcates the spatial extent of territory; it also serves to validate, even valorize, gentrification. To put it in terms of property, officially sanctioned rhetoric privileging a new "urban vibe" has inscribed different relations of belonging, new primitive properties onto Highland's commercial corridors.

In fact I learned a great deal about the tension between longtimers and newcomers in Highland by attending liquor licensing hearings and carefully reading the transcripts of all the hearings held for Highland restaurants between 2000 and 2012. Currently, Colorado liquor license application proceedings place the onus on the applicant to establish an unfilled "neighborhood need" for any additional business seeking a license to serve alcohol. I noticed a pattern that paralleled other changes in mobility patterns in Highland. Geographies of need expanded: as newcomers and diners walking to and from restaurants began to confidently appropriate sidewalk space, exactly *who* constituted the group with unfilled neighborhood need shifted from neighborhood residents to newcomers visiting from throughout the metropolitan region. That is, neighborhood need came to be framed not in terms of the dining/drinking preferences of

neighborhood residents but rather in terms of the requirements of a growing and eclectic mix of destination restaurants.

Unlike Root Down and the restaurants in the Olinger building, many new restaurants in Highland currently remain sited in locations once occupied by bars, corner markets, and restaurants. Consequently, when entrepreneurs redeveloped these spaces, they did not need to seek dramatic changes to zoning and building codes in order to be able to legally operate a restaurant. However, according to Colorado liquor law, any changes made to a restaurant's ownership require approval by Denver's liquor tribunal. In the early 2000s in Highland, the tone of most new restaurant liquor license hearings was hopeful. Phrases like "the neighborhood is undergoing development" and "the expected revitalization of Highland" dominated testimonies. A few years later, defense of neighborhood need was more frequently expressed in terms representative of Anglo symbolic economy, with phrases like "diverse pulse of the neighborhood" and "neighborhood buzz." By 2007, the directional bias of the statements had shifted further. Terms like "hip destination," "modern vibe," and "eclectic mix" depicted an urban, citywide scene. With the application in 2011 for Williams and Graham, a speakeasy concept restaurant, the focus shifted entirely from neighborhood residents toward gastronomical tourists. In this case, testimonials included statements like "Highland is now a destination for people who would frequent a speakeasy!" and "*Everyone* in Denver seems to be excited about another bar moving into to Highland."

Liquor license hearings for ethnic restaurants held during the same time period clearly expose the dissonances between the symbolic economies of newcomers and longtimers. Some of these hearings were marked by a condescending tone toward applicants. Licensing and excise decisions should be matters of evenhanded rather than prejudicial rationality. On paper, each establishment has to prove two things: neighborhood need and the restaurant management's ability to responsibly serve alcohol. In every single case of the "destination" establishments I reviewed, there was a sense of purpose and possibility in the transcribed statements of both applicants and hearing officers. However, the response was altogether different for Highland's long-established Mexican restaurants. For example, the tone of Rosa Linda's, Aztec Sol's, and Patzquaro's liquor board hearings was openly confrontational. Each of these three restaurants either sought to begin to serve alcohol or to augment their existing bar with hard liquor in order to compete with destination restaurants offering specialty cocktails and expansive wine lists. In contrast to the hearings for the

new restaurants, the tenor of these transcripts was outright patronizing. Clearly not satisfied with the applicants' establishment of neighborhood need, the hearing officers demanded proof of economic necessity, essentially forcing applicants to argue for their survival in Highland's rapidly expanding restaurant scene.

Rosa Linda's serves as a particularly instructive case. At their liquor license hearing on June 6, 2006, Rosa Linda's manager Oscar Aguirre testified, "More and more customers are leaving our restaurant because they can't order margaritas." At this time, Rosa Linda's liquor license only allowed the sale of beer and wine, not hard liquor and mixed drinks. Aguirre was seeking a hotel/restaurant license, under which hard liquor can be served. The licensing hearing began with the officer dismissively stating that he did not "see a compelling reason to change this license." Aguirre had to demonstrate not only neighborhood need and economic necessity, but also Rosa Linda's strong community involvement over the years—evidenced by thousands of donated meals—before the hearing officer would finally grant the change. Rosa Linda's hearing reveals how profound power asymmetries can drive low-level governance. Aguirre was confronted by multiple demands: to argue that management was qualified to responsibly serve alcohol, to establish neighborhood need, to provide substantive proof of the economic distress caused by the inability to serve hard alcohol, and, moreover, to vouch for Rosa Linda's morality by documenting its profound level of service to the community. Such a complex challenge was never presented to entrepreneurs developing destination restaurants in Highland. While the gears of municipal governance barely grind into alignment for long-standing establishments, they revolve effortlessly for restaurant concepts that harmonize with creative city discourses. This licensing bias demonstrates that creative city rhetoric not only embeds in Anglo cultural complexes but is also normalized by city bureaucracies. It is the minutiae of low-level governance, in concert with broader cultural complexes, that stipulate what and who belongs in Highland. These intertwined bureaucratic processes open a rights-rift for Latino longtimers while aligning place with territory for trend-conscious, Anglo newcomers.

Gone to the Dogs

One observation during fieldwork stands out. It was a pleasant Sunday morning in Highland. At the corner of West 32nd Avenue and Zuni, brunch was in full swing at the Gallop Café. Occupying the corner space

of the newly renovated Weir Building, the Gallop Café is quite different from the business it replaced: La Raza Discount Video. Under the umbrellas of each patio table, patrons ate Belgian waffles or eggs Benedict and casually sipped cappuccinos and mimosas. Secured to the base of three of the seven patio tables was a dog, each either hungrily scanning the ground for the odd morsel or having a nap in the late-morning sun. Stretching around the corner was a line of ten people waiting for a table. One couple waited in line with their feisty Pug, who, determined to make his presence known, strained with every ounce of his small frame against an overly taut leash and barked energetically at two large American Boxers being walked by the café. Emerging from Gene's Liquors across the street, a Latino man walked toward the café. He stopped about five steps past the line, looked to each side, using exaggerated gestures, and counted the four dogs at the café and the two dogs across the street on his fingers. Then, in a voice loud enough for the diners to hear, he exclaimed: "Damn, the neighborhood is going to the dogs!" Not getting a reaction from diners, he shrugged and continued along his way. Nonetheless, his humorous exclamation was an eloquent acknowledgment that dog-owners take more than canines with them on walks and to restaurants. Because dogs represent an entire regime of belonging, they are vital elements in the establishment of primitive property: neighborhood legitimacy through territoriality.

Building upon recent urban scholarship on the cultural, legal, and political components of place, place attachment, and place-making (Hayden 2007; D.G. Martin et al. 2009), I have proposed that primitive property is the successful territorialization of place and that it results in the successful, if temporary, appropriation of a publicly accessible space. Conceptualizing primitive property as the consequence of establishing relations of belonging where these relations did not previously exist, I have argued that these processes of appropriation are complex: they intertwine myriad notions of belonging, memory, and legitimacy with the contours of spatial boundaries. Having considered everyday activities like dining and the storage of automobiles as public behaviors that work to constitute regimes of primitive property, I now shift to everyday activities involving domesticated animals, specifically canines, as elements in this process.

Dogs matter. The argument that human–animal relationships occupy a less important place in contemporary societies than in the preindustrial world has been soundly refuted (Sanders and Arluke 1993). Indeed, dogs and cats play crucial roles in the construction of modern American

identities (Irvine 2004; Jerolmack 2005). Animals tend to fortify class and race boundaries (Messent 1983; Robins et al. 1991). The use of animals as identity markers is evidenced in both marginalized populations (Twinning et al. 2000) and in dominant societies (Kete 1994; Ritvo 1987). I suggest that using dogs to establish the spatial contours of primitive property is a marker of the gentrification of space. This view aligns with the work of other scholars studying gentrification in the USA. Street fashion, eating habits, decorating styles, and dog-ownership are part of a broad process of cultural displacement of the working class from inner-city neighborhoods (Anderson 1990, pp. 222–228; Brown-Saracino 2009, p. 91; Duneier 1999, pp. 202–212).

Echoing Anderson (1990, p. 222), who argues that African Americans are often appalled by the affection white people show their dogs, my research shows that many of my Latino informants view a dog as an element of household security, not as a lifestyle accessory. Longtime North Denver resident Joaquin Gonzales puts it succinctly: "I love dogs, they have a purpose though, and it's not sitting in purses. They're animals after all." Other Latinos spoke of how weird the practice of walking or running with dogs appeared to them. Such tensions are necessarily manifested in publicly accessible space, where displays of self and encounters with the Other are frequent occurrences. By simply exercising their canines on regular schedules, Anglo newcomers, often unwittingly, can create mobility patterns which serve to establish new territorial boundaries. While walking the dog, they comfortably explore sections of Highland that are not yet showing outward signs of gentrification. Many would not venture into these Latino spaces without a canine companion. For example, a young white female newcomer shared that she "like[s] exploring the deeper parts of the neighborhood, just me and my dog." Other newcomers see dogs as markers of haute culture, as symbols of "classy" culture. To illustrate, another Anglo newcomer places dogs at the center of what she sees as a "Europeanizing of North Denver." She says, "I love café life—that outside life in Europe, especially Italy, out on the street, the interaction between people sitting and people taking dogs for a walk, the dogs tied up to café tables. That's what I love about Highland, everyone and their dogs are out on the street." It bears mentioning that this newcomer uses the term "everybody" as a proxy for Anglo middle-class, rhetorically establishing cultural hegemony. Both of the women I quoted equate an appreciation of dogs with what I define as place—a sense of authenticity and belonging. And both of these women use canines as a means of

inscribing new boundaries of newcomer territory in Highland. That is, dogs contribute to the cultural emplacement of Anglos in Highland (cf. Derek Hyra 2014), particularly through the ways in which they establish and defend newcomer territory. People tend to be aware that they take spaces of identity with them as they move through the city. Exploring the deeper parts of the neighborhood or enjoying café life, newcomers take not only their dogs, together with the entire cultural practice of dog-walking, into Highland.

The gentrification of public space involves two key factors: cultural displacement and cultural emplacement. As gentrification advances, appropriations of publicly accessible space, considered authentic within Latino cultural complexes, succumb to territorial regimes rooted in Anglo cultural complexes. In other words, publicly accessible space is gentrified as longtimer conceptions of place are displaced by territorial regimes expressing newcomer notions of place. I suggest that there are linkage points between the gentrification of public space as the overwriting of neighborhood ideas about what feels right in doing in these spaces and gentrification as a process of residential displacement. The key is neighborhood preference. In my recorded interviews, casual conversations, and observations of public behavior I learned that for many newcomers, the presence of dogs on streets, in backyards, and in parks lends to the charm of Highland. Anglo newcomers consider dogs as neighborhood amenities or attractions, whereas many Latino longtimers I spoke to tended to see Highland as "going to the dogs" in a literal sense. That is not to say that the majority of Latinos I interviewed had anything in particular against dogs. In fact, many of them own and care for dogs of all sorts of sizes and temperaments. The tension field that formed between Latino and Anglo notions about canines hinged not on dog-ownership but on dog-walking. As the quotes above indicate, when Anglo newcomers take their dogs on long walks throughout Highland, Latino longtimers tend to view this behavior as a possibly passive–aggressive territorial statement. Dogs then can be conceived of as a leading edge of gentrification. Effortlessly flowing with their dogs into the interstices of sidewalks and alleys, newcomers establish territorial regimes that impinge on previously authentic uses of the public right-of-way. Dog walkers are not only expressing that they belong to a dominant cultural complex, but also claiming that sidewalks belong to them. The dominating image of masters with dogs on leashes carries a colonizing space into the deeper sections of Highland.

Defamiliarizing the Familiar

In this chapter I hope to have revealed how the spatial contours of gentrification emerge from frequently invisible power asymmetries. While unremarkable mobility along the public right-of-way seems to be a convincing indicator of neighborhood change, I feel that it is a causal factor in gentrification. Everyday mobility on streets and sidewalks is a sufficiently obvious and familiar visual pattern of urban life as to become virtually invisible and seems not to require further analysis. This chapter has been a primer at unpacking the familiar. To disentangle the causes and consequences of shifts in neighborhood mobility and to map their contact points with effective levers of neighborhood change entailed an examination not only of the intricate fabric of cultural notions of place, but also of the fine threads of territoriality that exist in municipal governance. Some threads in the fabric, like dog-walking and neighborhood sociality, are woven into cultural complexes. Others, like parking restrictions and liquor licensing, are wound into low-level governance.

Before gentrification in Highland was measured demographically, local-serving pizzerias and taquerías had already lost legitimacy to hip new restaurants with catchphrases like "farm-to-table," "world street food," and "Asian comfort food." At first imperceptibly, then strikingly, the critical mass of dining patrons shifted from locals grabbing a taco and a beer after work to culinary tourists willing to drive to the Highland, hunt for a place to park, then wait in line to sample items like "steamed buns with fried green tomatoes, miso mayo, pimento, and Thai basil," or "honey-sriracha duck wings with salted cucumber and togarashi ranch." Without exception, Highland's new restaurants are destination restaurants drawing customers from throughout Denver and beyond; moreover, they fundamentally alter patron geographies, residential patterns of movement, and local parking strategies. It is not by chance that the concept of each new establishment harmonizes with both creative city rhetoric and Anglo symbolic economies. Contemporaneously with the establishment of destination restaurants, social codes regulating the boundaries and rhythms of Highland's public right-of-way shifted, privileging lunch-hour and night-out touristic consumption over long extant patterns of longtimer sociality.

Territory is more than a spatial concept; it has temporality and it has rhythm. Everyday activities like play, work, rest, and celebration have strong cultural foundations. Close examination of liquor licensing hearing transcripts revealed that the regulation of the city's right-of-way is

aligned with middle-class cultural complexes expressed through representational spaces of Anglo symbolic economy. Who parks, when they park, how long they park, and why they park are questions that directly impact the rhythms playing out along Highland's sidewalks. Furthermore, the question of whether pedestrian movements along sidewalks are driven by sporadic bursts of consumption or the sustained, intertwining movements of neighborhood friends and families impacts neighborhood terroir. I showed that the type and tenor of the restaurant scene directly affects who waits in line for a table and who, after a meal, strolls down sidewalks. This chapter demonstrates that low-level municipal governance matters. By means of these new parking regulations, the city of Denver intends to habituate residents to new temporal orders. "After all," insisted one transportation planner "streets are public, not private, property." After this ostensibly reasonable new parking plan was put into effect, there were consequences that to longtimers (but perhaps not to the regulators) were unanticipated: the barriers between public and private spaces became fortified. These now distinct boundaries, as many longtime residents indicated, were far more permeable before (in the words of one Latino) "the hipsters started moving in."

Researchers from many diverse fields have noted that Latinos practice a patently public culture (Betancur 2011; Davis 2000; Diaz 2005; Rios 2010; Rojas 2010; Valle and Torres 2000); some suggest that the boundaries between public and private practice for Latinos are blurrier than they are for Anglo society (Crawford 2008; Hood 2008); others claim that Latinos recognize diffuse boundaries between private, familial, and public spaces (Richardson 1982). Bell hooks (2009) advances an argument that the porous, semi-private, semi-enclosed spaces of front and side porches can either serve as nodes of neighborhood connectivity or as social barriers. My fieldwork corroborates hooks' claim about the porous nature of porches: one longtime resident waxed nostalgic about times when, "all you needed to do if you wanted to hear neighborhood gossip was open your window or sit on your front porch and listen." She laments how quiet her neighborhood has become, "too quiet" in her words. Once vibrant sociality and the play of children territorialized Latino ideals of place as primitive property. Now trendy restaurants and dogs establish the boundaries and temporalities of newcomer primitive property.

Taking the dog for a walk also defamiliarizes the familiar. Not only does this practice appropriate sidewalks, but it also traces the symbols of Anglo symbolic economy deep into ungentrified sections of Highland.

Similarly diffuse territorial boundaries, such as art galleries and art festivals (Shaw and Sullivan 2011), as well as boutique shops (Deener 2007; Zukin 2008; Zukin et al. 2009), have been theorized to advance gentrification. This chapter has demonstrated that in ways akin to development patterns expressed by art galleries and boutiques, the spatial patterns of liquor and restaurant licensing, parking, and automobile storage, along with trajectories of dog-walking, establish new symbolic boundaries that sharply demarcate boundaries of primitive property. Familiar territory, that is comprehensible regimes of spatial discipline, authenticates newcomer presence in Highland. Extensions of Anglo cultural complexes, these territorial boundaries work to close the rift between what feels right in doing and what Anglo newcomers have a right to do. Consequently, Highland's publicly accessible spaces became oddly unfamiliar to Latino longtimers. Space is not inert; it is not something in which social relations occur. Rather, it is a production process rooted in a locality—the physical distribution of physical and biological matter in an inanimate volume. A social construct, space is produced dialogically by place—conceptions of authenticity and feelings of belonging—and by territory—defensible boundaries and enforceable rules. Because it is not inert, public space is an active agent in gentrification. Defamiliarized space sets the stage the cultural dislocation of Latinos from Highlands's publicly accessible spaces.

Note

1. As I show in Chapter 8, this small park and the streets encircling it were indexed by Latino longtimers as a vibrant and safe place for children to play and families to socialize.

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Street Space

Discourses shift as gentrification advances, from those orbiting the revitalization of built environments, as Wilson and Grammenos (2005) argue, to ones centering on "cleansing" inner-cities. This is not simply about trash removal, street cleaning, repairing, and repainting buildings and planting community gardens on vacant lots, but also about the removal of behaviors that dominant classes deem morally reprehensible, like street art, or as "dysfunctional" social orders, like hip hop culture,[1] from these neighborhoods. Public debates about inner-city redevelopment shift in ways that seek to elide arguments about blight and architectural aesthetics with ones about the aesthetics of bodies presented in public. Following the cultural critic and social activist bell hooks (2009), we interpret aesthetics as far more than simply a philosophy of beauty: it spans a much deeper and wider set of concepts. Like hooks I see aesthetics as a means of inhabiting a place and belonging to a culture. In terms of this version of aesthetics, which clearly relates to our key theme of belonging, it is helpful to think of culture as a practice rather than as a thing (cf. Calhoun and Sennett 2007). Cultural practices require and produce material things; however, culture is best thought of as a shared state of mind. To illustrate, a graffiti mural

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[1] Hip hop is a cultural movement that was created during the early 1970s by African-American and Puerto Rican youths in the South Bronx in New York City. Hip hop is communicated through four distinct elements, all of which are manifestations of this cultural complex's symbolic economy: rap music (oral), turntablism or DJing (aural), break dancing (physical), and graffiti (visual).

is a thing, whereas street art is a practice emerging from hip hop culture. The practice of culture is always embedded in social and familial contexts, in collective memory, and in a sense of belonging to both a group and to a place.

Wilson and Graham's argument focuses on gentrifier's elimination of the bodies of Latino youth dressed in hip hop fashions and of Latino graffiti from the Humboldt Park neighborhood in Chicago. In this chapter I focus on gentrifiers' elimination from the Highland neighborhood in Denver of a specific aspect of the Latino cultural complex, one comprising both the practice of lowrider cruising and the materiality of customized automobiles called lowriders. During the mid-twentieth century both lowriders and hotrod cruisers territorialized wide swaths of Denver, but by the late 1990s lowrider cruising had all but disappeared from North Denver streets. I suggest that this cleansing of street space contributed to the rapid gentrification of Highland in the early 2000s. Elsewhere I have highlighted this process in reference to urban design (Langegger 2014), particularly the Complete Streets urban design paradigm, and Stanley Cohen's theory of the folk devil (Cohen 2002). This chapter pivots on the paired concepts of belonging *to* a cultural complex and belonging *in* a place. Thus positioned, it illustrates explicit dissimilarities between Anglo and Latino cultural complexes in terms of authenticity and nuisance. Based on my earlier premise that core elements of Anglo and Latino cultural complexes are, respectively, individual enjoyment of privately held market property, and public life and community celebration, I argue that the symbolic economies that express each of these disparate cultures are simply public practices designed to communicate cultural authenticity and legitimacy to others. In that the public practice of culture reinforces cultural complexes, to deprive a group of the ability to practice its culture disrupts the cohesion of that culture. Cultures are sustained when people are able to use public and private spaces to narrate stories of their culture to themselves. In line with Betancur (2011), this chapter shows that the disintegration of cultural complexes is a precursor of the residential displacement that has come to define gentrification.

Street Spaces

Allow me to conjure a street scene: let us time-travel to a spring afternoon in North Denver. The year is 1990. School is out for the summer and it is Friday. Today's breeze feels much warmer than yesterday's; the sun is set

high within a deeply blue sky. It seems like just yesterday that the neighborhood park's playground swings and jungle gyms were empty. Today the park is alive with enthusiastic play and peals of laughter. In a corner of the park, a group of teenage boys kick a soccer ball between them, and meanwhile teenage girls try to distract the boys with flirtatious glances. As you look along West 38th Avenue, a flash catches your eye. A lowrider rolls past you, its buffed chrome bumpers and multi-layered paint job reflects Denver's bright high-altitude sunlight. As this car travels at a leisurely pace down West 38th Avenue, it blares hip hop music from a powerful stereo system. Because it sits so low to the pavement, the driver must carefully navigate his vehicle around a pothole as he turns into a strip mall parking lot. There the young Latino at the wheel jokes with a group of youths gathered around another similarly tricked-out car. A few minutes later, as he turns west down the avenue, he nods toward a group of youths at the entrance to Elitch's Amusement Park. At the next stoplight he hits a switch on his dash, which engages a hydraulic system and lifts the left front wheel a full two feet from the asphalt. All the while, on the other side of the avenue, a Denver Public Works crew is busy distributing traffic barriers at each intersection. What we are imagining is part of a municipal effort to formally territorialize this North Denver cruising circuit. The traffic barriers are part of a concerted attempt by the City of Denver to straightjacket cruising circuits into policeable corridors. During the week, the barriers are seen stacked in anticipation of the weekend at each intersection between Elitch Gardens and La Raza Park. Constantly visible, they serve as a reminder of police power. Throughout the summer, lowriders, their friends, rivals, and families will be converging every weekend along West 38th Avenue to participate in an informal territorialization of street space, to partake in an appropriation of street space known as lowrider cruising.

As I showed in the previous chapter, sidewalks and streets constitute a network of connectivity that ties together a neighborhood's routines and patterns of sociality into a shared sense of place. In this case, two cultural complexes contribute to the production of the scene described above: Latino and Anglo. Both cultural groups consider streets as shared localities of sociality and networks of connectivity knit together by habits, routines, and patterns of accessibility into a shared sense of place: to those who use them, streets are essentially utilitarian, quotidian, and always local, and thus generally considered by communities to serve them rather than the state (cf. Jackson 1994). Anglo cultural complexes emerge from the expectation of an efficient transportation network and from shared ideas about

neighborliness that include an individual's ability to peacefully enjoy private property. It is no surprise that this expectation is backed by the police authority of the city. Latino cultural complexes, in contrast, call to mind Mesoamerican cultural landscapes, places rooted in traditions like public parades with multiple opportunities for public interaction, conversation, and courtship. In order to maintain efficient transportation systems, police use their mandated authority to overwrite the symbolic use of streets by Latinos. Streets are built, maintained, and regulated by the city, and serve the city's interest in maintaining the orderly operation of a metro area transportation system. In other words, the need for order in cities territorializes street space in order to serve regional, not necessarily local, needs.

It is crucial here to understand the role of rights to market property in examining the gentrification of space: the quiet enjoyment of property that lowriders disturb is rooted in long-standing individual rights to property. Because they are a cornerstone of dominant economic systems, these individual rights prove more stable than what feels right in the moment to Latinos—the public practice of a kaleidoscopic culture. In legal terms, when a private property owner is unable to enjoy said property, said owner has a defensible right to claim nuisance. Consequently, the right to the quiet enjoyment of property eclipses the communal right to practice culture. It is precisely here that we see ruptures in linkages between place and territory. On one side is a long-standing Latino tradition asserting the legitimacy of free movement, free association, and community, and on the other side is a long-standing Anglo tradition asserting the legitimacy of property rights. The latter tends to align seamlessly with municipal transportation policies and practices in cities where Anglo populations have been dominant.

Cruising for a Bruising

The pedestrianization of Downtown Denver's 16th Street in 1982 serves as one of the few North American mid-twentieth-century successes in the redevelopment of a downtown street into a pedestrian mall (Robertson 1990). Spanning 13 blocks, the 16th Street Mall is the longest pedestrian mall in the USA. It is successful to this day, by virtue of the integration of a free bus service, outdoor restaurant seating, and food vending (Robertson 1995). The mall's success was not, however, immediate. Construction began in 1980. The unveiling came two years later, one year behind schedule, and was burdened with roughly $25 million in cost overruns

(Prendergast 2012). Citing construction delays, two anchor stores—
J.C. Penney and Joseph Magnin—relocated elsewhere from downtown
Denver. Over the course of the 1980s, many other store-owners joined this
retail exodus to enclosed malls in Denver's suburbs. Things did eventu-
ally turn around. Bolstered by the historic preservation of much of Lower
Downtown, the development of Larimer Square, and the construction of
the Coors Field baseball stadium, the 16th Street redevelopment eventu-
ally began to pay dividends for investors (Saiz 1993; Weiler 2000). Today
the 16th Street Mall connects the Denver Convention Center with Civic
Center Park, Lower Downtown Denver, and Union Station. In fact, it is
currently Denver's most popular tourist destination and a key component
in the economic vitality of the city (Burkick et al. 2008).

Before it was pedestrianized, the downtown section of 16th Street was
an entirely different space. In an editorial that appeared in the October 4,
2012, edition of Denver's Westword, Alan Pendergast deftly renders the
coexistence of place, territory, and youth along 16th Street at that time:

> For a kid growing up in Denver in the 1960s, the bumper-to-bumper traf-
> fic along the old 16th Street was the apex of urban sophistication and cool.
> Downtown was where you took cousins from the suburbs and hick towns to
> impress them, showing off sky-scraping bank buildings and clock towers and
> venerable sandstone hotels as if you owned them. And 16th Street was the
> ribbon of light and noise and energy that held it all together. At night, 16th
> Street was a river of neon and menace. Cruisers showed off their muscle
> cars, heading northwest on 16th, then looping back on 15th, past decrepit
> bars and dim parking lots and shady hotels, endlessly circling the heart of
> downtown as if smitten. They were the offspring of Dean Moriarty, in love
> with night and the city. (Prendergast 2012)

Up until the early 1980s, 16th Street was where area teenagers made nui-
sances of themselves, where Latino and Anglo youth "strutted their stuff
downtown" (as one informant put it). Moreover, many other informants
helped me understand that before 16th Street anchored the economic
revitalization of the city, it acted as the nexus of a city-wide cruising cul-
ture. From the 1950s through the 1970s, each Denver neighborhood
had its own cruising hangout, often with carhops on roller skates, where
neighborhood teens would gather before and after cruising the streets
of downtown Denver. Sometimes cruisers drove annoyingly slowly, and
sometimes they sped dangerously down city streets. Some cars were
souped-up to sound obnoxious. It was not uncommon for alcohol to be

consumed by drivers, who were frequently minors. In a word, the cruisers were generally rowdy teens, causing mischief on Denver's streets.

John Costa is an Italian American I met at the Highlands Street Fair. He grew up in Highland and helped me understand how cruising shifted from a youth problem to an ethnic problem. His family, one of those displaced from Highland's "Bottoms" by the construction of Interstate 25 in 1955, moved up the hill into Lower Highland. In the late 1950s and early 1960s, he often cruised downtown 16th Street. He recalls:

> Then, it was all about friendships and, you know, *girls*. You did that on a Friday night. It was about stopping and having a coke or something to eat, dashing around. You'd go to downtown Denver. There were high dollar stores—Denver Dry Goods, Joslins, stores like that, and loads of movie theaters and arcades. The main drag was 16th, you'd meet a lot of people. At the end of 16th, you'd go up this ramp to the 16th Street Viaduct and everybody would just *stand* on the accelerator, and [smirking] the cops would be watching.

Though he did not cruise in the 1980s and 1990s, Costa remained interested in cars and car culture. As an adult, he noticed profound changes in the geographies and culture of cruising (from hot-rodding to lowriding). And he noticed fundamental changes to the spatial disciplining of cruising. The construction of the 16th Street Mall dislocated the cruising anchor point from Downtown Denver. Consequently, the mobilities of cruising shifted to more residential areas of the city. As a result of this reshaping of mobility patterns, public attitudes toward cruising also shifted. No longer accepted as a component of normal teenage antics, cruising came to be seen as culpable behavior stemming from a social order that encourages misbehavior. Cruising was once a "youth problem" normal teens grew out of. By the 1990s it had become a "social problem" rooted in perceptions of racial and ethnic differences. Costa paints a vivid picture of the manifest differences in how cruising was disciplined when practiced by Anglo youth in contrast to Latino youth. He continues:

> The shift to 38th Avenue and to Federal Boulevard, man it was huge! Those kids had lowrider cars with hydraulics and all that. Driving slow, lots of them. I think the police started the *problem* with lowrider cruising. The police controlled us too, but it was with a different mentality. You know what I mean. We used to go out and drink beer, right? Get a little tipsy. The cops would pull us over, take our beer and make sure we got home.

They didn't take us to *jail*. They didn't *slam* us on to the hood of our car, put cuffs on us. They didn't do anything like that. With [Latino] lowriders it was different. They had groups of cops out on the street, they pulled kids over, threw them against their cars and put them in jail and impounded their cars. When we were cruising they were more concerned with *us*, making sure *our* parents knew what we'd been doing; they made sure *we* got home safely. It was just a different situation for us.

LOWRIDER CRUISING

What is a lowrider? It is both an automobile and a person. The automobile is highly customized, often with vivid, airbrushed paint jobs often depicting Chicano and Mexicano iconography, and named for its significantly modified suspension systems. The lowrider person is the one who modifies and drives a lowrider. Popularized by 1980s films like *Boulevard Nights* and *Boyz in the Hood*, and more recently by movies like *Machete* and *La Mission,* lowrider cruising finds roots deep within the Mexican American experience (Alvarez 2008). A cultural continuation of zoot suit grandstanding, a lowrider is a very specific type of car, with suspension systems that have been entirely reconstructed so that the car sits very low to the pavement. Many lowriders have complex hydraulic systems, allowing drivers to raise, tilt, lower, and bounce the front and/or rear ends of the car. Lowrider enthusiasts spend years and many thousands of dollars customizing their cars. Consequently, lowrider cars often become family heirlooms. Colorful multi-layered paint jobs, opulent upholstery, expensive wheels, and high-wattage stereos combine to render the lowrider car as an example of ostentatious public display. Obtrusive statements of Latino symbolic economy, lowriders assert racial and ethnic pride and identity, inscribing streets as *barrio places* (Chappell 2010). Further, lowriding asserts tenuous territorial control over city streets by practicing a specific type of mobility. Lowrider cruisers call it "taking it low and slow," meaning that the eye-catching parades of low-slung cars move down streets well below the posted speed limit. Lowriding transgresses both public decorum and personal experiential boundaries. As one informant commented, "Cruising, yeah, the city goes by like a slow dream." The practice of lowriding establishes that Latinos belong in their neighborhoods. Taking barrio space with them as they cruise wider arcs throughout the city, cruisers also proclaim that they belong to the Latino cultural complex.

A term embedded in Latino collective memory, a lowrider is not just a tricked-out car, but also a person, a symbol, and a practice. Lowriding is a performance, deriving from and informing the complexities of the Latino experience in the American Southwest. Appropriating public streets, lowriding symbolically represents the *paseo*, which is traditionally practiced by individuals and families in Mesoamerican church plazas on weekends and on holidays as a form of dressed-up display (Richardson 1982). What is more, lowriding reinforces familial and communal bonds, shoring up relations of belonging in Latino cultural complexes. Because it overtly and proudly legitimizes a Latino public presence in the city, it establishes that Latinos belong in the city. Like the Mardi Gras Indian culture in New Orleans, lowriding is an ethnic traditional practice that was at the same time based solidly on borrowing from specific aspects of dominant cultural complexes (cf. Lipitz 1988). Mardi Gras Indians reappropriate the method and message of the world-renowned New Orleans Mardi Gras Carnival by infusing their parades through New Orlean's *back-a-town*— African American, working-class neighborhoods—with symbols of Native American and African resistance to Jim Crow and the extension of the plantation economy into the twentieth century. In a parallel way, lowriders reappropriate the traditional dominant obsession with car culture in the USA by dramatically modifying the suspensions, interiors, and paint jobs of classic automobiles. Both Mardi Gras Indian events and lowrider events are joyous, ostentatious public practices that emerge from oppression by and reaction to White supremacist ideologies. Needless to say, they both directly contradict many Anglo expectations about the functionality and permanent accessibility of city streets.

Mardi Gras Indians and lowriders are both marginalized and radicalized Catholic minority groups who unapologetically and brazenly appropriate public streets, and create a collective aesthetic that is an integrated aspect of life and fosters community. Whereas Mardi Gras Indians grew out of the lasting injustice of chattel slavery and Jim Crow laws, in the American South, lowriding traces its roots to the zoot suit movement of the 1940s. At the beginning of World War II, the Wartime Productions Board was established as part of a broader national austerity initiative. By promulgating regulations limiting the amount of fabric used for the production of men's suits, the US federal government sought to cut back on fabric consumption. As an act of rebellion and an expression of cultural pride, zoot suiters defiantly flouted these requirements and obtained their iconic and enormously oversized suits through bootleg tailors. Though wearing

slacks, jackets, and ties, zoot suiters were conspicuously *not* conforming to the cultural norm of men's business attire. This non-conformity began with the extravagance of their outfits. The zoot suit is a bold display of fabric excess. It features high-waisted baggy and pegged pants, extra-long, loose-fitting jackets with extremely wide lapels and padded shoulders. Zoot suiters would often wear fedoras decorated with large colorful feathers. The excessive use of fabric, one that the mainstream press painted as unpatriotic during the rationing of the Great Depression and World War II, was in fact a public symbol of self-determination and freedom for Latino youth. This sense of cultural pride and ostentatious fashion was lauded by many within the Mexican American community. Though the zoot suit was considered scandalous by many non-Latinos in wartime America, it served as a statement of pride and resistance within Latino cultural complexes.

There are many parallels between the culture of the zoot suit era and lowrider culture. Prime among them is the appropriation of dominant material culture and elements of the dominant symbolic economy. Zoot suiters appropriated the material and symbolism of the business suit. Lowriders appropriated the material and symbolism of the automobile. At once a familial and cultural affair, lowrider cruising is a distinctive public performance with a unique type of mobility. Although it is only one sub-culture within a broader reading of Latino culture, lowriding is a complex, male-dominated, multi-generational, working-class practice that depends upon mutual aid found within car clubs, articulates work relationships, and reinforces familial relationships; it strengthens familial bonds across generations, and emboldens individualistic braggadocio (Chappell 2012). Latinos in low-slung cars slowly cruising, bouncing, and lilting at stoplights, playing hip hop music, interacting with onlookers, imprinted a mobile barrio onto North Denver streets. They established relations of belonging in their neighborhood as well as to their culture. For many Latinos these relationships typified Northside public life, *la vida pública* (cf. Valle and Torres 2000).

Lowriding isn't just about cars. Lowriding for Cisco Gallardo started when he was a small boy; his first "ride" was a bike. Gallardo shares, "When I was a kid, me and my friends would cruise with our bikes, cruiser bikes; they're heavy, hard to ride up hill." However, riding down the hill along West 38th Avenue from Elitch's to La Raza Park and the nearby iconic taquería Chubby's was easy. As kids rode their tricked-out bikes, youths and adults drove their tricked-out cars along the same circuit.

In Northside, during the 1980s and 1990s lowrider cruising was multi-generational; it was a family affair. So, after he and his friends would ride down to Chubby's, Gallardo continues, "We'd have a coke or a taco. After a while one of our friends' dad or an uncle, whoever, would drive us up 38th to Elitch's. Then we'd hang out there for a while." Cruising, as Gallardo helps us imagine, is marked by a distinctive geography, by a circuit, and by distinctive mobilities, a leisurely pace interspersed with much social interaction. Lowriding was simply part of growing up for Gallardo. Recalling with a grin that he was a boy then, he shares:

> I was little when we were doing that, *little*. You see, cruising was just a part of the public culture, part of life. Now I'm a grown man, but I've still got lowrider Hot Wheels, you know those little mini-toy cars! I've got a '52 Merc and a '72 Monte Carlo! Cruising is a part of our culture.

In this quote, Gallardo used public to modify culture. To him, Latino cultural complexes are public. And he is all too aware of how *la vida pública* stands in tension with mainstream, Anglo cultural complexes. He continues:

> When I see a lowrider cruising down the street, I like it, *bang*! Even as an adult [I like it]. A lot of yuppies don't understand this. A lot of white people think that lowriders are gangsters. But it's just part of the Chicano community, you know.

In his story, Gallardo sketches a place, a rich ecology of familial bonds, male friendships, collective memories, a sense of legitimacy (feeling right in doing something), an authentic cultural practice, and the aesthetics of belonging.

Chicanos are not the only subset of the Latino cultural complex to whom cruising belongs. "Mexicans like to show off their pickups and their cowboy boots," says a second-generation Mexican American. For many Latinos, lowrider cruising, either in a lowrider or in "your grandma's jalopy," declared that they were Latino. After all, this cruising echoes the regular *paseo*—strutting, preening, and courtship rites practiced in the plazas of Mexico, in which teenage boys and girls, mostly with their families, and dressed in their finest clothes, stroll in opposite directions around the plaza's fountain, daring flirtatious glances. Both paseo and cruising were vibrant zocálos—localities where teens courted, families convened, friends

swapped the latest gossip, and rivals quarreled. Thus, cruising was both a cultural event, and an expression of symbolic economy that was woven into multifaceted community dynamics. Enacted by driving a circuit between turnaround points along various Northside streets, it thus reproduced the parading-round-the-plaza paseo which was deeply embedded in the Latino sense of place. Through cruising, many Latinos found comfort in being in public, hanging out on neighborhood streets, and asserting their culture. In these slow and stately circuits, they produced primitive property along North Denver Streets; taking space with them they inscribed Latino cultural practices into the city's transportation network.

Cruising established a territory, a mobile primitive property. In the late 1980s on summer weekend nights, West 38th Avenue was a latinized kaleidoscope of music, conversation, bright colors, and slow motion. Mexicanos sauntered by in their late model Ford 150s. Mature Chicanos swaggered by in their 1940s Fleetliners they call *bombas*. The younger generation of lowriders showed off the hydraulics of classic lowriders like 1960s Impalas and 1970s Monte Carlos. While teens flirted and cruised, many neighbors took in the show from their front porches; some people hung out at Elitch's entrance, others at Chubby's. Each group contributed to interwoven relations of belonging, asserting that they belonged to the Latino cultural complex and that this cultural complex belonged in the Northside. And sometimes, because the Latino community included gang members (cf. Venkatesh 2006), they too were there. Often, however, as my informants insisted, lowriding was an affair that whole families were invested in, rather than merely a gang-related event: families pooled thousands of dollars in resources to customize lowrider cars. Lowriding coalesced community; it fostered means to socialize with other families. As one informant put it, "The gang was there, but cruising's not a gang thing. It's girls talking to guys, guys showing off, it's spending time with the community, looking good. All of it, that's what cruising is all about."

Though not all Latinos participated in or even appreciated this scene, it was considered absolutely normal to Northsiders with whom I spoke. Northsiders both actively and passively sanctioned the behaviors constituting lowriding. According to Cisco Gallardo, program director of Denver's Gang Rescue and Support Project (GRASP):

> Gang members are members of the Northside community. Are they part of the cruising community? No! That's where the rest of the population makes a mistake. That's where it becomes a cultural difference.

Insisting that Latino culture is not only very different from mainstream cultural complexes, he helps us see that the Latino way of life is multifaceted and complex, and understand that there are many types of cruisers who are all part of Latino culture. Gallardo continues:

> We share cruising, but I think there are three different types of cruisers. There's the actual legitimate cruisers who really take care of their cars—the hydraulics and all that business. And then there's kids who cruise their mom's car, their grandma's car. For them, it's more of a social interaction. And then there's the gang members who use that social interaction to flex, to do their whole *this is my territory* business.

As might be expected, lowriding directly contradicts many Anglo expectations that city streets should be functional for regional mobility patterns, commuting, and commerce. Lowriding's unexpected circuits and slowly rolling cultural statements unsettled notions propriety for many Anglos new to North Denver. To some the disruption of normal commuting patterns was welcomed, simply because it represented the essence of the unexpectedness and diverse vibrancy that typified a multi-ethnic neighborhood. But to the Anglo majority it was a nuisance, one that rendered their new neighborhood essentially unlivable. As previously explained, cruising echoed the paseo in its mobility patterns and its geographies; also like the paseo, cruising often occurred after church. Therefore, during weekend afternoons, Highland's streets were particularly dense with cruising. One Anglo man, who moved to Highland in 1983, recalled, "On Sundays *everybody* would leave church and start cruising. It got to where you couldn't drive through the neighborhood." Recalling that a lot of new residents were concerned that they were losing control of their neighborhood, he shared:

> [Cruising] was noisy. You ended up working your schedule around it. You didn't invite guests over on Sunday afternoon. It wasn't going to work. It got tiresome.

Although he felt that it upset sociability and mobility patterns, he appreciated cruising as a public expression of Latino culture, saying:

> It was pretty interesting to have this whole other culture rolling *ever so slowly* past your house. I found it fascinating. Aside from the souped-up cars there were a lot of people without particularly fancy rides, just cruising, saying hi to their friends.

Although, like this man, some non-Latino residents appreciated this slow-rolling procession, many did not. Some began to lobby city council members to write anti-cruising legislation; others took matters into their own hands. One Highland resident told me of an elderly Italian American man who on some Sunday afternoons would feign car trouble, park his car at a right angle to the sidewalk in the middle of a West 32nd Avenue, and pop its hood. This territorial tactic worked to block at least one lane of traffic, sometimes both lanes, for an hour or two. Of course, his impromptu roadblocks affected all traffic along neighborhood streets. Ignoring protests from his neighbors, he wanted to inconvenience the lowriders to the point that they would simply find somewhere else to cruise. As we will see, moving cruising elsewhere was a primary territorial tactic employed by the city as well. One longtime North Denver Latino laments the effectiveness of both official and unofficial territoriality, saying:

> It's just the way we do things. In our community you see large groups of people hanging out on the sidewalk, cruising, having parties in parks. We just can't do these things anymore, at least without the cops showing up.

Curbing Cruising: Nuisance Law

As I have demonstrated, there are sharply defined differences between how Anglos and Latinos express culture in North Denver. Latino longtimers enact community-wide, place-based relationships of belonging. Anglo cultural complexes tend to revolve around the individual enjoyment of property, rather than communal celebration. Insisting that cruising was a bonafide nuisance, Anglo newcomers invoked municipal territorial regimes for support. By the late 1980s, outspoken newcomers had already been lobbying the city council to declare illegal both "repetitive driving patterns" and particular modifications to automobiles. After many years of politicking, anti-cruising rhetoric morphed into legislative bills. In 1998, Colorado's State Legislature debated the merits of two bills intended to eliminate cruising (R. Young 1998). House Bill 1027 was intended to ban "driving a circuit," the central component of cruising per se. Specifically, the authors proposed making it illegal to drive past the same location more than twice in any two-hour period between 7:00 pm. and 3:30 am. Senate Bill 34 was designed to ban lowrider vehicles from all Colorado streets—its language rendered any raised or lowered suspension system illegal. These efforts to criminalize cruising were patently quixotic, equivalent to

outlawing any vehicle, such as a motorcycle or a sports car, that could possibly exceed the speed limit. More to the point, anti-cruising arguments articulated elements of the Anglo cultural complex in overtly Anglo-biased ways. The bills centered not just on the rational management of traffic flow and emergency vehicle access, but also on the inappropriateness of certain cultural practices. On this basis, using the language of nuisance and property, the bills' authors insisted that "neighborhood residents have the right to peace and quiet and the right of access to their homes." The bills' opponents challenged the authors on their self-evident ethnic bias and tone. Opponents also insisted both bills criminalized a particular type of person engaging in a culturally specific activity. American Civil Liberties Union lawyers supporting the bills' opponents contended that these bills "leave too much room for a police officer to define unnecessary driving, or legitimate purposes, and open too many possibilities for discrimination." Consequently, because of such opposing arguments, both House and Senate bills never made it out of committee.

One anti-cruising effort, however, remains part of Denver's municipal code book. In response to citizen pressure, in November 1990, Denver City Council voted 13-0 to add a car-radio noise rider to the disturbing-the-peace ordinance. Under this code, Denver police officers sought and gained authority to cite drivers whose stereos were measured to exceed 55 decibels at a distance of 25 feet (Briggs 1990b). Drafted explicitly to "curb the cruising problem" (Briggs 1990a), this rider further stipulates that in order to operate a car stereo at a volume louder than 55-five decibels, a driver needs to obtain a ten dollar permit or pay a 50 dollar fine if cited. The noise rider was, and remains, difficult to enforce. Consequently, mid-90s efforts to territorialize Denver's streets shifted to temporary and permanent traffic calming and traffic control measures.

Traffic control was intended to dislocate cruising, to move it *somewhere else*, directing it toward the bordering suburban municipalities of Lakewood and Wheatridge. The overarching strategy was clear: "eliminat[e] cruising on West 38th Avenue, by moving it further on" (Miniclier 1991). The police's territorial tactics included the installation of barriers blocking side streets, which prevented cruisers from turning off of West 38th Avenue until they reached the city limits, as well as the micro-management of public behavior through the strict enforcement of *all* moving, parking, loitering, and trespass violations during weekend nights along this cruising circuit.

Since traffic control regulation professed to target only generalized behavior, not the cultural, economic, or racial status of particular

individuals, it proved an effective tactic of territoriality that was largely legally unchallenged. Barriers hemming cars into a policeable line were only one component of this complex strategy. The issuance of traffic citations also proved effective. For example, during one summer weekend in 1991, Denver police issued 296 tickets for various minor moving violations, committed overwhelmingly by Latinos driving lowriders (Gottlieb 1991). Irrespective of claims of racial profiling voiced by the Latino community, the Denver Police Department insisted that *disproportionate* traffic control protocols were necessary to reduce the *probability* of violent crime. Throughout the decade of the 1990s, Denver police publicized its territorial control over the city's streets: it made its territorial rules manifest to all in a massive show of force. To illustrate, during weekend nights in 1996, along the 2.6-mile cruising circuit between Chubby's and Elitch's, there would be over 80 police cars, tactical command posts, foot officers wearing full riot gear, barricades, helicopter patrols, and motorcycle units (Nicholson 1996). Though justifying this remarkable deployment of paramilitary force with public safety tropes, the overwhelming majority of citations written up were only for minor moving violations, including, for example, failing to signal, obstructing an intersection, obstructing traffic, driving without headlights after dark, cracked windshields, illegal turns, sitting on cars in motion, hanging out of cars, hanging objects or body parts out of moving vehicles, driving with hanging objects (such as a rosary) from rearview mirrors, not coming to a complete stop, stopping in the pedestrian strip, and operating a vehicle with a broken taillight (Callahan 1996).

   Though police could ticket cruisers for traffic violations, the act of cruising itself, in Colorado, could not legally be construed as a moving violation. Taking it "low and slow" and cruising a circuit may have annoyed impatient commuters; bold, artistic paint jobs and machismo-infused public braggadocio may have offended certain neighborhood residents; nonetheless, cruising remained a legal practice. Not able to criminalize the acts of cruising or hanging out in large groups in publicly accessible space, anti-cruising groups then resorted to efforts to establish tenuous connections between lowriding and criminal activity. They started to use news media to conflate lowrider cruising with street gangs, in an attempt to represent the entire Latino cultural complex as a singular and dangerous urban youth subculture. At the same time, and likely part of a coordinated effort, police began to discipline cruising as a singular threat to public safety. Consequently, the public presence of groups of Latinos, whether

wearing gang colors or driving lowriders, came to be widely portrayed by the late 1990s as a real and present danger to public safety.

MEDIA REPRESENTATIONS OF LOWRIDING AS A DYSFUNCTIONAL SOCIAL ORDER

How did Denver authorities continue to justify the displacement of the clearly legal activities of marginal groups from putatively public streets? Media coverage played a significant role. Mainstream news media have historically tended to reproduce and reinforce dominant cultural complexes, and to delegitimize and even criminalize the cultural complexes of racial minorities. Throughout the twentieth century, news reports have linked Latinos to crime. This linkage then becomes a common tool used by police, politicians, and property developers to gain support from the otherwise non-racist Anglo individuals for essentially racist policies (Duran 2011). Some people tend to be convinced by what they see on television. Racial violence in news media, film, and even video games creates a dissonance between actual crime rates and a generalized fear of becoming a victim of crime (Romer et al. 2003). Ironically, as the last century ended, research statistics proved conclusively that most inner-city streets became safer localities; mainstream society, however, harbored a greater fear of these publicly accessible spaces than in the preceding decades. The media often create fear through calculated and repeated use of certain carefully selected kinds of language and symbols. In Denver, the news media's repetitive use of skewed statistics and hyperbolic reporting helped to associate lowriders with street gangs. Words like *cholo*,[2] *gangster*, or *gangbanger* were used to describe any Latino youth who dressed, acted, spoke, or gesticulated like typical gang members, irrespective of whether they belonged to a gang or not.

Concurrently, op-eds in Denver newspapers, especially those biased toward Anglo cultural complexes, supported a growing tolerance for *cul-*

[2] Cholo is a loosely defined term that has various meanings connoting people of indigenous Mesoamerican heritage. The modern usage of the identity marker cholo reflects informal vernacular meanings and refers to people of Latin American descent, usually Mexican, who are low-income, "tough," and who wear stereotypical clothing. In these terms, a cholo is a Latino male who typically dresses in khaki pants, a sleeveless teeshirt, and/or a flannel shirt with only the top buttoned. Often he wears a bandana low on his forehead. Cholos often have black ink tattoos, commonly expressing Catholic imagery or calligraphic messages.

tural imperialism (cf. I. Young 1990) in the city. A close reading of Chuck Green's op-ed column published in the *Denver Post* on May 8, 1996, entitled "Hooligans Don't Know Culture" (Green 1996), invokes a stance of cultural imperialism in order to vilify lowriding. Green opens his tirade with the following:

> I didn't know that 'cruising' was a Latino cultural thing. I thought it was a 1950s American thing. Now it turns out to be a part of Mexican American/ Hispanic/Chicano/Latino history.

To Green, cruising was a part of *his* Anglo culture. What is more, he not only denies Latinos their history, but also implies that they looted his. For Green, cruising was*:*

> Lookin' cool, being seen, chasin' girls. Night after night, month after month, we'd be bitchin' our '57 Chevies or '61 Cudas or '65 Mustangs. You'd see all your friends, a few of your rivals. It was a ritual.

In his elegy for Anglo cruising, Green paradoxically describes cruising exactly as Latinos practiced it. Replace his '57 Chevies, '61 Cudas, and '65 Mustangs with '45 Fleetliners, '64 Impalas, and "'70 Monte Carlos, and his words would aptly describe Latino lowrider cruising. It appears to have escaped Green that, back at the midcentury, night after night, Denver residents had to deal with the nuisance of large groups of white youths territorializing city streets. Nevertheless, after describing essentially the same behaviors as those of the current Latino lowriders, he concludes that lowriding 'ain't cruisin'; it's hooliganism." Publicly voicing vilification of Latino cultural practices while (consciously or unconsciously) authenticating the identical customs practiced by white youths, Green's column worked to legitimize racist stereotypes, and to lend credence to the racial profiling tactics used by the police. He implicitly states that since lowriders do not belong to an Anglo culture of cruising, they do not belong in Denver's streets. In unsubtle but powerful turns of phrase, Green lionizes the Anglo cruisers of the 50s as mainstream and middle-class, just kids having fun in nostalgically simpler times, while he demonizes present-day Latino cruisers as gangsters and hooligans. To Green, Denver streets belong exclusively to the Anglo cultural complex. In terms of the conceptual model this book constructs, public discourse like Green's helped to open a rights-rift between Latino conceptions of place and territory.

Throughout the 1990s, Latinos used public spaces and public meetings to validate Latino notions of place and to legitimize the practice of cruising. Parents distributed fliers that insisted that "Cruzin' ain't a crime," along with ones that quoted Benito Juarez: "Respect for the rights of others *is* peace" (Nicholson 1996). In an op-ed, Chicana activist Nita Gonzales put it succinctly, insisting, "Our culture is communal, and cruising demonstrates the quality inherent in our culture that embraces community" (Gonzales 2001). Within Latino cultural complexes, cruising was a mobile version of primitive property, both a joyous event and a public affair.

The dissonance between Anglo and Latino symbolic economies is clarified by the cruising debate. Latino pro-cruising arguments were rooted in statements of cultural pride and communal celebration, while exposing racist policing for public censure. Arguments put forward by Anglo authors were always much-reiterated tropes about moral reprehensibility, deviance, disorder, noise, and the inconvenience of traffic congestion. In Highland, some Anglo residents drew parallels with youthful Dionysian social deviance, saying lowrider cruising "has more in common with Spring-Break partying than culture" (Keith 2001). Drawing a clear connection between the reasoning of Anglo cultural complexes and the reasoning of nuisance law, one anti-cruising advocate insisted that "[r]esidents of the affected neighborhoods often hear the assertion that they must show respect for culture. Respect is a two-way street. The desire to spend a quiet weekend at home is no less respectable than the desire to show off cars, flirt, see friends, have fun" (Keith 2001). Anti-cruising authors regarded streets as components of predictable and unobtrusive mobility patterns. In their view, commuters belonged on streets, not gaudy processions of noisy, flirtatious, car-crazy Latinos.

The Gentrification of Street Space

Thus far I have explored three components of Anglo territoriality that impacted cruising: traffic codes, policing protocols, and media constructions of criminality. There is one more element of territoriality that requires attention, namely, the use of urban design to regulate behavior. As a reminder, lowriding is basically taking it "low and slow" while following determined cruising circuits, and interacting with bystanders at turn-around points. Along West 38th Avenue, the two turnaround points were the courtyard space at the entrance to Elitch Gardens and the parking lot

at Chubby's. Chubby's, part of the physical and symbolic order of cruising, encouraged crowds to gather. Elitch Gardens' management, however, was not happy that their amusement park was part of the symbolic order of cruising. As a response to the "nuisance" of crowds gathered near Elitch's front gate, management installed spikes along flowerbed walls. According to William Whyte, people hang out, practice culture, and thereby produce public space if there are areas to sit and to gather on public property (Whyte 1980). Installing spikes on formerly sit-able surfaces serves as an example of *sadistic spatial control* used by cities and businesses to limit the use of otherwise publicly accessible spaces (Davis 1992). Social interaction at turnaround points is a key component of lowriding. The spiking of the wall at Elitch's censoriously, if not sadistically, delimited opportunities for the Latino community to express pride and admiration for the cruisers.

Lowrider cruising is rhythmically reproduced in public practice. A mobile manifestation of primitive property, it is more than tricking-out cars; it is taking it low and slow down neighborhood streets; it is interacting with bystanders at turnaround points; it is therefore a statement of belonging to both a cultural complex and to a neighborhood. By the turn of the century, Latino community activists were finally able to stem militant police tactics. Consequently, the Denver Police Department throttled its zero-tolerance protocols and began to cite only infractions posing a "defensible threat to public safety" (Auge 2000). However, this change in police policy may have had more to do with the fact that the number of cruisers had begun a steady decline several years before. Many Latino longtimers seem to think that cruising faded because people simply tired of the hassle of constantly dealing with the police, with getting ticketed, fined, or arrested, and with having their cars impounded. Many of my informants concurred that a decade of racial profiling and police harassment played a significant role in eliminating lowrider cruising from the streets of North Denver. Today, though the Cinco-Cruise on Cinco de Mayo[3] continues as a jubilant show of primitive property, lowriding has become and remains a mere echo of the past.

Discussing depopulation of public plazas in San José, Costa Rica, Setha Low (2000) explains how these publicly accessible spaces were emptied of people, as the practices that contributed to a once vibrant public space

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[3] Cinco de Mayo (Spanish for May 5) is a celebration each year on May 5, to commemorate the Mexican army's surprising victory over the superior French forces at the Battle of Puebla on May 5, 1862.

were regulated, redesigned, and reconfigured out of existence. As this chapter demonstrates, a similar dynamic was at work along North Denver streets. Media representations and racial profiling by city bureaucrats and police played significant roles in banishing once vibrant public displays from Denver's streets. Although racial profiling runs counter to a fundamental principle of tort law, namely, that it is wrong to assume guilt by association, in Denver this principle was lost in the minutiae of traffic management protocols, obscured by the passage of decades, and justified by mainstream media constructions of the cholo-gangbanger. Though suspect in terms of the law, violating the constitutional mandate that guilt is personal not associative, racial profiling gained traction during a series of tough-on-crime mayoralties and continues to find resonance in mainstream media and in legislative action.

Today, Colorado Latino activists remain concerned with traffic ordinances which foreground ethnicity and race, such as Colorado's Initiative 100, passed by Colorado voters in 2008, which gives traffic enforcement officers the authority to impound cars of illegal immigrants who are pulled over for *any* reason. According to a Latino real estate broker, Initiative 100 is another example of the incessant legitimation of racial profiling.

> The old days of getting rousted by police for taillights, or sitting too low, or license plates being too dim haven't ended. Recently, I've had Latino clients pulled over just because they *looked* like they were going to make a wrong turn. They've had their cars falsely impounded by cops enforcing Initiative 100. This type of harassment has been part of history as it relates to minorities, to Latinos and the neighborhood.

For some North Denver lowriders, cruising itself became an act of protest, a way of railing against racial profiling just by openly and noisily cruising down low-volume neighborhood streets, or brazenly flouting paramilitary police presence by taking it "low and slow" on summer weekend nights along West 38th Avenue. In this response, however, they were fighting a losing battle over legitimacy and belonging. Ultimately, Latino primitive property succumbed to the territorialization of Anglo notions of place. A Latino longtimer laments the long-term effect of racist policing: "Over generations, police harassment has an impact; people simply give up fighting the system." As a consequence, for many North Denver Latinos, lowrider cruising came to be a relic of a shared history rather than a living part of cultural practice.

Though not all Northside Latinos took part in or even necessarily enjoyed lowriding, most I spoke with admitted that it was a routine and legitimate component neighborhood life. For many, the erasure of what I term Latino primitive property marked a profound change to their neighborhood. This erasure represented the loss of an important battle over cultural legitimacy. Lowrider gumption faded. Within one decade, fewer and fewer Latino youths possessed the mettle to fight the system, to ignore the intimidating use of barricades left on street corners all summer long, to deal with the cost and hassle of being cited for yet another moving violation; in the end, most simply stopped cruising. Today in North Denver, cruising is just a minor event along Federal Boulevard during Cinco de Mayo; aside from this May weekend, one rarely sees a lowrider on the street.

In exposing a rights-rift between the cultural authenticity of lowriding and the municipal territoriality that worked to curb the practice, this chapter outlined how dislocation of cultural practices from a locality relates to gentrification. My proposition is that not feeling comfortable in one's neighborhood may be a compelling factor in motivating people to move elsewhere. Neighborhood preference, in other words, works in both directions; it draws people *from* particular neighborhoods and *toward* others. According to Denver real estate brokers I spoke with, some Latinos sold their homes to cash in on rising real estate prices. But according to many of my informants, it was because they no longer felt at home in their neighborhood that they left. Some moved from North Denver simply because it had become "too quiet, too monotonous, too lifeless," as one former Highland resident put it. In the end, the elimination of lowrider cruising from North Denver signified the replacement of markedly loud, unexpectedly mobile and vibrant barrio-inscribed streets with ordered, disciplined, and predictable ones.

Gentrification requires not only the emplacement of newcomers but also the displacement of longtime residents. The eradication of cruising was not merely a by-product of gentrification; it undergirded regimes of Anglo territoriality, and, I am suggesting, it therefore hastened residential displacement. Because they felt increasingly uncomfortable publicly practicing their culture, some Latinos moved from North Denver. Meanwhile, people whose concept of place, predictability, and quiet harmonized with city-promulgated policies ensuring predictable mobility moved to Highland to replace them. Perceptions upon which neighborhood choices are based emerge from symbols that dominate both mass

media and local discourse (cf. Bader and Krysan 2015). By the 2000s, lowriding was no longer a common feature either in the Denver media or in local conversation. Both the practice of lowriding and the fierce debates about it had disappeared. Consequently, Anglo newcomers are now at liberty to appreciate Highland's convenient proximity to downtown Denver via uncongested avenues and uncontested streets. Though the suppression of lowriding was only one of many factors in the advance of gentrification throughout North Denver, to ignore the loss of a tradition so deeply meaningful to Northside Latinos would be failing to recognize a uniquely valuable perspective on why they left.

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Park Space

THE ARCHETYPE OF PUBLICLY ACCESSIBLE SPACE?

Territoriality, as we have seen, is a type of appropriation. It establishes new relations of belonging. Territories arise when behaviors are excluded from or included within a demarcated space. The moral authority to include or exclude behaviors is rooted in authenticity, legitimacy, belonging, and collective memory, and may or may not be linked to legal apparatuses. In other words, belonging in a territory is strongly linked to belonging to a cultural complex, and consequently to a place. But there lies a foggy middle ground in territoriality: individual bodies are involved, yet only general behaviors are regulated. Indeed, it is impossible to separate a person from his or her culture. Therefore, excluding cultural behaviors a priori excludes bodies.

Since the 1960s Civil Rights Amendments to the US Constitution, exclusion in the USA cannot be based on phenotype or ethnicity. Jim Crow is dead. Today it is nuisance law that currently underpins much of the legality of exclusion from publicly accessible space. With the exception of marked individuals, like sex crime offenders, people on probation, or those legally banished from particular areas (cf. Beckett and Herbert 2011), it is only depersonalized behaviors that can legally be excluded from spaces putatively open to the public. Nonetheless, in no way can we consider that *de jure* anti-discrimination codes, laws, and policies have led to de facto social equity in public space. First of all, the past is never dead; historical decisions continue to impact contemporary lives. For example,

urban planning records show us that every city in the USA was platted, planned, and developed in conformity with the paired ideologies of white supremacy and racial inferiority (Nightingale 2012). Added to this radicalized morphology of cities are the compounding effects of redlining,[1] blockbusting,[2] racial steering,[3] labor market discrimination, the inequitable distribution of education resources, and racial profiling, along with discriminatory and predatory lending practices. Because these historical processes combine in seemingly natural ways, they are invisible; they become commonplace components of the urban background. All these noxious processes, in combination, thus compound the intergenerational trauma that people of color continue to bear (cf. hooks 2009). It is clear that those of us concerned with socially just urban development have a long road yet to travel toward racial equity. An important access point on our road, however, is urban space that is designed to be publicly accessible, especially that of city parks. Since parks are generally designed, managed, and regulated to serve the entire public, they have great potential to integrate cultural norms and to alleviate racial tension.

When maintained as part of a public realm network (Garvin 2011), large popular parks coalesce cities, providing a public space for ethnically and socially diverse groups. In contrast, underused parks often serve as boundaries between rich and poor neighborhoods, between poor people of color and people with privilege (cf. Bowman and Pagano 2004). In fact, urban parks frequently splinter internally along lines of class and culture (Low et al. 2005). Different cultural complexes customarily prefer different park uses over others. For example, African American park users tend to be drawn to facilities designed for socializing between families, while White park users tend to use parks individually or in pairs (Taylor 1993). In a separate study, Gobster and Delgado found that White people tend to arrive in parks alone or in pairs and to use parks as areas of quiet repose or for exercise. In contrast, they found that African Americans and Latinos tend to frequent parks in large groups of family members and friends, and use facilities for team sports or for celebratory gatherings (Gobster and Delgado 1993). Valle and Torres (2000) write of the *latinization* of city parks in Los Angeles. Parks in East Los Angeles tend to be populated by activities found to be annoying by White middle-class people with preferences for solitary enjoyment of picturesque landscapes. These parks tend to be animated by diverse activities such as large parties and loud music, barbecue sights and smells, people fishing for dinner, children swinging at piñatas, people performing and dancing to various

cumbias,[4] *bandas*,[5] and *meregues*,[6] soccer matches, and the bouncing, tilting, and noise of tricked-out lowrider cars. The paired sense of belonging to Latino culture and belonging in these parks reflects the Mexican spatial conception of the plaza, a space that concentrates the sacred and the profane, the public and the private, the theatrical and the introspective. Such varied park uses may have as much to do with class as with ethnicity and race. For example, Mary Pattillo (2007) and Lance Freeman (2006) both show that black gentrifiers also see inner-city parks as spaces of peaceful respite rather than vibrant gathering places. My fieldwork confirms this arc of scholarship. Whereas many working-class Latino informants fondly recall the vibrant plaza-like social settings in Saint Patrick's Park during the 1980s and 1990s or La Raza Park[7,8] in the 1970s, the Anglo newcomers I spoke to thought of neighborhood parks as places one could go "to be alone." Some saw parks as a place to go "to escape the noise of the city." Some regarded parks simply as greenery "to appreciate while strolling or jogging by."

Using examples drawn from the design, management, and regulation of four North Denver parks, this chapter demonstrates that the boundaries between characteristics of individuals like ethnicity and class, and depersonalized public behaviors are always hazy. Furthermore, it shows that this turbidity, the indistinct borders between individual characteristics and behavior, allows racial bias embedded in the design and regulation of physical landscape to travel forward in time. Urban design matters because it concretizes ideas which will, over time, become matter of fact materiality of the real world. Because cities have long been segregated by race, ethnicity, and class, the design of neighborhood parks, which are symbolic archetypes of urban public space, presents a range of opportunities either to amplify racism and cultural biases or to foster tolerance.

Saint Patrick's Park: Latino Primitive Property

Until it began to gentrify, Highland was a neighborhood from which upwardly mobile ethnic groups moved away. The original Irish immigrants were replaced by Italian immigrants, who gained social and economic capital during the 1950s, and consequently moved to Denver's rapidly expanding suburbs. This kind of exodus did not occur, however, with the Latinos who replaced them. For reasons that unfortunately can only be framed in terms of structural and institutional racism, Americans whose families emigrated from Spanish-speaking countries

were systematically denied similar opportunities for socioeconomic
mobility (McWilliams 1968; Rojas 2010). Racial discrimination led
to a geographic immobility, which, in concert with political inefficacy
(cf. Duran 2011), and inaccessibility to the capital needed to improve
residences and businesses (cf. Diaz 2005), compounded the already
stressed condition of North Denver's housing stock. Because of the
increased demand for housing by ethnic and racial minorities and the
limited supply of housing available to them, housing costs in distressed
neighborhoods have remained substantially similar to those of the rest
of the urban area (Desmond 2016). Rational responses to the demands
of covering average housing costs with below average wages include
packing many people into structures, renting out spare bedrooms, and
illegally housing people in garages. Compounding these economic con-
straints is the fact that Latino families tend to be large. The overall result
was a critical mass of large, extended families occupying and using an
already distressed housing stock, and probably also subletting to non-
family renters, thus significantly contributing to urban depreciation
and decay in North Denver (Hunt 1999). A secondary consequence of
this overcrowding was that by the late 1970s, Highland was not only
densely populated, but also, because of the city's general negligence to
secure land for public parks in North Denver, suffering from a shortage
of open space. And the open space it did have was far from adequate
for the population. According to the Highland Neighborhood Plan,
prepared in 1986, Highland boasted a mere 0.0003 acres of open space
per person compared to the overall Denver average of 0.085 acres per
person.

   As previous chapters have shown, it was community activism rather than
municipal attention that improved neighborhood conditions in North
Denver. Activism proved vital in the establishment of community gardens,
in the conversion of high-capacity streets into neighborhood-serving
streets, and in the shuttering of disreputable and incompatible businesses.
In similar vein, it was activism that propelled the conversion of an unused
parking lot into Saint Patrick's Park. Community activists like Marty
Roberts were instrumental in planting and managing three community
gardens: Saint Patrick's Garden, Pecos Garden, and Shoshone Garden, as
well as helping to inaugurate Denver Urban Gardens. In 1979, in order
to improve some aspects of the neighborhood's limited green space, the
neighborhood organization called Pecos Plaza Neighbors obtained a small
grant to fund the construction of flagstone sidewalks and the planting

of street trees throughout Highland. These projects accompanied the low-capacity-streets campaign, as part of an overall strategy that led to formation of DeFEND, the ad hoc neighborhood group that successfully derailed the 20th Street Viaduct project.

The former parking lot on which Saint Patrick's Park is sited is the very same parcel of land at which Carrigan's Corner deposited parishioners to services at Saint Patrick's Chapel in the early twentieth century. Saint Patrick's Park was the end result of a six-year, community-driven process of land acquisition, landscape design, and construction, and serves as a shining example of Latino primitive property made manifest as public property. Community activists Marty Roberts and Steve Wagley were instrumental players in the actualization of Saint Patrick's Park, which was not simply designed *for* the community but also *by* the community, with members themselves playing significant roles in its physical design. A neighborhood survey assessed community need for design elements such as benches, preschool play equipment, school-age play equipment, shade features, gathering areas, materiality, and landscape features, among others. Informed of the needs and desires of the community, landscape architect Steve Wagley set about designing the park (Fig. 8.1). Throughout this process, plan iterations were circulated in formal and informal neighborhood meetings. Concerns and comments were then communicated back to Wagley. Reflecting community desires, Saint Patrick's Park is anchored by a central social area, one that mirrors the central plazas ubiquitous in Mexican and Mexican-American towns (c.f. Low 2000; c.f. Richardson 1982). Its design accommodates both socializing adults and playing children. Set below the plaza and within easy view of family members sits a shaded play area. The project took six years to realize: from the initial idea in 1978, to the dedication of Saint Patrick's Park as an official City of Denver Park in 1984. Marty Roberts describes this protracted process:

Fig. 8.1 Saint Patrick's Park with Saint Patrick's Church in the background, circa 1985. Image by Author

Getting the community to buy in, preparing, conducting, and analyzing the survey, drawing up the plans, getting the community to comment, going to the city for money, there's a lot to it! It takes a long time. We needed to always make sure that it was community driven. Then the construction took three years, because the neighbors did a lot of the work.

Saint Patrick's Park is located directly across West 33rd Avenue from the trendy new restaurant Root Down. It is interesting to note that the completion of this park almost coincided with the closure of Johnies Texaco Station. Many longtimer residents of Italian descent remember this corner being a dangerous crime-ridden place before Root Down opened in 2005. However, within the Latino community, this park was regarded as a much-used and much-loved neighborhood asset, as every Latino respondent attested. There is also ample evidence that people with high ranking municipal and ecclesiastical positions took note of the park's success. The park was lauded as a new "oasis of green" in a 1988 letter to Mayor Peña's Advisory Council from Our Lady of Guadalupe's pastor, Marshall Gourley, who asserted that it was a dramatic improvement on the formerly bleak intersection, and celebrated it as a popular anchoring influence in community cohesion. People visiting the park learned of neighborhood events, garage sales, concerts, and so forth from its bulletin board. A further testimonial was sent in 1989 by Denver's Neighborhood Housing Services (NHS) to Mayor Peña, attesting that the park was serving not only as a recreational site, but also as a protest base for those opposed to the expansion of the 20th Street Viaduct. Well into the 1990s, the frequent use of the park was by neighborhood children and parents supervising their play, as was cited in a letter from Councilwoman Debbie Ortega in January of 1998 to Denver's Community Development Organization. Despite the negative opinions of members of the Italian community described above, it is clear from this evidence of support that St Patrick's Park was widely considered to be a vibrant public space. Measured according to multiple scales of publicness—from aesthetics and play to socializing and protest—Saint Patrick's Park was a resounding success. Today, however, it is only a quiet and mostly empty space opposite the busy activity at Root Down. Its transformation testifies to the continuing misalignment of Anglo and Latino cultural complexes: even with hundreds of diners a day patronizing Root Down, I rarely observed anyone in the park during my fieldwork.

Berkeley Park: Unpermitted Play

Many longtimer informants noted that the City of Denver showed a consistent tendency to redirect funds away from the maintenance and management of North Denver parks to the improvement of parks serving historically Anglo middle- and upper-class neighborhoods in South

Denver. In this way, Denver is no different from other cities with chronically underfunded inner-city parks frequented by racial and ethnic minorities (cf. Diaz 2005). Regardless of municipal inattention, however, Latinos continue to frequent open park space. Soccer is a life force for youth in Latino neighborhoods, as it is in most of the world. Many suitable open spaces located in Latino barrios are appropriated by soccer-playing youth for individual practice and team play. Consequently, despite their compromised physical condition, the soccer fields at Berkeley Park were heavily used. Here, it is relevant to consider the appropriateness of the physical characteristics of park areas. The game of soccer does not necessarily require a well-maintained lawn. All that is needed is a relatively flat surface, a group of people, an inflated ball, and two sets of goalposts.

Berkeley Park's soccer patches and soccer goalposts were often used for official games during the summer months. This use always required a permit from the Parks and Recreation department. Additionally, without obtaining a permit, area youth would use this area and its goals to play and practice during the evenings. In was not uncommon for young people to use these fields throughout the year, even in winter, when on all but the coldest time periods Denver's intense sun normally melts snow from exposed ground within a week after snowstorms. Despite the fact that the grass was long dead and the soccer fields little more than patches of dirt, North Denver Latino youth would regularly gather in the park to play soccer. Incongruously, using a soccer patch to play soccer engendered the ire of the City's Parks and Recreation Department. Clearly expressing Anglo predispositions toward open space, Parks and Recreation officials were concerned with maintaining the park's appearance. They concluded that informal soccer games did too much harm to the fields. To limit the damage, the city implemented a new policy in the early 2000s, one that amounted to a straightforwardly brilliant territorial tactic. They simply moved the heavy soccer goalposts to the middle of the soccer fields and chained them together, rendering out-of-season and un-permitted use of these areas for playing soccer exceedingly difficult. They controlled people's choices of opportunities by controlling area. A former Parks and Recreation employee explains the logic underpinning this territorial policy:

> Our problem was that people were playing soccer twelve months a year. Basically playing and playing and *playing* in the same spot. Parks and Rec used to have permanent goal posts for soccer. So you'd get all these kids

using the field. The posts were there and the people would just play. They'd wear the fields out, down to nothing. So we decided to change to movable goalposts. Now we take them out and store them, or just tie them together, do things so that people can't use them. We either store them offsite or chain them together and put them in the middle of the field. That has been very successful in controlling the use of those fields, so that kids don't just destroy them.

This quotation begs the question: why did youths playing soccer on soccer fields pose such a problem for parks and recreation managers? Furthermore, why remove a public facility that serves as a safety valve for youthful energy and competition, one proven to reduce both delinquency and violence among youth (cf. Geis 2002; Howell 1998; Howell 2008)? One explanation can be traced back to Anglo cultural complexes: the presumption that city parks should be planned and managed as visual amenities or spaces of quiet repose. Another explanation is real or pretended bureaucratic ignorance and over-literal interpretation of rules. Since these unofficial soccer matches are not being permitted, that is, since most of the irreparable damage done to the field was done by youths who had not pulled a permit, "there was no officially recognized use being displaced," according to another Parks and Recreation employee. To be clear, their argument was that it was logical to chain together the goalposts, when they were not *officially* being used. However, storing the goals in the middle of the soccer patch can be interpreted as an act of deliberate hostility toward Latino youth.

In light of this officially expressed concern for the condition of the field, it is noteworthy that at no time during a decade of purported overuse of the Northwest corner of Berkeley Park were officials concerned enough to make an effort to improve the condition of the fields. In fact, the irrigation system remained dysfunctional throughout the 1990s. Consequently, the exposed soil compacted under the repeated impact of soccer games. Finally, in 2001, the City of Denver directed planning energy and city funds toward this area of Berkeley Park. These funds, however, were not earmarked to repair the irrigation system or to improve the soccer fields. Rather, the city dislocated the game of soccer from this section of the Berkeley Park completely by reprograming it into an off-leash dog park. It is dogs rather than Latino youth who now belong in this newly configured territory.

Berkeley Park: Gone to the Dogs

As I have insisted throughout this book, people feel included in territories they feel they belong in and excluded from territories with systems of rules that render these relations of belonging impossible. The establishment of relations of belonging to a locality is one component of primitive property. For this territorial regime to achieve any sense of permanence, materiality must be arrayed in a manner that reproduces ideas of authenticity. Furthermore, the demarcation of boundaries and the promulgation of rules must harmonize with cultural notions of spatial and regulatory legitimacy. Territorial regimes always include certain behaviors while excluding others. Off-leash dog parks, although they are seemingly small, trivial areas, play a crucial role in processes of inclusion and exclusion among the residents of gentrifying neighborhoods (Tissot 2011).

In this section, I deconstruct the planning processes leading to the replacement of the compacted soccer fields in Berkeley Park with an off-leash dog park, in order to show the precision with which Anglo cultural complexes tend to align with the socio-legal architectures of city government. In Chapter 6, I argued that when Anglo newcomers walk their dogs into inner-city neighborhoods, they take Anglo space with them. Taking Anglo space into Latino neighborhoods contributes to gentrification pressures. That is, by tracing relations of belonging into areas inhabited by Latinos, Anglos establish primitive property there. Below, I add substance to the bones of this argument. And I show how Anglo middle-class attitudes toward canines and canine care reflect commonplace bureaucratic structures and unremarkable bureaucratic actions. What can be termed the *canine effect* can be thought of as cultural or class displacement; however, it also lends significant support to the central argument that changing public spaces changes neighborhoods.

A close look at the planning of off-leash dog parks throughout Denver proves enlightening. In 2001, well before actual locations for dog parks were even suggested, to say nothing of debated, a survey ascertaining city-wide need for off-leash dog parks was distributed to a random sample of Denver residents. Survey results indicated two important things: that a majority of Denverites supported Denver's leash law and the *idea* of dedicated off-leash areas in Denver Parks. However, the survey had a geographical blind spot. It was context-free: that is, respondents were not

asked if they supported off-leash areas in their neighborhood parks, but if they supported off-leash areas somewhere within the city of Denver. Interestingly, the survey findings also revealed cultural dissonances that aligned with those discussed at the beginning of this chapter: Latino and African American park users were more likely to use recreational facilities, like soccer fields and baseball diamonds, than Anglo respondents. In addition, an important finding demonstrated that these groups were significantly less satisfied than Anglo residents with the condition of City of Denver Parks and recreational areas.

Following standard planning protocol, the next dog park planning step included bringing all the stakeholders to the table (c.f. Forester 2009). However, since specific sites, and consequently potential neighborhoods, had not been selected, stakeholders only included large players: Denver Parks and Recreation, Denver Animal Control, area dog trainers and veterinarians, DenFidos (a Denver dog park advocacy group), the Dumb Friends League, the dog food manufacturer Purina, and Pet Smart, a corporate pet store. Arguments put forth in favor of off-leash parks during these meetings included arguments for the advantages of socializing dogs in a protected environment, arguments for and against the idea that socialized dogs are less likely to develop behavioral problems, and arguments that dog parks will displace unsavory or illicit park use like crime and loitering because dog owners will supervise the parks. Implicit in the "displacing unsavory uses" arguments was the assumption that dog owners are more responsible citizens than others, such as soccer-playing youth or picnicking families.

After the city-wide need had been established, Denver Animal Control and Denver Parks and Recreation moved on to the evaluation of all 397 of Denver's urban parks in terms of their feasibility for accommodating an off-leash area. This process identified five parks, one in each quadrant of the city and one in the extreme northeastern region of Denver. Only after this two-year process was the compacted soccer patch in Berkeley Park's Northwest corner selected as the site of an off-leash dog park. By this time all discussions about location had been framed not in terms of whether there should be an off-leash dog park in Berkeley Park but rather in terms of where the dog park should be sited *within* the park. Other public meetings centered on how the area should be enclosed and managed, how access should be controlled, which rules should be promulgated, and how and by whom these rules should be enforced. Interestingly, according to Parks and Recreation data, these neighborhood meetings were attended by an overwhelming majority (96 percent) of dog owners. Given the agendas

and composition of these meetings, it is no surprise that the objective of replacing overused soccer fields with an off-leash area was unquestioned by meeting attendees. My interviews with Latinos in the area revealed that they had not heard about these meetings; many said they were surprised to see construction of the dog park begin. Latinos with interests in soccer rather than dogs were not at the table (in any sense), just as they had not been part of any of the prior decisions. It is noteworthy that the public exercise of dogs is a cultural practice that belongs to Anglo cultural complexes. In 2003, this exclusive land use came to belong solely and unconditionally in the Northwest corner of Berkeley Park. Vital to understand here is that a dog park is an exclusive land use, one that permanently precludes any other type of recreational activity and mode of relaxation. In other words, an off-leash dog park cannot serve any other function: through their presence and their odors, dogs dominate this enclosed territory. By concentrating on the singular use of dog runs, cities permanently preclude all other land uses. In a related case, homeless advocates in San Antonio Texas are critical of the redesign of the entire three acres of Maverick Park as an off-leash dog park. They see these manifest changes to the park's physical layout and regulatory regime as an effective means of eliminating one of the few publicly accessible spaces in which people without homes can pause to rest in the city.

The reasons for municipal ignorance of alternative uses for this park space are likely manifold; however, it impossible to discount the fact that Latinos were simply framed out of the discussion. The meeting agendas were unconcerned with siting the dog parks according to neighborhood need but rather with the management of already sited areas. Denver Parks and Recreation set the agenda, decided what would be and would not be discussed, and determined the vocabulary to be used. They also decided what characteristics were required in a stakeholder and thereby determined whose perspectives, concerns, and suggestions mattered. In this way, they exercised an invisible form of power; by eliminating options of thinking about other ways these areas might possibly be used, repaired, or reprogrammed, they compelled meeting attendees to think a certain way about these areas (cf. Searle 2001). This simultaneous disregard of existing uses and recognition of a single proposed use supports Low et al.' (2005) conclusions that what they call "vernacular" recreational activities usually escape official notice. What is more, the research conducted by Denver Parks and Recreation about dog parks not only avoided directly addressing issues of race, ethnicity, or social class, but also disregarded neighborhood context.

Dog owners, animal control, Parks and Recreation, and pet businesses were the only stakeholders identified in the two-year planning process. Perhaps unintentionally, perhaps not, the city simply kept those with differing opinions distant from discussions. In San Antonio, advocates worry that people living on the street are no longer considered to belong in parks. In Denver, many of my Latino informants complain that they are being similarly eased out of public parks. Says one longtime Latina resident, "Yeah great! The city finally fixed up our parks. It's so obvious that these changes were not directed at us but at yuppies and their dogs."

La Raza Park: A Barometer of Change

Officially known as Columbus Park, but here referred to as La Raza Park, this small city park was established in the Progressive Era of the early 1900s. Located at Navajo Street and West 38th Avenue, just north of the Highland neighborhood boundary, La Raza Park has played many roles in the history of the Northside. It was the location from which the peace marches emanated, and was therefore central to the emergence of the "Troy" Chavez Memorial Peace Garden. It was a hub on the 38th Avenue cruising circuit. In many ways La Raza Park spatializes the central themes of this book, namely, belonging to a culture, belonging in a neighborhood, authenticity, legitimacy, appropriation, primitive property, and public property. The remainder of this chapter sets these themes into the broad sweep of North Denver's immigrant history.

In the Progressive Era, Denver had many of the poor, huddled, and freedom-yearning masses flocking to America from the poverty and bloodshed of Europe. The focus of America's early twentieth-century Progressive Movement was twofold: the acculturation of this exploding immigrant population and the amelioration the socioeconomic suffering borne by immigrant groups (Fisher 1994). Much of the Progressive Movement's energy was directed toward behavior in public. Consequently, progressives focused attention on the construction of city parks. These verdant, open spaces were conceived and designed as places in which poor, uneducated immigrants could learn to comport themselves within a civil society, all the while appreciating a picturesque manicured version of nature (Olmstead 1870). Since North Denver served as the catchment basin for Denver's immigrants, early efforts by Denver's Progressive Movement began there. In 1906, 2.29 acres sited along West 38th Avenue and Navajo Streets was

dedicated as a small city park. It was designed with a contingent bathhouse, in which those who lacked running water in their homes could bathe (Goodstein 2011). In the years that followed, Denver's second official playground was built on this site and the park was officially named Navajo Park (ibid.). In 1931, after the Italian community had established itself demographically and economically, it raised $7,500 to improve Navajo Park (ibid.). As a matter of historical happenstance, in 1971, shortly after Italian activists lobbied the city to change its name to Columbus park, Chicano activists took over running the park, unofficially renaming it La Raza Park.

To fully understand the social processes that gave rise to La Raza Park, we must consider the crosscutting histories of Spanish colonization, Mexican statehood, and Manifest Destiny. In fact, discounting the history of the barrio-oriented social movements of the 1970s and 1980s is what most destabilizes current planning practice and urban policy (c.f. Diaz 2005). Many of my key informants, well-schooled in their own history, explained to me that the Chicano Movement has its roots in two ideas. First, the Latino peoples of the American Southwest and Northwestern Mexico, a homeland Chicanos refer to as Aztlán, are in fact already a colonized people, over whom a border has simply moved. Colonized by the Spanish in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the ancestors of contemporary Mexican-Americans—the Anasazi, the Aztecs, and the Mayans—continuously inhabited Aztlán for at least four thousand years, according to established historical research (Otero 2010). The 1848 treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo[9] between Mexico and the USA, which ended the Mexican-American War, drew national boundaries much as they exist today. The American–Mexican border shifted south; Mexico lost 55 percent of its claimed territory to Texas (approximately two million square kilometer) (Otero 2010). This shift in territory stripped all Mestizos (people of mixed race) living north of Mexico of any rights to the property their ancestors had occupied for thousands of years (Diaz 2005). Accordingly, all Native Americans and Mestizos living in the American Southwest were immediately deprived of any rights they had under the former hacienda system established by the Spanish. Consequently, Chicanos see the Crusade for Justice as a movement that reinforces relationships of belonging to an ancient culture and as a means to regain rights to their traditional territory. The second central impetus for the Chicano Movement was the message of emancipation and social equity from which the Civil Rights Movement

emerged in the 1950s and 1960s. Chicanos tended to align with the Civil Rights Movement as it was articulated by its more radical leader Malcolm X. That is, Chicanos preferred direct action over Dr. Martin Luther King's relatively passive resistance.

During the 1960s and 1970s, throughout the Southwest, Chicano community activists loudly confronted city governments over the use and management of public parks (Diaz 2005). In Denver, the 'Takeover of La Raza Park' served as a statement of emerging political power and as a symbolic taking back of a small piece of Aztlán. In this case, the resistance was neither violent nor passive. La Raza Park was reappropriated by means of an interesting strategy—a *splash-in* orchestrated by the Chicano group Crusade for Justice. During the early summer weeks of 1971, groups of Latino kids entered the park's pool without paying. They then taunted lifeguards. Then the Anglo lifeguards were unable to control or even comprehend the splash-ins; most simply quit (Vigil 1999). Getting lifeguards to quit was only the first part of the Crusade's long-term strategy. In the months leading up to the takeover, Latino youth trained to be lifeguards. So when the suburban Anglo kids quit, Latino kids simply applied for and filled their vacated positions. Other acts of trespass and disobedience territorialized the park. On numerous occasions, after the pool had been closed for the night, groups of Latino youths climbed the fence and jumped into the pool. Then they challenged the police (who had been called to the scene by other activists) to enter the water and make arrests. This bit of theater eventually garnered the attention of local newspapers. The resulting media coverage and the increasing political pressure placed upon Parks and Recreation by North Denver businesses compelled the city to shift day-to-day management of La Raza Park and its pool to North Denver Latinos, to those deemed to be sensitive to the needs and idiosyncrasies of the Northside.

The successful takeover of La Raza Park ignited the political transformation of North Denver. This change is most easily recognized in the election of the Chicano activist Sal Carpio to city council in 1972. La Raza Park came to represent an appropriation of a piece, un *puño de tierra*,[10] of Aztlán. It served as a symbolic center of Chicano political activism in Denver. This subversive and successful primitive property continued as La Raza Park with daily recreation and not infrequent political and social events.

The La Raza Park Riot

For many of my Latino informants, La Raza Park defined the Northside of the 1970s; it was a locality where people went to hang out, to flirt, to push social boundaries, to grow up, to, as one Latino shared, "learn how to be a parent, to learn how to be a grandparent," and to simply maintain friendships and acquaintances. For them, La Raza Park was a successful public space: the Olympic-sized swimming pool gave neighborhood youth something to do during the hot, dry days that mark Denver's long summers—they could escape the heat and burn off excess energy by diving and swimming. La Raza Park also played a variety of significant roles in the North Denver Latino community: it provided public space for countless planned and unplanned events such as cultural fairs, concerts, and family gatherings. The fact that it was under community management served as a source of communal pride. A territory rooted explicitly in Chicano conceptions belonging and authenticity, this small park literally grounded Latino cultural heritage in the Northside. The Crusade for Justice changed how North Denver youth perceived themselves. "Who are we?" asks Father José Lara. "We are Mexican! We are Chicano! The Crusade [for Justice] made this possible." A longtime resident shared with me how Latinos "found pride in *our* history, in *our* culture. Where did we find it? In the Crusade, in La Raza Park." Instead of seeing themselves as minority outsiders in American culture, many North Denver youth learned to appreciate their history and culture by simply hanging out in La Raza Park or becoming involved with the Crusade for Justice. As explained by Chicana activist Ana Chavez:

> Back then [in the 1970s] especially, kids were looking for something to identify with. We grew up with lot of racism and prejudice. It was everywhere. We were always told, "Go back to your country, to where you came from, where you belong!" After being involved with the Crusade for Justice, we learned about Aztlán, that this country is part of who I am. My ancestors journeyed here many years ago. They might have settled in Mexico. They might have settled in Colorado. I am where I belong. When you discover that, you found something to connect to. In many ways, La Raza Park made this transformation, to being proud of who you are and where you live, possible.

The Crusade for Justice organized yearly "Grand Opening" celebrations to mark the 1972 takeover. Anchored by its popular pool, these celebrations were usually quite large. And since they were not permitted (in other words, since organizers did not obtain the proper permits from the city), they were *de jure* illegal. Nonetheless, they took place every year for ten years. The eleventh celebration, however, proved different. The city disbanded it with a SWAT team; this action naturally sparked an angry response by celebrants. The consequent La Raza Park Riot had many unintended consequences. It justified the subsequent destruction of the pool, which paved the way for the construction of the La Raza Pyramid in its place. It also facilitated the reestablishment of the authority of Denver's Parks and Recreation department over the day-to-day operation and maintenance of the park.

Most contemporary local knowledge of the policing of La Raza Park derives from the story of the riot. However, tensions between police and the Crusade for Justice had flared up many times during the 1970s. For example, the pool often closed at 6:00 pm in the summer, even though in Denver the sun sets much later in the evening. Observing that the temperature of the pool literally cooled tensions between neighborhood rivalries, lifeguards would "unofficially" reopen it. Police patrolling the neighborhood would notice this violation of park rules and dutifully cite those in the pool for trespassing on public property and for using a closed public facility.

There had been many similar altercations with the police before the La Raza Riot. Throughout the 1970s, Crusade for Justice activists had often instigated conflicts with the Denver Police Department by openly defying the city-wide 11:00 pm curfew enforced in city parks. According to José Lara, Crusade for Justice activists would protest the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo by openly defying the city's curfew, simultaneously denying the authority of the City of Denver and claiming their territorial right to occupy this *puño de tierra* of Aztlán. The police, declaring Denver's sovereignty over its public parks, would zoom in—sirens blaring, tires screeching—to cite any activists openly violating the city's curfew.

Most altercations were minor events, over in a matter of minutes. This was not the case on the occasion of the Eleventh Annual Grand Opening. According to recollections of my informants and on the evidence of documents stored in the Corky Gonzales Archive at the Denver Public Library, as soon as the event commenced on Sunday, June 28, 1981, police began gathering throughout the Sunnyside and Highland neighborhoods.

Interestingly, they were called in to discipline a permit violation. According to Denver Parks and Recreation rules and regulations, in order for groups in excess of 24 persons to legally gather in any preplanned manner in a City of Denver Park, the people or organization planning the gathering must request, be granted, and pay for a permit issued by the Department of Parks and Recreation. Corky Gonzales, a founder of the Chicano Movement and the leader of the Denver-based faction called the Crusade for Justice, organized the previous ten Grand Openings as well as many other large events in North Denver. He insisted that this regulation, despite its official codification, had never previously been brought to his attention, let alone enforced. At about 3:00 pm, once festivities were well underway, police surrounded the park and shouted statements through bullhorns declaring the gathering unlawful. Furthermore, officers gave the throng of revelers five minutes to vacate the park. According to Corky Gonzales[11]:

> There was—you have to visualize this park [one city block], maybe fifteen hundred people in this park, and suddenly these fifteen hundred people are standing around the park, or a portion of them, you know, on the sidewalks in front of houses.

Obviously, there was no way to clear so many people from such a small area in five minutes. People began to panic. While parents raced to find their children, many of whom[12] were still in the pool, the police began firing tear gas canisters into the park. In angry response, youths began to riot, first hurling stones indignantly at police officers, and then indiscriminately shattering windows of commercial properties along West 38th Avenue. Well into the evening, police officers attempted to restore the order that their own actions had upended. Many Denver citizens and public officials later expressed outrage that this level of police violence was directed at a peaceful event. The police were not disciplined for calling in a SWAT team to enforce a permit violation; the Crusade for Justice and in consequence Northside Latinos were the ones who were punished. In the months after the riot, Denver Parks and Recreation Department quietly claimed that the La Raza pool posed a public health hazard. The pool was drained of water and filled with concrete. This act of punitive territorial sovereignty effectively debilitated La Raza Park as Chicano territory. Without the pool to anchor daily activity, the park simply became depopulated. Northside swim teams and high-diving teams disbanded, and neighborhood families no longer enjoyed a valuable recreational amenity. What is more, use

of the park was further curtailed by the outwardly innocuous authorization, implementation, and enforcement of new parking regulations. For many years after the riot, evening and weekend street parking was disallowed along the entire perimeter of La Raza Park. As a reminder, North Denver is not a compact, walkable urban village: its duplexes and single-family homes literally sprawl north and west toward the suburban cities of Arvada, Westminster, and Lakewood. As in other similarly dispersed cities like Los Angeles or Houston where public transportation is limited, a car and reliable parking are vital components for visits to any public park. A quote from the then-pastor of Our Lady of Guadalupe Church, Father Marshal Gourley, illustrates how seemingly harmless spatial regulations can be bring about damaging changes to public practice:

> Shortly after the riot, the police went around to all the neighbors and had them sign a petition to call for a no-parking zone around the park. Imagine a park without parking! I have great sympathy for neighbors who had to deal with noise and trash, but this no-parking zone rendered a public space no longer public.

The deployment of a SWAT team for a permit violation serves as an egregious example of the rights-rift between Latino place and the articulation of Latino territory. Cementing in a pool that Latinos had claimed and used as their own serves as an undisguised example of bald-faced territoriality by the city. Finally, the designation of La Raza Park as a "park with no parking" eviscerated this once-vibrant anchor of Chicanismo in North Denver. But these violations alone did not exhaust the city's territorial tactics.

Human memory is spatial; it emerges from and reproduces place (Hebbert 2005). In these terms, the shaping of place is an instrument for the shaping of memory. There are two principal ways that space shapes collective memory. Firstly, interaction with the physicality of any locality reflects and accumulates memories through the associative physical patterns of everyday life. Memories are accumulated through quotidian practices that either subvert or endorse architectural orders and landscape designs, reaffirming cultural identity and materially articulating otherwise purely abstract ideas about authenticity and legitimacy. Secondly, the simple act of naming and thereby referring to a locality impacts how these areas lodge in collective memory. Each change to this particular park's name was fraught with ethnic tension and socio-political conflict. These tensions came to a head as the Northside transitioned to a predominantly

Latino urban region. People of Italian descent continued the established out-migration pattern that marked North Denver's demographic shifts: although they were the area's majority group in the 1930s and 1940s, they comprised just 12 percent of North Denver's population in 1950 (Hunt 1999). By 1970, Italians made up less than six percent of North Denver's population (ibid.). As a matter of historical paradox, Denver's Italian community, already long absent from North Denver, had in 1971, shortly before the "takeover" of La Raza Park, convinced the Denver City Council to rename Navajo Park as Columbus Park after the Italian explorer, Christopher Columbus. It is noteworthy that by this date the vast majority of North Denver was Latino, many of whom identified themselves with the Chicano Movement. Additionally, it is also important here to point out that Chicanos consider themselves descendants of Native American peoples, specifically the Aztecs, the Mayans, and the Anasazi, some of the very people Columbus helped the Spanish "discover." Most Northside Latinos grasped this cruel irony: when Crusade for Justice members took over the management of Columbus Park, they immediately renamed it La Raza Park. When the pool was destroyed in 1982, as a further blow to Latino cultural pride, the city reestablished the official name of Columbus Park, a name many Latinos continue to refuse to use. In many ways, the naming controversy continues to this day.

In 1988, Denver Councilwoman Debbie Ortega proposed the official renaming of Columbus Park as La Raza Park. A highly contentious debate ensued. In the end, City Council voted seven to six against changing the park's name back to La Raza Park. This was not a popular decision in North Denver. A Parks and Recreation employee shared that in the 1990s and well into the 2000s the Columbus Park sign was "not a well liked sign. It was a regular deal to clean graffiti off of it, sometimes we found bullet holes in it." As the quotes above show, my Latino informants still refer to the park as La Raza Park rather than Columbus Park. Despite the unsuccessful name change, and in large degree due to the growing Latino presence on City Council, funds were finally directed toward the park. Seven years after the pool was demolished, it was replaced with an Aztec-inspired "La Raza" Pyramid (Fig. 8.2). Designed by Steve

Fig. 8.2 The La Raza Pyramid, constructed on the site the pool once occupied. Image by Author

Wagley, this structure honors the cultural legacy and architectural genius of the Aztecs and Mayans. Though only used for festivals and not for daily socializing or recreation, it now dominates this small park.

As the divergent opinions about the blocks including Saint Patrick's Park and the abandoned Johnies Texaco during the 1990s made clear, Italian influence, and with it elements of an Italian cultural complex, remained powerful in Highland long after the resident Italian population became statistically insignificant. Referring to the tangled history of La Raza Park and tactically avoiding using a derogatory term, one Italian longtimer maps neighborhood change in ethnic terms, saying, "In the 1970s, the *group of people* who moved in here after the Italians moved out started calling Columbus Park La Raza Park or something idiotic like that." The generalization of ethnic difference with a lexically neutral, yet heavily stressed, phrase, while distancing the speaker from overt racism, subtly assumes a coded tone of white supremacy, reinforced by the term "idiotic" for the name La Raza. Names are more than a succession of letters on monuments, street signs, and park entrances; as essential elements of symbolic economies, they sustain and communicate cultural complexes. Naming and remembering are parts of ongoing conflicts over relations of belonging to particular cultural complexes and of belonging in North Denver.

Many decades have passed since the 1981 La Raza Riot. Nonetheless, Northside Latinos who lived through it still lament the loss of an important place where they could be spontaneously Latino, a place where they could connect with their culture. They lost a place that contributed to the recognition of their ancestry. The removal of the pool and the consequent decrease in the social value of the entire park for local families irrevocably changed how Latinos felt while in public in their neighborhood, specifically those who identified as Chicanos. For many, the fact that the city refused to permanently change the name from Columbus to La Raza Park underscores the intended cultural and political displacement of Latinos from North Denver. Using a phrase I heard quite often from my informants, after the pool closed they felt, "less and less at home in the Northside." It is notable that demographically measurable ethnic change in North Denver did not begin for another 20 years. Neighborhood change occurs along different arcs, it operates at different speeds, and it is initiated by different agents. By assuming a dual cultural and historical perspective, I hope to have mapped contemporary neighborhood change onto a longer view of North Denver history.

Sloan's Lake Park

Throughout this book, I explored the murky space between feeling right in doing something and having the right to do it, the rift between a sense of belonging, of cultural entitlement to publicly accessible spaces, and having official rights to these spaces. Though belonging or feeling at home in public is not a right that any city is obligated to satisfy, connectedness is a component of dwelling among other city residents, which I understand as feeling at home in one's neighborhood. Residing, in these terms, is not synonymous with dwelling. Residing, which requires access to privately owned market property, is contingent on the ability to afford housing costs, on housing policy, and on land use planning. Most city residents have market property, within which they stand a decent chance of feeling at home. People reside in private space, but I argue that they dwell in public. When they step outside and engage with others in public space, they garner a fuller sense of belonging to their culture and to the built environments that support it—or, for that matter, when they look out of a window at any publicly accessible space. In Chapter 7 I explained that to curb cruising, Elitch Gardens slightly modified the design of the public areas surrounding its main entrance in order to discourage the congregation of bystanders, spectators, and cruising participants. The spikes on planters and low walls deprived many people of a comfortable place to socialize, relax, and observe the goings-on in this once publicly accessible space. This design change necessarily impacted Latino relations of belonging. It affected their ability to dwell. Moreover, it disrupted the temporalities and spatialities of cruising.

In a further attempt to curb cruising, the City of Denver redesigned an entire Northside park, Sloan's Lake Park. In effect, the park's road system, along with its parking lots, was a system reengineered in order to render cruising within the park impossible. As a matter of historical irony, this park was designed and constructed in the 1950s to *facilitate* driving and tailgating within its boundaries. To this end, it featured gently curving internal roads and was dotted with many internal parking lots. Consequently, for both Anglo cruisers in the 1950s and Latino lowriders in the 1980s and 1990s, Sloan's Lake was a park to drive to and to drive within. According to many of my informants, before the redesign it was not uncommon for parking lots within Sloan's Lake Park to stage impromptu car shows, where paint jobs and hydraulic systems were shown

off. In these ways, lowriders constructed primitive property, in which Latino symbolic economy was temporarily territorialized. Not everyone appreciated the show. According to a Denver Parks and Recreation employee, by the late 1980s and early 1990s, "lowriding was becoming a real problem, a nightmare in fact." As I show in Chapter 7, cruising was always problematic; whether it was hotrods drag racing up the 16th Street Viaduct, cruisers prowling downtown streets, or lowriders tilting and bouncing on West 38th Avenue. Despite the fact that Latino lowriders were merely continuing the tradition of the Anglo cruisers, official response to cruising in the 1990s became hostile as soon as the skin color of the drivers changed from white to brown.

Just as the City of Denver Police Department progressively resorted to disproportional paramilitary policing strategies to remove cruising from West 38th Avenue, the Denver Parks and Recreation Department response to lowrider cruising can also be interpreted as disproportional. In the mid-1990s, Denver Parks and Recreation Department attempted to curb lowriding by barricading the entrances to Sloan's Lake Park's internal roads on weekend nights. The ineffectiveness of these barricades as a deterrent against cruising gave momentum to the eventual redesign of the park. By 2001, the park's entire road system had been reconstructed deliberately to eliminate cruising. The specific language and expressed intent of the Sloan's Lake Master Plan encapsulates well the cultural imperialism behind Denver's zero-tolerance policy toward lowrider cruising. At the outset, the planners distanced themselves from ethnic or racial epithets by using carefully generalized language. But then they proceeded to designate parking lots as major problem areas. The planning documents claimed that these lots contributed to the presence of noise, litter, and, "*unsavory* activities associated with *certain* parking lot users" (DPR 2002—my emphasis). Consequently, the plan called for parking lots to be eliminated from the interior of the park. Later, more directly linking "certain" users with the "unsavory" activity of lowriding, the plan singled out cruising as the singular activity "most highly disruptive to other park activities." Thereafter, specific design measures were elucidated which were intended to eliminate lowriding from the park. These measures included a one-way traffic flow; on-street parking used as a traffic-calming device; the installation of a bike lane; and raised crosswalks, which were calculated to pose a significant road hazard to lowered vehicles. The most significant design change was the removal of the park's winding internal street. The city replaced this road with a walking/cycling path. This portion of the path

was subsequently incorporated into a lake-encircling walking/bicycling path. As Chapter 7 illustrates, cruising, at least in its Latino incarnation of lowriding, does not align well with Anglo cultural complexes. However, jogging, bicycling, and walking fit neatly into Anglo cultural complexes. It is therefore entirely predictable that, in place of lowriding and impromptu car shows in parking lots, walking, jogging, and cycling now belong in Sloan's Lake Park.

Like its former iteration as an Anglo cruising destination in the 1950s, the current design of Sloan's Lake Park reflects and therefore supports mainstream, Anglo cultural complexes. Urban and landscape design always dramatically limits what people have a right, or even an opportunity, to do. The conception, design, and use of Saint Patrick's Park serve as a counter example to this top-down design dynamic. Here, primitive property seamlessly emerges, manifestly expressing Latino cultural complexes in the design and maintenance of a city park. Conversely, the entire span of La Raza Park's history exemplifies the many ways in which dominant ideas of belonging can overwrite marginal primitive property. The tangled history of propriety and public property played out within this park illustrates a virtual delatinization of a once vital cultural node in North Denver. The regulation of recreation is always central to the management of urban parks. Delatinization was also the underlying dynamic at work in the overwriting of pick-up soccer games played by Latino youth in Berkeley park, just as delatinization was behind the decision to first chain goal posts together, then replace the compacted, unwatered soccer patch with a fenced-in off-leash dog park. The effect of both sets of official actions was to disable Latino relations of belonging in their neighborhood. Finally, the redesign of Sloan's Lake Park facilitated recreational activities normalized in Anglo cultural complexes—walking, jogging, and cycling—while simultaneously and incontrovertibly frustrating lowrider cruising. Each of these examples of biased park management and regulation contributes to the conclusion that the appropriation of publicly accessible space involves establishing different, and dominant, relations of belonging.

The unintended outcome of all of these official decisions may have been their consequent incendiary effect on neighborhood youth: in removing the safety valve of access to public space where young people could express their angst, energy, and anger, the delatinization of public space was likely to have in fact contributed to North Denver's youth gang problem (Langegger 2014a). Denver Parks and Recreation erased primitive property expressed through Latino symbolic economies and

replaced it with primitive property rooted in Anglo cultural complexes (Langegger 2014b).

What I have attempted to do, in this chapter and throughout, is to unveil the latent racism that lurks in apparently everyday enactments of city government, and in workaday and ostensibly benign decision-making processes. To address these and other rights-rifts, to work toward identifying and dismantling structural and institutional racism, to expose commonplace instances of cultural imperialism in urban planning and policy making practice, and, finally, to remove the unquestioned, seemingly inevitable and increasingly commonplace, aura from gentrification, we must take a closer look at the rights and obligations that are wound up with and therefore define and delimit neighborhood territories.

Notes

1. The term redlining derives from the practice of drawing red lines on municipal maps. Redlining is a discriminatory practice by which banks and insurance companies refuse to invest in specific inner-city neighborhoods. Before the practice was outlawed by Civil Rights Legislation, the primary factors informing the drawing of these maps were race and religion.

2. Blockbusting was a business process that US real estate firms used to initiate White flight from inner-city neighborhoods. Agents used a variety of racially and ethnically motivated tactics to convince White property owners to sell their houses at below market value. The same agents then resold the same houses to in-moving racial and ethnic minorities for prices often above preblockbusting property assessments. Both directionalities of this practice (a general and rapid decline in neighborhood housing values and new homeowners that were overburdened by exorbitant housing costs) usually resulted in a rapid decline of surrounding property values which eventually contributed to the dilapidation of this neighborhood's built environment and eventually its ghettoization.

3. Racial steering is the illegal yet still widely used practice in which real estate agents guide prospective home buyers toward or away from particular neighborhoods based on the race of these prospective homebuyers and/or the prevailing racial makeup of particular neighborhoods.

4. A dance-oriented music genre popular throughout Latin America, it originated in Colombia's Caribbean coastal region from the musical and cultural fusion of native Colombians, Africans, and the Spanish during colonial times.

5. A brass-based form of traditional Mexican music. In chordal and rhythmic structure, Banda music is very similar to polka music.

6. A type of music which originated in the Dominican Republic in the nineteenth century and has since become one of the most popular genres throughout Latin America.

7. La Raza is Spanish for the people or the race.

8. Though officially named Columbus Park, I will refer to this park as La Raza Park. I choose to do this because this is the nickname used by the vast majority of longtimer and Latino "Northsiders" who spoke passionately about their neighborhood and this park's place within it.

9. The peace treaty signed on February 2, 1848, in the Villa de Guadalupe Hidalgo between the USA and Mexico that ended the Mexican–American War (1846–48). It established the Rio Grande as the boundary for Texas, and gave the USA ownership of California as well a large area comprising roughly half of New Mexico, most of Arizona, Nevada, Utah, and parts of Wyoming and Colorado.

10. Spanish, this common saying, translates to "a fistful of dirt."

11. This quote and other information in this section derive from statements, newspaper clippings, and formal depositions given by police officers, community members, and members of the Crusade for Justice, archived at the Denver Public Library.

12. One of my key informants, the street gang outreach activist Cisco Gallardo, was one of the children in the pool when police stormed the park in 1981.

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Coda: Now What?

In the preceding chapters I have argued that changes to the design, regulation, and policing of public space must be counted as causes, not merely as consequences of gentrification. At the end of this book I need to address an important related question: why are such profound changes—changes made to publicly accessible spaces before newcomers were in fact numerically and politically dominant in traditional neighborhoods—so easy to represent as a matter of unquestioned progress? In these final pages I would like to sketch an outline to an answer. Aside from the obvious fact that Anglos are demographically and politically dominant throughout the American Southwest, I believe we must find a more nuanced explanation of how cultural imperialism is so easily dissimulated, made palatable, normalized. I believe that a more considered accounting must include three factors. First, an explanation of Anglo privilege requires more than simply reiterating data on the current demographic dominance of Anglos; this unique type of privilege stems from the fact that Anglos are part of a cultural complex that has been able to position itself above others as an economically and politically powerful culture. This particular relation of belonging, Anglo privilege, has profound implications in terms of commonplace notions, unquestioned actions, and workaday governance. Second, although ideas of place lodge deeply within identity and personhood, the regulation of territory is concerned with behaviors, not with actual people. Consequently, even though it is most often nuisance behaviors, rather than rights-bearing individuals, that are excluded from public

property, individuals find themselves banished from these publicly accessible spaces. Third, the simple fact that cities are not states—neither in their geographies nor in their legal frameworks—is central to understanding how the gentrification of inner-city neighborhoods is widely considered to be not only necessary but a correct revitalization policy. Put simply, modern democratic states are biopolitical projects organized around inalienable human rights. Cities are geopolitical projects hinging more directly on property rights rather than on the inalienable rights borne by individuals. Allow me these final pages to flesh out this argument.

Anglo Relations of Belonging

Sarah Keenan shows that relations of belonging are integral to both space and personhood, and are supported when wider social processes, structures, and networks give them force (Keenan 2015). It therefore follows that spaces of belonging are spaces in which particular relations are reinforced and others are left unsupported (ibid.). Throughout this book I have argued that primitive property is the actualization of spaces of belonging as perceivable territories. Because it is physically manifest, primitive property represents the ways in which culturally specific practices link to wider social processes, structures, and networks. Each preceding chapter demonstrated the increasing difficulty Latinos experience in using culturally specific practices in publicly accessible spaces to support shared notions of belonging, in terms of both *belonging to* a locality and *being part of* the larger Latino cultural complex. Consequently, as it became progressively difficult for Latinos to actualize place as territory, it required increasingly less effort for newcomers to Highland to construct territories that reproduced Anglo notions of belonging. This rights-rift thus reinforced an increasingly commonplace legitimation of practices normalized within Anglo cultural complexes.

Primitive property is the perceivable display of place as defendable territory. That is, it is the normative manifestation of abstract ideas about place. Throughout the preceding chapters I explained how relationships of belonging work to (re)produce cultural complexes and to bring into focus the symbolic economies that express these cultural complexes to others. In Chapter 6 I showed how lowriders who cruised the streets of North Denver established that they were *part of* the Latino cultural complex; moreover, they proved through the very existence of this ostentatious, loud, and disruptive practice that the Latino cultural complex *belonged*

in North Denver. Lowriders articulated a social argument. Primitive property also helps us conceptualize how relationships of belonging (re) produce legally ratified as well as normatively recognized rights to public space. To illustrate, Anglo newcomers both accepted as normal and gained a legally guaranteed right to quietly enjoy property. As Chapter 6 demonstrated, in Highland quiet enjoyment eventually silenced ostentatious celebration. The point here is that certain rights to public space are not only commonplace within cultural complexes, but also come to be embedded in legal canons and municipal codebooks. This second, legalized form of primitive property is both policeable and understood as inevitable. It is therefore rarely seen as *cultural*. I have shown that this second type of primitive property is more common among Anglos than among Latinos. My critical reassessment and recognition of municipal codes as outgrowths of Anglo cultural complexes allows us to conceptualize how gentrification becomes normalized, and how it comes to be seen as both necessary and unavoidable.

To fully comprehend this process, we must first acknowledge that one reason Anglo notions of the autonomous self and the nuclear family easily harmonize with municipal governance is that municipal governance in the USA is a critical component of wider Anglo cultural complexes. That is, it is a system of relations that (re)produces both the subject–object and the part–whole relationships of belonging commonplace in Anglo cultural complexes. To illustrate, not only are notions of home ownership understood in terms of subject–object possession (i.e., individuals own houses), they are also normalized by the part–whole relationships of belonging in land use codes (i.e., responsible, mortgage-paying homeowners are part of the government subsidized "American Dream" of homeownership) (cf. Valverde 2005). Thus, part–whole belonging is central in understanding why cultural imperialism is so easily and effectively veiled in practice. Because they are part of the American Dream, homeowners are considered more deserving citizens of the USA than renters and, it follows, they are deemed more worthy of the benefits of full citizenship than homeless people (Langegger and Koester 2016a, b). People belong in certain localities largely because they are part of particular cultural complexes. Anglos are part of a cultural complex wherein the self-reliant individual reigns supreme. Latinos, in contrast, are part of a cultural complex that sanctifies family and community. Using this conceptual lens, it becomes easier to see why in the USA, a nuclear family, rather than an extended family, legally *belongs in* a single-family home (Perin 1977). The case of the La Raza Park

Riot (Chapter 8) illustrates that in terms of public spaces, individuals or small groups engaged in recreation, rather than spontaneous gatherings of large groups of local residents, are the people who *belong in* public parks. This subtle dichotomy between individual and community relations of belonging profoundly affects patterns of urbanization—for example, the sprawling single-family home neighborhoods that have come to define the American city. In similar ways, this dichotomy affects the landscape design of public parks, which often places considerably more emphasis on monumental spaces, such as the La Raza Pyramid or the new pedestrian path encircling Sloan's Lake, than on unprogrammed interactive areas, such as the La Raza Pool.

Public Behavior/People in Public

In order to fully grasp the complex causes of neighborhood change, we must consider changed public spaces to count among the contributory factors that lead to gentrification rather than as outcomes that accompany or demonstrate gentrification. Vital to reshaping this perspective is the recognition that land use laws, and therefore the laws regulating the use of public property, zero in on behaviors, not on persons. Although it is becoming increasingly common for individual people such as sex workers and drug addicts to be banished from certain public spaces (cf. Beckett and Herbert 2011), by and large cities exclude behaviors rather than people from these areas. Cities micro-manage the behavior of their residents and visitors through urban design, land use planning, public health ordinances, public safety protocols, and the thicket of codes and policies that regulate publicly accessible spaces. Behaviors are generalized and thus depersonalized, so culpability is not attached to individual people, but to the time, space, and manner of their conduct. This distinction is central to my argument. For example, in Chapter 4, while explaining how Hmong polyculture is being excluded from the Pecos Garden, I made no mention of attempts to exclude individual Hmong gardeners. This is because, to my knowledge, no such attempts were made. In Chapter 6 I explained that in reconfiguring parking polices applicable to Highland, the City of Denver made no efforts to keep individual residents from parking near their homes. It did, however, make considerable changes to the time and manner in which all people were permitted to store their vehicles in sections of this neighborhood. In Chapter 8 I showed how by remaining silent on both the centrality of soccer to Latino cultural complexes and the

pivotal role dogs play within Anglo cultural complexes, the Denver Parks and Recreation Department managed to completely reconfigure a section of Berkeley Park in a way that both renders soccer impossible and vouchsafes Anglo notions of human–animal relations. As a result, Latino youth now find it more difficult to find public spaces to play soccer, and Anglo dog owners currently have more public places at their disposal where they can exercise their dogs. These changes, and the many others I discussed in the preceding chapters, profoundly affected individuals. The fact that they affected individuals notwithstanding, they were aimed squarely at generalized behaviors rather than singular persons with a particular socioeconomic status, or a specific race or ethnicity.

The City *Vis-à-Vis* The State

Finally, a crucial dichotomy proves vital in understanding how Anglocentric cultural imperialism is so easy to dissemble, one which is closely related to the contrast between behavior and personhood. As I explained above, a central tenet of land use law is that culpability attaches to human conduct, not to individual humans. Crimes are attached to criminals, who are reformed in the penal system. Violations to land use code are not reformed; they cannot be disciplined. This is because a violation to a land use code is attached to an action. Cessation of the aberrant behavior immediately eliminates the violation of said code. Thus, in terms of the bulk of bylaws regulating land use, all urban residents are stripped of subjectivity. Zoning law, building codes, business licensing protocols, public space design and regulation, along with right-of-way geometrics, depersonalize everybody. They ignore persons and instead regulate behavior. This misalignment comes into clearer focus when we shift our attention to a fundamental difference between state and city governance. We can then see that a central reason for the seamless operation of the gentrification of space, with its double aura of both commonsense and good business practice, is the fundamental difference between cities and states.

State constitutions, founded upon the precepts of the European Enlightenment, vest *individuals* with specific rights, such as rights to privacy, to association, and to life, rights to conduct commerce, to bear arms, and to vote, rights to not be cruelly punished, enslaved, or discriminated against on racial or gender grounds. The central point here is that human rights attach directly to people, to "rights-bearing individuals."

States are structured upon a citizenry, which occupies a specific territory. State power, consequently, is biopolitical—the control over life. A city's power, although marginally biopolitical, is far more predominantly geopolitical—the control over space. That is, the city has limited sovereignty over individual persons but a good deal of control over geographical area, over locality, over property. States vest cities with the power to regulate how land uses are distributed within cities (Frug and Barron 2014). The fulcrum of this power is the regulation of property and the disciplining of a specific type of action, namely, nuisance behavior (Valverde 2011). North American and European civil and criminal laws are concerned with individual prosperity, criminal deviance, and penal reform. However, unlike civil and criminal laws, most municipal codes are structured around rights attached to property, not to persons (Kim 2015; Valverde 2012). Cities are of course located within states, and are therefore populated by state citizens; nonetheless, cities are regulated more in accordance with property than with personhood (Valverde 2005). It follows that there is a considerable divide between property rights enshrined in city charters and human rights promulgated in state constitutions.

In contrast to states, cities can be theorized as geographically delimited collections of land uses, as patterns of property, in which people work, recreate, and reside (Valverde 2011). One individual's enjoyment of the use of his or her property is often another's nuisance. Since a city is an agglomeration of often incompatible land uses, property law necessarily constrains the times, spaces, and manners by which people work, recreate, and reside. Crucially, in regulating nuisance, cities are silent about the persons engaging in these activities. It is imperative to understand here that culturally specific activities can be considered nuisances from the perspective of other cultural complexes. As the preceding chapters demonstrated, some cultural complexes have access to more social, financial, and political capital and can thereby more easily effectuate the elimination of nuisance from public or private property. The critical but often-overlooked point is that since it is depersonalized behaviors rather than racialized individuals that are banished from localities, this form of banishment can easily obscure possible racist intent. Municipal code always considers behavior as generalized, depersonalized, and therefore officially ethno-racially neutral. This insight allowed me to develop a more complete explanation of particular manifestations of the rights-rift and its disproportionate impact on specific racial and ethnic groups. For example, although it is equally illegal for a large group of Anglos to congregate in a publicly accessible space

without a permit, in reality it is far more common for Latinos to gather in sizable groups and consequently face municipal discipline.

Nuisance is what bothers a reasonable person. In legalese, a reasonable person has no gender, ethnicity, race, or any other social status. A reasonable person can never reflect any individual qualities, prejudices, or traits. Another key point to remember is that the use of property is never seen as an individual trait. Rather, a land use is always a behavior; it is always an action, a practice. The use of private or public property is therefore never linked to personal traits or qualifications. Under current Civil Rights Law, property rights can never be concerned with race, gender, socioeconomic status, or any other attachment-point for biopolitical governance. Therefore, the utility of the phrase, "equal under the law," depends heavily on political geography, on whether state or city laws apply to the situation at hand. All individuals are equal under state constitutions. However, in cities, behaviors are never equal. Some behaviors bother "reasonable persons" more than others. Because this fundamental difference between the focal points of state and city governance smoothly meshes with the concepts of place, sovereignty, and belonging I outlined above, I believe that this difference significantly affected the widening of the rights-rifts for Highland Latinos, and, conversely, that it assisted in closing the rights-rifts for newcomers to the neighborhood. Therefore, the central incongruity between city and state governmentality figured as a central component in the gentrification of space in North Denver.

Now What?

The core argument I have advanced in this book is that changes to the regulation, design, and policing of public spaces are not merely the results of neighborhood change but that they should be considered to be antecedents to the demographically measurable changes that define gentrification. Why is this change in perspective important? Because in order to work toward a "Just City," one in which everyone could conceivably choose which neighborhood to move to or, as the case may be, to remain within, urban scholars and city bureaucrats need to sweat the details. Urban planners are not strangers to sweating details. Nicholas Blomley shows that neighborhoods struggling with marginalization and gentrification often see their claims to collective rights and indigeneity politely yet completely rebuffed by discourses centered on land use, on density, on height limitations, and on parking requirements (Blomley 2004a, b).

Valverde (2005) notes that even though personhood is central to ethical questions of land use, it succumbs to a materialistic logic of use centered on things and spaces. In their work, Valverde and Blomley bring to light a litany of the bureaucratic details that quietly militate against the planning and management of socially just cities. I believe that personhood and ethics count and therefore suggest that the enablement and/or disablement of the *social* construction of public space should also be one of the details planners, policy makers, and housing advocates must more closely consider when working in marginalized neighborhoods. This perceptual shift necessities that urban scholars learn to think small rather than only concentrating on macro-level levers of urban change. Analysis of housing and financial policies like rent controls and banking regulations, and emphasis on large-scale development projects are indeed important in conceptualizing gentrification processes, but I am convinced that they are not wholly sufficient in understanding the causes and effects of gentrification. Such perspectives necessarily disregard areas and practices outside of the private property of individual residences. And, crucially, they do not capture the entirety of the concept of belonging. These research agendas certainly focus on belonging in terms of ownership; they privilege the possession of a bundle of rights to a bounded area. However, they fail to address other aspects of belonging that are central to collective memory, to authenticity, and to cultural legitimacy. In other words, much of this stream of gentrification scholarship overlooks the fundamental geographical concept of place. As I have insisted throughout this book, it is difficult or impossible to fully grasp the breadth and effectiveness of the territorial regimes sovereign over publicly accessible spaces without a proper understanding of the ways in which shared ideas of place legitimate, and, in so doing, work to render commonplace, many neighborhood practices that in effect amount to territorial practices of banishment.

Within his concept of the *right to the city,* Henri Lefebvre (1996) includes multiple rights: rights to training and education, to work, to culture, to rest, to health, and to housing. Multiple strands of urban scholarship prove that for those outside of a privileged few, this list is in fact nothing more than a list of unfulfilled desires. Claiming, or better, demanding a right to anything is problematic if this claim does not produce a reciprocal obligation for another party capable of actually satisfying the demand (cf. Searle 2010). Nevertheless, I must acknowledge that the right to the city, especially the right to culture, is deeply embedded in my concept of the rights-rift. This is because place is about collective memories attached to locations;

it is about a sense of belonging *to a* particular culture, and consequently belonging *in a* specific location. In the end, place is about a profoundly felt entitlement to be and to do as cultural norms dictate. Throughout this book I have argued that cultural prerogatives are communicated via symbolic economies, and that territoriality actualizes abstract notions of place in the distribution of matter, people, and action within real-world locations. Public space comprises many of these often contradictory attempts to manifest primitive property; it is necessarily diverse and incongruently particular. Therefore, instead of building my argument upon Lefebvre's concept of a set of universal rights to the city, I recognized that different cultural complexes define and therefore demand rights differently. By highlighting the everyday micro-geographies and temporalities of inclusion and exclusion that produce public spaces I demonstrated that common assumptions about public space—that people have an *a priori* right to be in it and that exclusions must be justified in terms of civil, criminal, and land use laws—are often reversed in practice (cf. Mitchell and Heynen 2009). That is, if their actions lie outside of the normative structures of dominant society, people often need to argue for their right to be in public. Cultural practices in public are predicated upon specific relations of belonging, upon who belongs to which cultural complex, and therefore who belongs in a particular space at a specific time. In short, there is a direct link between cultural predispositions and the micro-geographies of sovereignty.

Sovereignty over property is most powerfully expressed through banishment. Banishment entails the removal of people from a specific territory. Therefore, a property owner most effectively express sovereignty over space by excluding others from an area to which he or she possesses property rights. Trespass law is not only normalized within countless cultural complexes, it is also codified in the deeds and land use laws that give real property its legal force. Banishment from property is normal, commonplace, and expected. However, taken to a perverse logical conclusion, banishment and totalitarianism can be seen as being closely linked (Arendt 1968). In similar vein, if its processes obliterate all remnants of indigenous cultural practices from publicly accessible space, it is possible to envisage gentrification as a type of ethnic cleansing. Do we actually want to transplant socioeconomically homogeneous suburbs, and with them the likelihood of diminished diversity, tolerance, and civility, into inner-cities (cf. Williamson 2010)? If we do not want neighborhood change to continue to be a zero-sum game where one group wins while the other loses, if we are disgusted that gentrification often amounts to a type of

clandestine ethnic cleansing, and if we want to live in diverse, socially just cities, then we must begin to think and act earnestly in terms of inclusion instead of banishment. I suggest that a starting point for this reboot is publicly accessible space. Planners, policy makers, scholars, community advocates, and all kinds of neighborhood residents (from long-timers to newcomers) must begin to include abstract yet deeply felt notions of place in planning and policy making discourses. Furthermore, they must understand that, since the production of public space is a continually changing phenomenon, publicly accessible spaces should be designed and regulated to include all manner of behaviors. All sorts of activities and consequently all sorts of people, and with them their cultural complexes, can coexist within singular publicly accessible spaces. This can occur through creative land use regulation. For instance, nuisance behaviors and bothersome actions that happen to be essential elements in the public expression of a minority culture can be temporally segregated, yet spatially included within singular locations. To facilitate this type of temporal zoning, urban designers should render interpretive spaces that are unprogrammed and modifiable, and therefore inclusive of all types of activity on a range of timescales. In deciding how land uses will be distributed, urban planners should do more than invite mainstream stakeholders to public meetings; they should figure out culturally specific ways to investigate and include the needs, desires, and ideas of a wider and more complete spectrum of neighborhood residents. In the end, it is only through inclusion that we will be able to work toward building and managing cities wherein everyone has *rights to public space*.

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Note: Page number followed by 'n' refers to notes