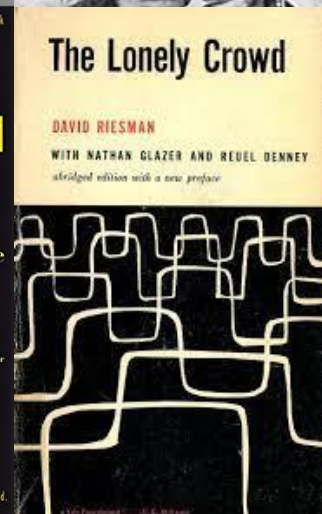
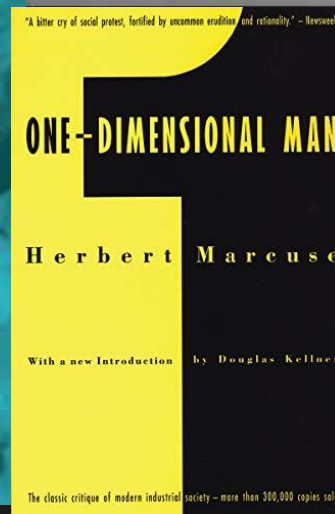
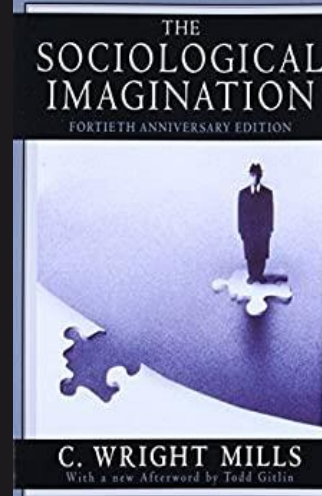
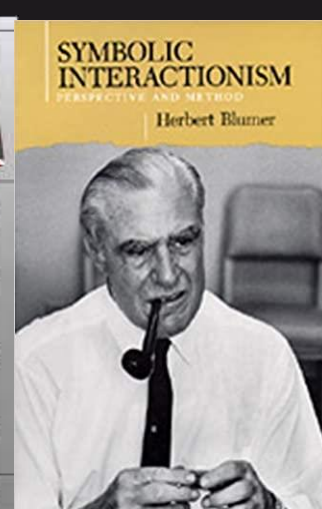
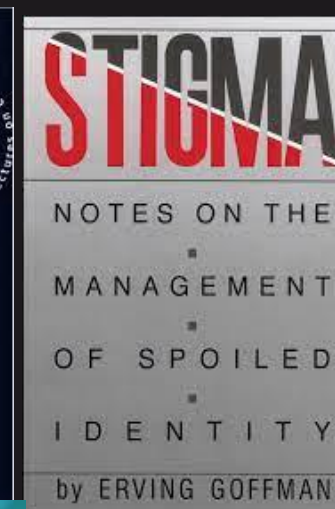
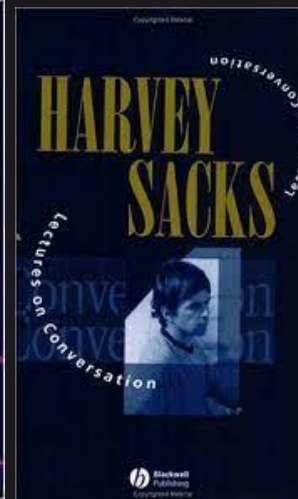
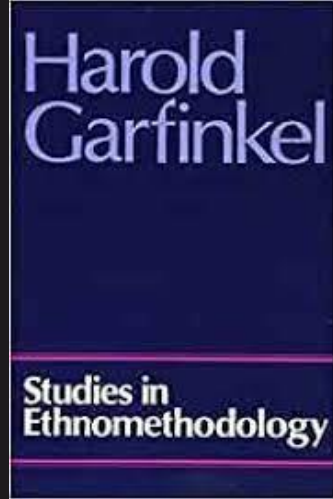


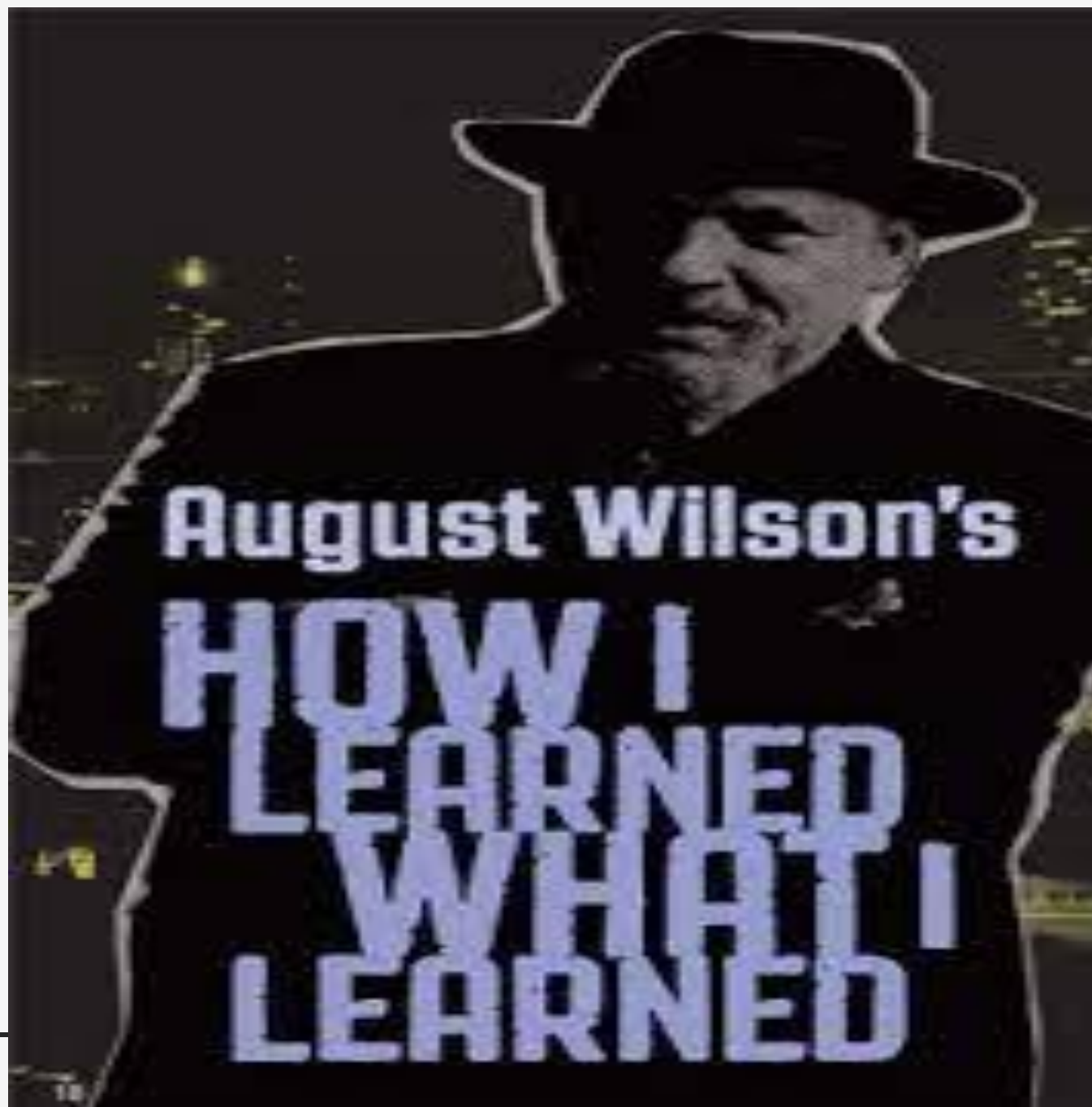


**HOW I LEARNED WHAT I LEARNED:
USING INTERACTION ORDERS TO
STUDY "TROUBLED"
INTERACTIONS**

Overview

- The examples capture the operations of local interaction orders in relation to food apartheid and neighborhood solidarity
- By way of these examples, I show how studying interactional trouble makes visible ordinarily tacit constitutive and regulatory practices/expectations.



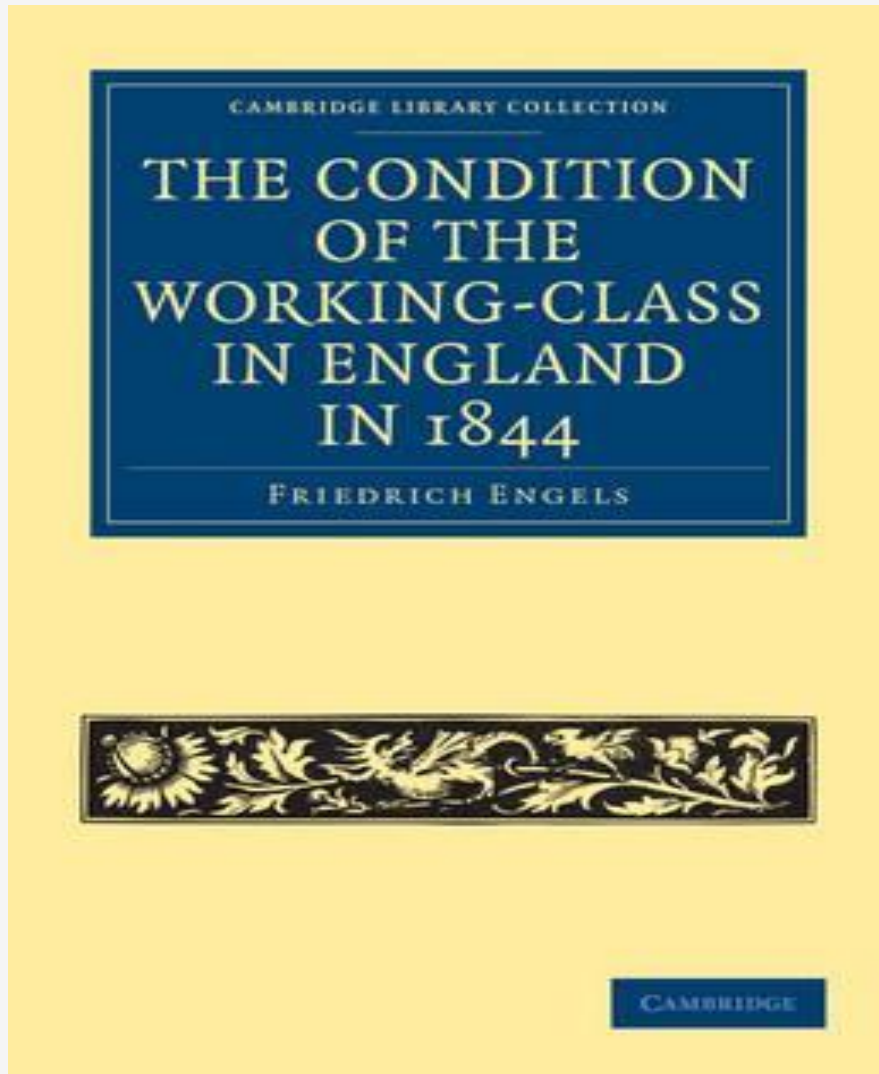


August Wilson-On Culture and the Value of One's Story



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*The Condition of the Working-Class in
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The Philadelphia Negro

A SOCIAL STUDY



With a new Introduction by **ELIJAH ANDERSON**



W.E.B. Du Bois

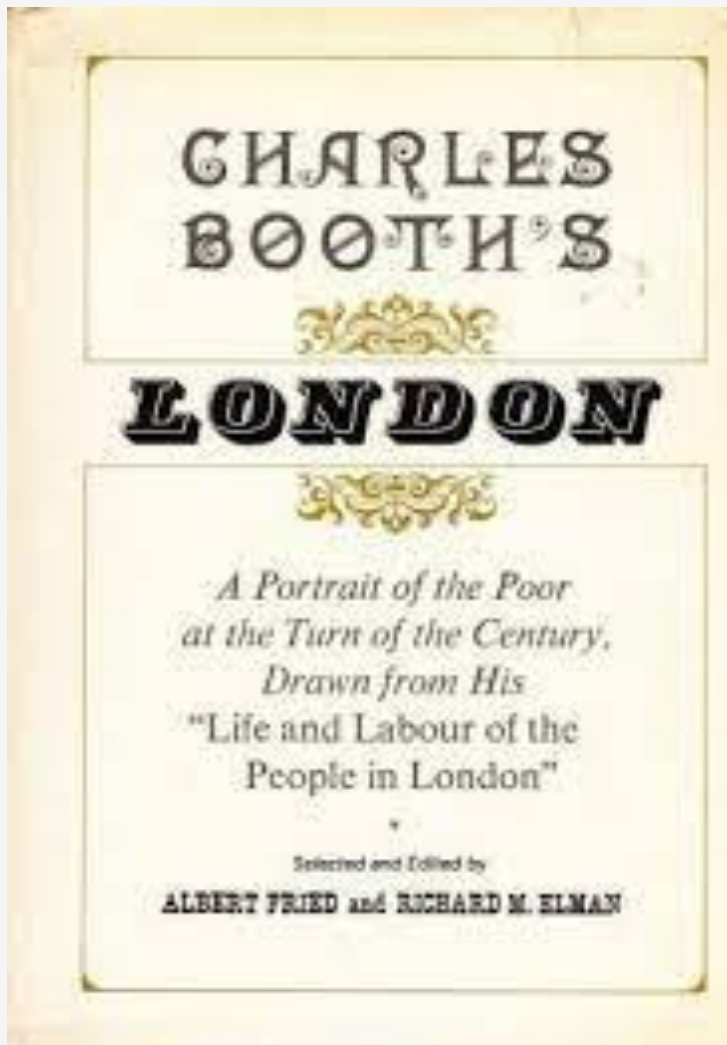
1868–1963

1899

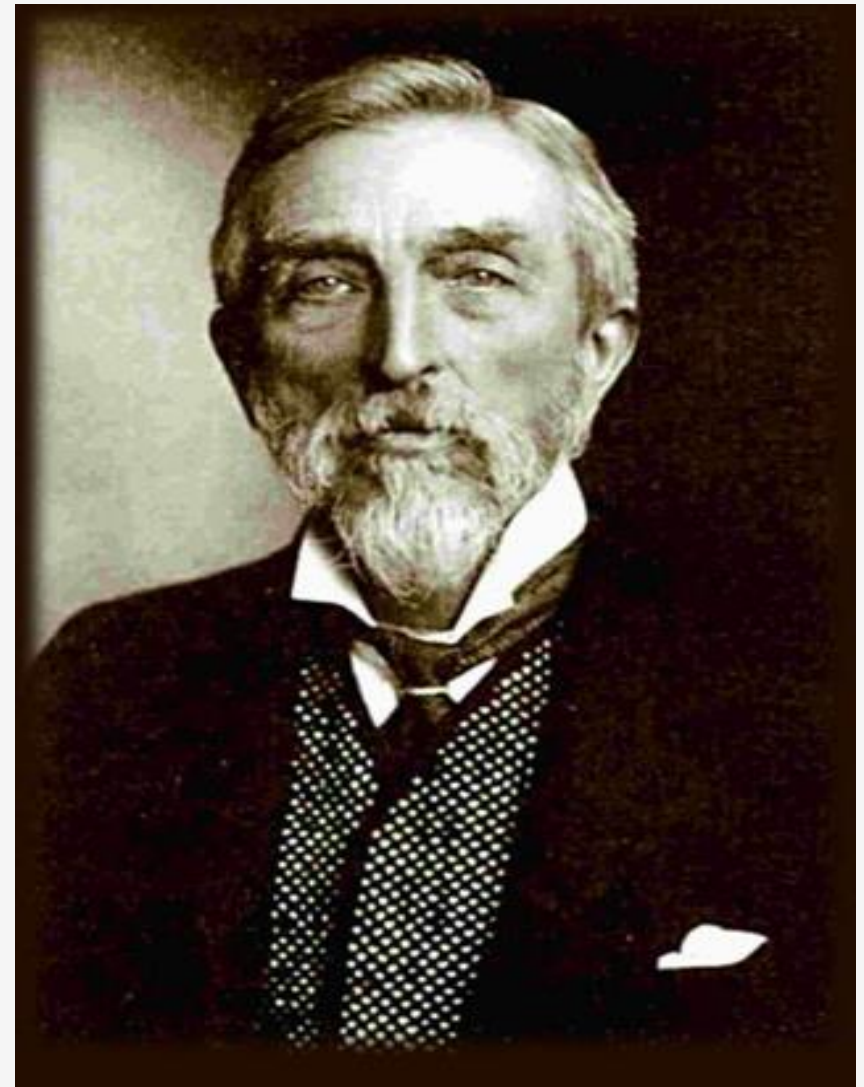


 Grade 4: *Vicious and Criminal Classes.*
 Grade 3: *The Poor.*
 Grade 2: *The Working People--Fair to Comfortable.*

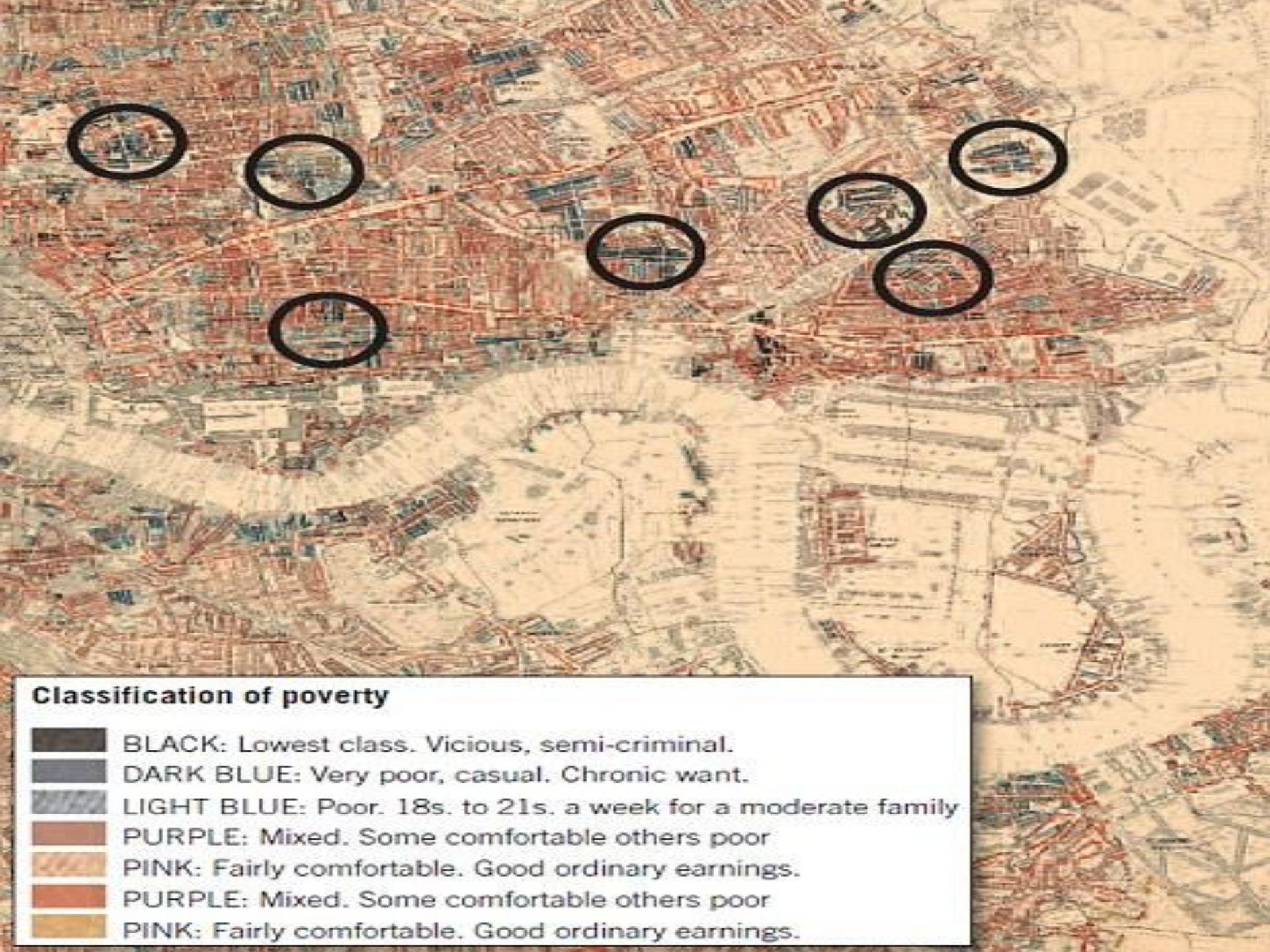
 Grade 1: *The "Middle Classes" and those above.*
 *Residences of Whites, Stores, Public Buildings, etc.*



*Life and Labor of the People of
London, 1889*

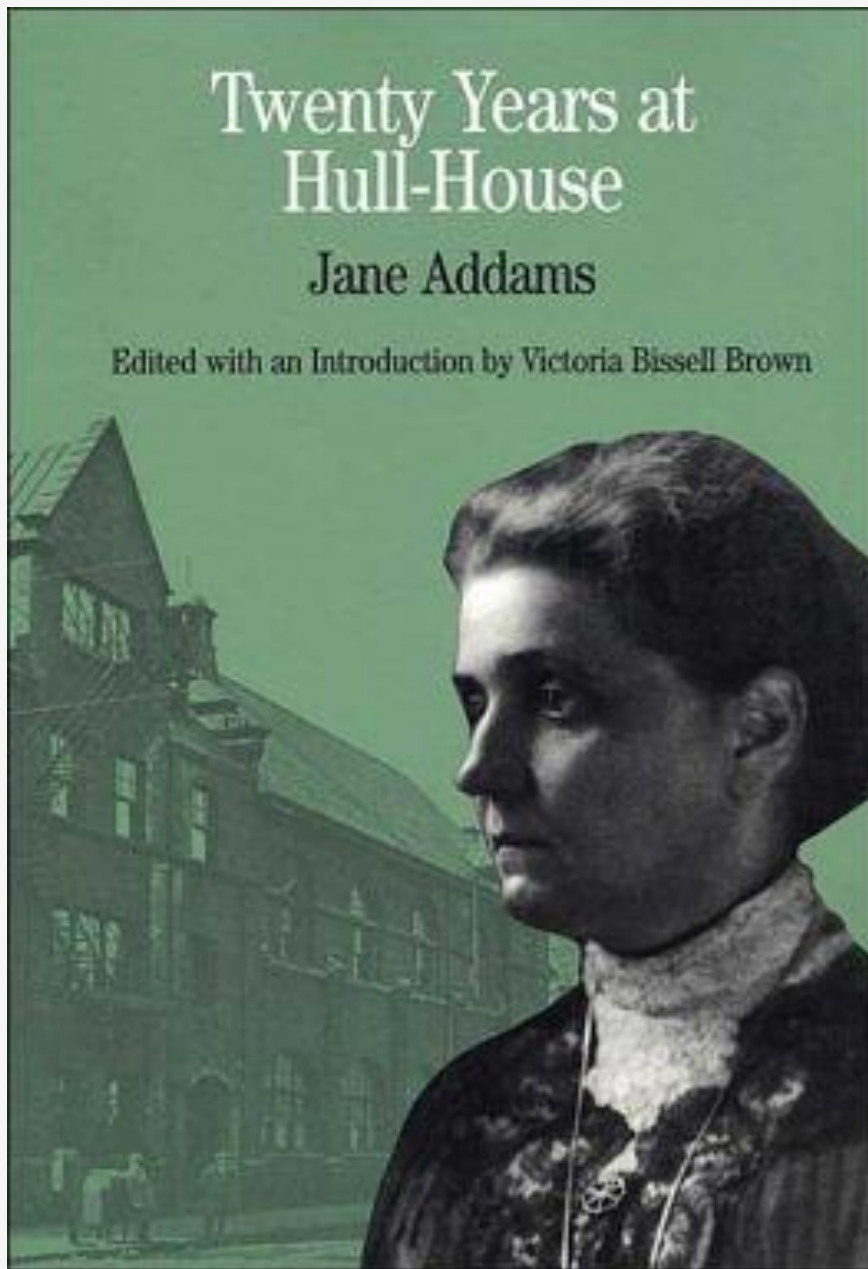


*Charles Booth
1840 – 1916*



Classification of poverty

- BLACK: Lowest class. Vicious, semi-criminal.
- DARK BLUE: Very poor, casual. Chronic want.
- LIGHT BLUE: Poor. 18s. to 21s. a week for a moderate family
- PURPLE: Mixed. Some comfortable others poor
- PINK: Fairly comfortable. Good ordinary earnings.
- PURPLE: Mixed. Some comfortable others poor
- PINK: Fairly comfortable. Good ordinary earnings.



Twenty Years at Hull-House
1860 –1935



Jane Addams
1860 –1935

(NORTH)



LOTS UNCOLORED ARE OCCUPIED BY FACTORIES, STORES ETC., NOT BY DWELLINGS

(NORTH)



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CHARITIES

AND THE COMMONS

THE PITTSBURGH SURVEY



A JOURNAL OF CONSTRUCTIVE PHILANTHROPY
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- 
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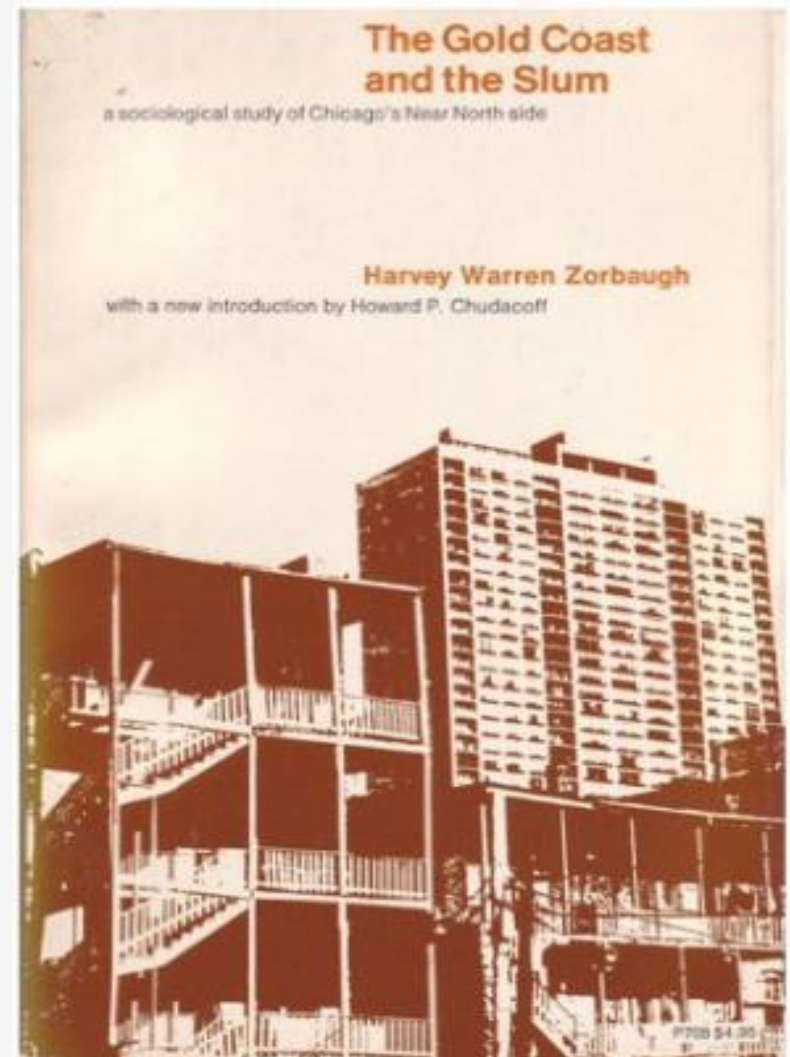
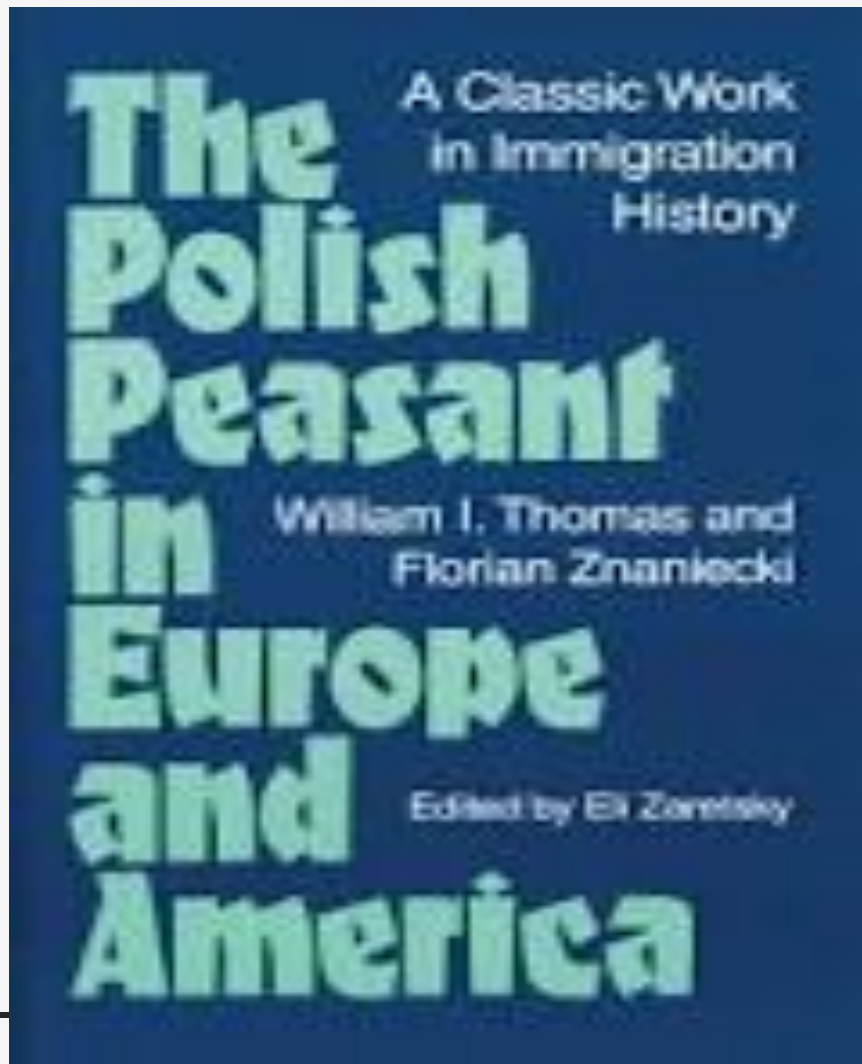


THE TAXI- DANCE HALL

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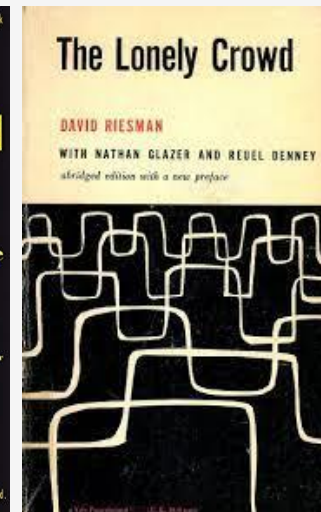
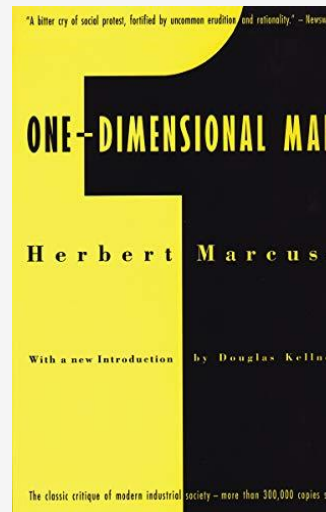
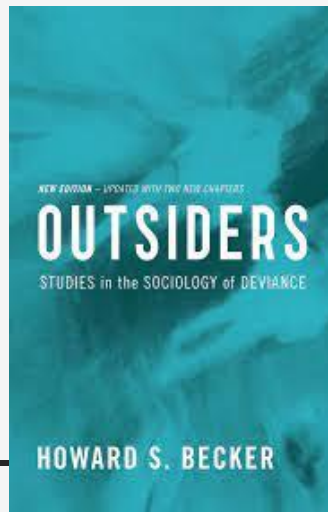
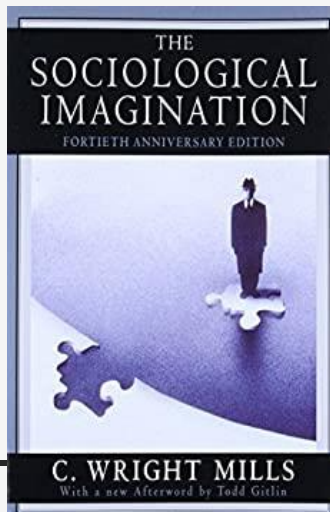
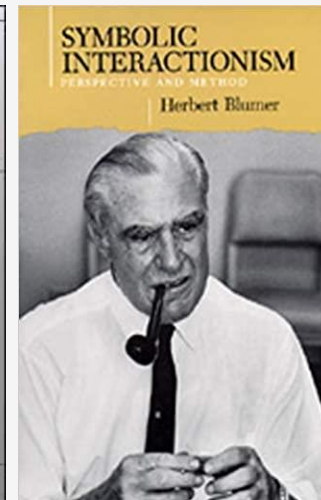
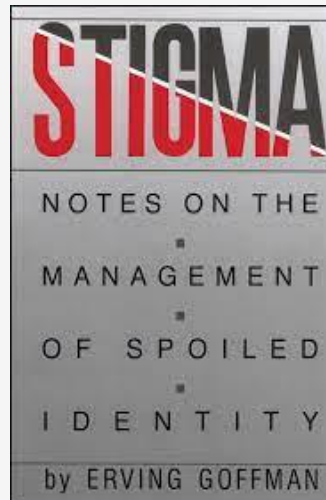
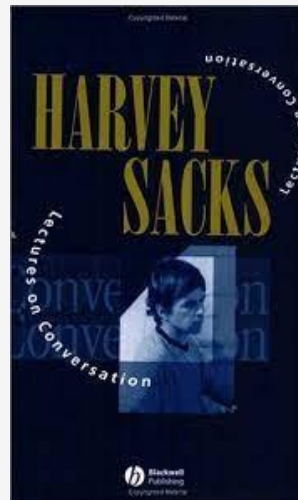
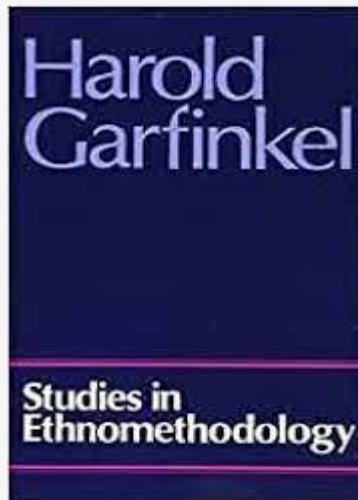
A Study of Social Isolation



PAUL C. P. SIU

Edited by JOHN KUO WEI TCHEN

Troubled Interactions



OPPORTUNITY

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MAY 4, 1940

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'COLOR TROUBLE'

BY HAROLD GARFINKEL

ACCORDING to the timetable, the bus traveling from Washington, D.C., to Durham, North Carolina, is scheduled to make the run in eight hours. 'Lv. Wash. 2:30: Arr. Dur. 10:36,' is the listing. An inconspicuous footnote, however, serves to make this pronouncement less categorical, for it points out, though in very fine print, that 'the company will not be liable for unavoidable delays.'

Now, it must be an undisputed point among bus company officials that the traffic manager in charge of routing buses between Washington and Durham is grossly underpaid when the difficulties with which he must deal are considered in comparison to those of the manager of the buses traveling, for instance, between New York City and Washington. The reason for this assumption is not hard to explain. Any delays occurring between New York and Washington are attributable to immediately discernible items, as for instance a flat tire. On the other route, however, the manager's job is infinitely more complex, for it is during this stretch that delays may occur which are attributable, according to one interpretation, to the denial of 'the rights and privileges of a free citizenry,' and according to another, 'color trouble.' It is here that culture differences may be brought to

¹ Copyright, 1940, by Opportunity, Inc.

Goals of this Ethnography

- Explore
 - Investigate
 - Illustrate
 - Evaluate
-



Culture: Theoretical Perspective

- History
 - Biography
 - Structural Issues
 - Race
 - Gender
 - Sexuality
 - Age
 - Ableism
 - Local Sense-Making
 - Class
 - Political Representation
 - Politics of Representation
-

Interaction Order

- Interaction orders are relatively autonomous orders of practice regulated by shared presuppositions and conventions (Goffman 1983: 5).

Local social
relationships

Learned behavior

Commonly recognized
practices

Shared expectations and
reciprocity

Temporally ordered

Practices are sanctioned
and rewarded in ways
that are contextually
and situationally
understood

Clashing Interaction Orders: Different Definitions of the Situation and Trust Conditions

- The coordinated “definition of the situation” (Thomas and Thomas 1928) and “presentation of self” (Goffman 1959).
 - Trust conditions—the pervasive assumption by members of a situation that fellow members share their expectations and practices for producing social facts and identities—are necessary for making sense in interaction.
 - When people are working with different definitions of the situation that embed tacit assumptions about who can legitimately do what, these assumptions prevent the establishment of a “working consensus” (Goffman 1959), eroding **trust conditions** (Garfinkel 1963) and generating suspicions about others’ motives.
-

Significance

- This research shows that policymakers are not asking the right questions and listening to what **community members have long known**.
 - Economic dynamics – especially disparities experienced by the poor – change over time (**e.g., welfare reform, public housing, availability of livable wages, public education, displacement, mass incarceration**).
 - Instead of treating residents like “cultural dopes” (Garfinkel, 1967) who need to be **regulated from the outside**, policymakers need to see them as skilled actors embedded in a complex setting whose practices are adaptive in *that* context (with its own internal interaction order).
-

 Search

The Homewood-Brushton Project

A Research Portrait of an American Neighborhood



[Home](#) [Crime and Safety](#) [Economic Development](#) [Education](#) [Environment/Land Use](#) [Health Disparities](#) [Housing](#)
[Labor and Employment](#) [Local Politics](#) [Media](#) [Poverty](#) [Restorative Justice](#) [School-to-Prison Pipeline](#)

Suggestions from Residents

- Development for Inner Ring Suburbs
 - Political Representation
 - Co-ops and Property Ownership
 - Community Benefits Agreements for “Those Who Gone and Those Who Are There”
-

CONCLUSION: THERE ARE BLACK PEOPLE IN THE FUTURE

- Using an Interaction Order framework, I argue that the food oasis in East Liberty is not only the result of gentrification, **but also a genuine response to outsiders' anticipated needs.**
 - However, its orientation toward the preferences of more affluent customers in surrounding communities contributes to further gentrification at the expense of the original neighborhood residents, whom it displaced.
 - **Gentrification creates spaces where residents' usual practices don't work, where they can't get their identities recognized (e.g. the supermarkets with armed guards who treat residents as if they're guilty until proven innocent), and which are privileged over the older spaces residents inhabit – one constellation of orders/spaces crowds out others, the neighborhood becomes less recognizable to those living there, and residents don't get to formulate their own interests - paternalistic policy makers and developers think they “know what's best” for everyone.**
-