

Food Deserts, Gentrification, and Public Health Nutrition:
A Case Study of the Shaw/U-Street Neighborhood of Washington D.C.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Fresh fruits, vegetables, and whole grains are all essential parts of a healthy diet, but what if they were inaccessible? In the United States, 23.5 million Americans live in an area without access to fresh foods, also known as food deserts (Food Research and Action Center 2011). The USDA defines a food desert as, “a part of the country void of fresh fruit, vegetables, and other healthful whole foods, usually found in an impoverished area...largely due to a lack of grocery stores, farmers’ markets, and healthy food providers” (The American Nutrition Association 2011). Food deserts have been associated with many different health problems including obesity, high-blood pressure, diabetes, and heart disease, and are overwhelmingly located in low-income, minority neighborhoods (Bader et al. 2010).

While it seems as though building a grocery store would be an obvious solution to eliminating a food desert, researchers (Sullivan 2007; Sullivan and Shaw 2011) have suggested that adding grocery stores to low-income areas may actually do more harm than good for the long-standing residents of these urban neighborhoods, especially if the grocery store is high-end. While the spatial access to fresh foods is a key element when studying food deserts, there are also economic and cultural factors that are essential in understanding food deserts in redeveloping neighborhoods.

In recent years, many American cities have undergone the process of gentrification, or redevelopment of low-income, urban neighborhoods to attract middle-class, white populations to these areas. Due to a high demand from the newcomers, grocery store chains have begun opening in places that were previously labeled as food deserts. Although it seems like the elimination of food deserts would be a positive outcome of gentrification, the revitalization of these poor neighborhoods has actually created “food mirages,” or areas “where groceries are close but still not affordable or culturally acceptable” (Newkirk 2014). In these gentrifying areas, the needs and wants of the long-standing residents have been ignored, and the area essentially becomes an invisible food desert. Although a grocery store might be desperately needed in an area, the opening of a high-end grocery store in a low-income urban neighborhood may make the long-term residents feel uncomfortable in shopping there or they may not be able to afford to shop there at all.

Statement of the Problem

In Washington, D.C., many of the city’s low-income neighborhoods are undergoing redevelopment efforts which have led to new amenities, apartment buildings, and businesses. In the rapidly gentrifying neighborhood of Shaw/U-Street in Washington D.C., the area has gained two new grocery stores within the last fifteen years: Whole Foods Market and Trader Joe’s. Both of these grocery

stores emphasize healthy lifestyles as well as promote products that are organic, local, and sustainable. While these sound like positive improvements to an area that did not previously have a grocery store, previous research would suggest that the development of these two grocers are doing more harm than good for the long-standing residents of Shaw/U-Street because they have created areas that are known as “food mirages.”

Purpose of the Study

Because previous studies have shown the importance of race and social class when examining the effects retail gentrification, my research will focus predominantly on the African American neighborhood of Shaw/U-Street and the impact that high-end grocers have had on the area. Because the Shaw/U-Street neighborhood has undergone extreme gentrification within the last twenty years, my research aims to understand how the long-term residents of the area feel about the overall gentrification, the grocery stores, and if these new businesses have impacted their lives. The main questions that my study aims to answer are:

- 1) How do the long-term residents of the Shaw/U-Street neighborhood view the new grocery stores in the area?
- 2) Do the long-term residents of the Shaw/U-Street neighborhood access and utilize the new grocery stores in the area?

3) Has the addition of new grocery stores to the Shaw/U-Street neighborhood benefitted the long-term residents in terms of purchasing healthier food items?

Based on these three research questions, I hypothesize that the long-standing residents of the Shaw/U-Street neighborhood have a negative view of the grocery stores, and therefore, they have not experienced a change in food purchasing habits since the area gained a grocery store because the neighborhood has become a food mirage. Although fresh food is spatially accessible, these new stores have made fresh food both culturally and economically inaccessible. For the purposes of this paper, I have defined culture as being a shared system of beliefs, values, habits, and knowledge among a specific group of people. Because the long-standing residents of these neighborhood may not share the same beliefs and lifestyles as the newcomers, the residents could feel culturally isolated from their neighborhood, including the new grocery stores.

Significance of the Study

While many studies have examined long-standing residents' opinions on gentrification and retail establishments, this research will add a much needed perspective concerning grocery stores—businesses that provide essentials for life. While my main focus is on how the gentrification process has improved the residents' access to healthy foods, my research will also add important

information about the culture of high-end grocery stores and their effects on low-income populations. This research is significant because it further highlights the positive and negative impacts of gentrification as well as the impacts of food deserts on health. This study will also contribute to the existing literature concerning gentrification, food access, and urban health.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

In order to conduct my literature review, I focused solely on articles that were written since 1995 to ensure that I was using the most recent data. In order to find my sources, I used George Washington University library's "search everything" feature as well as the database JSTOR. I initially started my search on JSTOR looking for articles concerning food deserts and health. After finding articles on how to define a food desert and how food deserts can affect the health of residents in these areas, I began searching for articles relating health and socioeconomic status, specifically concerning low-income neighborhoods. From these articles, I searched for phrases such as "grocery store low-income" and "grocery store gentrification" to build my sections on health, gentrification, and food access. I found that there was a small return on literature concerning on both retail gentrification as well as how gentrification may affect residents' health. This indicates that there needs to be much further research done in this area, I hope that this study will contribute to this lack of literature and expand upon this under-researched phenomenon.

Defining a Food Desert

Since the term "food desert" first appeared in a United Kingdom government document in the mid-1990s, policy makers, academics, and community organizers across the globe have increasingly used the term to

reference areas that lack access to fresh fruits and vegetables (Cummins and Macintyre 1999). In the United States, the USDA has defined a food desert as, “a part of the country void of fresh fruit, vegetables, and other healthful whole foods, usually found in an impoverished area...largely due to a lack of grocery stores, farmers’ markets, and healthy food providers” (The American Nutrition Association 2011). According to a 2009 USDA report, 23.5 million people in the United States live in low-income areas that are more than one mile from a supermarket or large grocery store (Food Research and Action Center 2011).

Numerous researchers have demonstrated the relationship between one’s food environment and health, and throughout the food desert literature, it is widely accepted that racial/ethnic minority neighborhoods are disproportionately affected by increased rates of morbidity, mortality, and adverse health outcomes associated with living in food deserts (Smoyer-Tomic et al. 2008; Ball et al. 2009; Bader et al. 2010; Chen 2010). Current research also suggests that low-income and predominantly African American neighborhoods have greater exposure to fast food restaurants than higher income neighborhoods (Smoyer-Tomic et al. 2008). Because residents who live in food deserts have poorer access to nutritious foods, they typically consume lower amounts of vegetables and fruits and higher amounts of sugar, salt, and fat than residents who live in non-food deserts (Ball et al. 2009).

While it seems as though building a grocery store would be an obvious solution to eliminating a food desert, researchers (Sullivan 2007; Sullivan and Shaw 2011) have suggested that adding grocery stores to low-income, urban areas may actually do more harm than good for the long-standing residents of these neighborhoods. The construction of a grocery store is typically accompanied by the construction of other new businesses and amenities, as well as an increase in white, wealthy residents moving into the neighborhood, creating a disputed space between the long-standing residents and the newcomers.

Gentrification and Urban Redevelopment

The term “gentrification” was originally coined in 1964 by British sociologist Ruth Glass to describe the redevelopment changes that she witnessed taking place in London’s inner city (Lees, Slater, and Wyly 2008). Gentrification can be defined as, “the transformation of a working-class or vacant area of the central city into middle-class residential and/or commercial use” (Lees et al. 2008). Within the last twenty years, many American cities have experienced an influx of upper-income people moving into previously low-income neighborhoods due to revitalization efforts which have had both positive and negative impacts on these areas (Hyra 2014).

The idea of neighborhood revitalization is often celebrated by cities because of the notion that redevelopment and growth will lead to improved

conditions for all. Many scholars acknowledge that the influx of affluent people to poorer areas will lead to increases in property values and broadening of municipal tax bases in cities, while also directly benefitting the poor people within a redeveloping community (Sullivan 2007; Hyra 2014). Economically, the new and differing demands from affluent newcomers in an area will likely improve the types of businesses and services offered in that community as well as attract greater funding for improved amenities (Hyra 2014). Other researchers (Lees et al. 2008) also claim that gentrification can make cities more open and inclusive by creating increased social interactions between differing races and classes which could potentially lead to employment opportunities for the low-income residents.

While gentrification may create several economic benefits for a city, many scholars (Hyra 2014; Sullivan and Shaw 2011, 2014) have questioned whether or not the cultural, social, and political implications of gentrification are actually beneficial for the long-standing residents. In some gentrifying neighborhoods, existing residents are often displaced after the arrival of newcomers because they can no longer afford the rising property costs or taxes. According to Hyra (2014), recent studies suggest that the social interactions between middle- and low-income residents do not occur as frequently as expected, and when they do happen, they do not lead to greater employment opportunities for the low-income residents. Hyra (2014) also suggests that while an influx of middle-income residents to an area can improve the political power of that neighborhood, the

differing priorities of the newcomers can create resentment among the long-standing residents of the area which leads to further alienation.

Retail Gentrification

While much of the gentrification literature focuses on the residential impacts of neighborhood change, far fewer studies have explored the impacts that new retail establishments may have on the long-standing residents. It is only recently that researchers and community groups are beginning to wonder how commercial and retail gentrification may affect social inequality (Deener 2007). Studying retail gentrification is important because it not only shows the significance of new goods and services in the area but also who benefits from these new goods and services.

Typically, low-income neighborhoods lack decent retail establishments that provide basic needs such as banks, drug stores, and grocery stores (Sullivan and Shaw 2011: 415). When a low-income area goes through the gentrification process, the long-standing residents are more likely to have a favorable view of the new retail establishments if these businesses provide desired goods and services and the residents feel comfortable shopping there (Sullivan and Shaw 2011). However, many times, the new businesses and restaurants developing in gentrifying areas often reflect the new, affluent residents' cultures and preferences rather than the long-standing residents'. For example, businesses such as high-end

clothing stores, fitness studios, and gourmet restaurants cater to the newcomers to the area, and oftentimes, the long-standing residents are either unable to afford these new goods and services or feel uncomfortable utilizing them. According to Sullivan and Shaw (2011: 414): “Long-time residents do not find many of the new products and services meeting their instrumental needs, they feel culturally uncomfortable shopping in them, and they are resentful that new businesses have displaced established ones.”

When studying retail gentrification, it is crucial to acknowledge the importance of race. In their 2011 study on the Alberta Street neighborhood in Portland, Oregon, Sullivan and Shaw found that African Americans expressed negative opinions about new retail and also used explicit racial language when describing how the businesses made them feel. According to Sullivan and Shaw (2011), African American residents were most likely to express feelings of resentment and exclusion regarding new retail establishments because they felt as though these businesses did not cater to their needs or incomes. It is clear from Sullivan and Shaw’s study that race and class heavily influence one’s perceptions about gentrification, and it is a crucial element to understanding how gentrification impacts long-standing residents of a community like Shaw/U-Street.

Food Access in a Gentrifying Neighborhood

While scholars often acknowledge that long-standing residents may have feelings of resentment towards retail gentrification in general, it is unclear how the residents would feel if the new business provided a much needed necessity to the community, such as access to healthy foods. It is often assumed that the addition of new grocery stores in areas that once did not have them would be beneficial to residents; however, recent literature surrounding food deserts and gentrification suggest that high-end supermarkets may actually create areas known as “food mirages” (Sullivan 2014).

A food mirage is defined as “what appears to be adequate neighborhood food access, but the food is not affordable or culturally acceptable” (Sullivan 2014). Food mirages are invisible when using conventional standards for identifying food deserts, but the effects of food mirages on food access for low-income households are just as detrimental (Breyer & Voss-Andreae 2013). In rapidly redeveloping neighborhoods, long-standing residents are faced with higher grocery prices as well as stores that they do not feel comfortable shopping in.

When examining food options and access in a gentrifying neighborhood, the long-standing residents of these areas are disproportionately low-income minorities, and these residents may not see the high-end grocery store as a viable option for purchasing food. Similarly to other high-end retail establishments,

when a high-end grocer enters an area that had previously been considered a food desert, the long-standing residents typically feel negatively towards the establishment because of the association with the newcomers' culture and lifestyle. In newly gentrifying areas, newcomers' preferences for high-end and organic grocers have aided in the "grocery-stores-as-displacers" model or the "Whole Foods Effect," which is the idea that the development of high-end grocery stores is tied to increases in gentrification and residential displacement (Newkirk 2014).

Gentrification in the Shaw/U-Street Neighborhood

The Shaw/U-Street neighborhood in Washington, D.C. is an area of the city that has been a predominantly African American community since the early 1900s (Shin 2013; Hyra 2014). In the beginning of the 20th century, the Shaw/U-Street neighborhood was considered to be the 'Harlem of D.C.'; it was "the center of black business, entertainment, education, and religion" (Hyra 2014). However, beginning in the 1960s, the Shaw/U-Street neighborhood experienced a huge population decline after many parts of the community were destroyed by the violence following Martin Luther King Jr.'s assassination. During this time, much of the black middle class moved out of the city and into the suburbs, and by the end of the decade, the community had some of the highest concentrations of poverty, subsidized housing, and crime rates in Washington, D.C. (Hyra 2014).

Beginning in the 1990s, the Shaw/U-Street neighborhood began to experience a revitalization as more diverse and affluent newcomers moved to the area. Over this time period, the demographic makeup of the neighborhood shifted from predominantly black to majority white (Hyra 2014). As the neighborhood experienced changes in both residential and retail establishments throughout the 1990s, the pace of redevelopment accelerated significantly in 2000 after a successful community lobbying effort to construct a Whole Foods Market in the neighborhood (Shin 2013). The Whole Foods Market was the first large-scale grocery retailer in the Shaw/U-Street neighborhood, and in the ten years following the opening of the Whole Foods (2000-2010), the Shaw/U-Street neighborhood experienced a 17 percent population increase (Hyra 2014).

Before the opening of the Whole Foods Market in 2000, the Shaw/U-Street neighborhood could have been considered a food desert. For several years, residents of this area either had to travel outside of their neighborhood to access a decent supermarket or consume food from local convenience stores and fast food restaurants. In the five year span around the construction of Whole Foods in Shaw/U-Street, “property values in some blocks quadrupled, the black population in the Ward decreased by 20 percent, and almost every building was replaced” (Newkirk 2014). Although the development of a grocery store should have benefitted the residents of the Shaw/U-Street neighborhood, the gentrification process associated with the Whole Foods has led to residential, cultural, and

political displacement of the residents. Long-standing residents are culturally displaced when certain elements of their lifestyle (beliefs, values, food, art, music, religion etc.) are no longer accepted in the neighborhood that they live in, and they are politically displaced when they no longer have a voice or representation within their neighborhood. The residents of the Shaw/U-Street neighborhood who ultimately benefitted from the construction of this new grocery store are the new, affluent residents who can afford to shop there, not the low-income residents who need it the most.

Chapter 3: Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework that I will be using for my research is Critical Race Theory (CRT). Critical race theory focuses mainly on race and racism within American society and how these factors are so deeply embedded in nearly every social and non-social interaction (Creswell 2013). The main goals of CRT are to: 1) present stories of discrimination from the perspective of people of color; 2) argue for the eradication of racial subjugation while simultaneously recognizing race as a social construct; and 3) address other areas of difference such as gender, class, and inequities experienced by individuals (Parker & Lynn 2002). I have chosen to apply Critical Race Theory to my study because the Shaw/U-Street neighborhood has had one of the largest demographic shifts from majority black to majority white in the entire country over the last twenty years (Hyra 2014). Because the neighborhood has undergone such a dramatic racial shift, Critical Race Theory will help to provide a better understanding of the long-standing residents' views of gentrification and how race may or may not play a role in a gentrifying neighborhood.

In order to better understand the impact of gentrification on the residents of the Shaw/U-Street neighborhood, I will be applying Critical Race Theory to the concept that “place matters:” “Whether we are highly skilled professionals or minimum-wage workers, it matters where we live. Place affects our access to jobs and public services (especially education), our access to shopping and culture, our

level of personal security, the availability of medical services, and even the air we breathe” (Dreier, Mollenkopf, and Swanstrom 2004). Throughout the food desert and gentrification literature, it is quite evident that both race and place are two of the most important factors when understanding access to resources, social and cultural norms, and health status.

The importance of environment and location when studying one’s ability to purchase affordable, healthy, and nutritious foods is essential to understanding food deserts and their impacts on health. Within a food desert community, access to healthy foods is limited and, oftentimes has some of the highest rates of diet-related illnesses such as obesity, diabetes, and heart disease (Bader et al. 2010). Understanding one’s spatial location to a grocery store or public transportation is essential in understanding someone’s health status and well-being.

When examining the effects of gentrification, place matters. Because much of the gentrification happening in the United States is taking place in urban environments, low-income and minority populations are being disproportionately affected by the revitalization processes. Whether they are being residentially displaced or socially and culturally alienated, these neighborhoods are sites of massive inequality. As urban areas become increasingly gentrified, the city becomes a divided and contested place. When new residents are valued over the long-standing citizens of a neighborhood, the citizens lose their sense of importance. Place is important when understanding how people live and perceive

the world around them: “The neighborhood in which a person lives is a key determinant of the person’s physical and social environment” (Chen 2010: 434).

Based on previous research concerning long-standing residents’ attitudes towards retail gentrification as well as the displacement aspects associated with redevelopment, I hypothesize that the long-standing residents of the Shaw/U-Street neighborhood have a negative view of the grocery stores, and therefore, they have not experienced a change in food purchasing habits since the area gained a grocery store because the neighborhood has become a food mirage. Although fresh food is spatially accessible, these new stores have made fresh food both culturally and economically inaccessible, and therefore, the long-standing residents do not shop at these grocery stores. Because the neighborhood no longer caters to the long-standing residents’ needs or wants, the area has alienated these individuals and the residents may feel negatively towards the new retail establishments. The long-standing residents of the Shaw/U-Street neighborhood have been culturally, politically, and residentially displaced by the white newcomers, and therefore, exploring these research questions within the CRT framework is extremely important.

Critical Race Theory is appropriate for framing my research question because the issues of race and power are at the center of this study. The Shaw/U-Street neighborhood used to be known as the “Harlem of DC” and was populated almost entirely by people of color; however, since the 1990s the neighborhood

demographic has become nearly all white. In order to better understand the significance of both race and access to resources within a gentrifying neighborhood, the politics of place will also be central to the research question and hypothesis.

Chapter 4: Research Methodology

Because this study aims to answer “how” and “why” questions, I will be utilizing a case study research design. All case studies aim to understand a small number of cases within a real world context, and the broader understanding of these cases together will hopefully result in new meaning of a specific phenomenon (Bromley 1986). In the case of Shaw/U-Street, I aim to understand 1) how the small group of long-standing residents in the neighborhood feel about the new grocery stores that have entered their neighborhood, 2) why (or why not) the long-standing residents utilize these new grocery stores, and 3) whether or not the new grocery stores have benefitted the residents in terms of purchasing healthier foods. By understanding each of these three questions through the perspective of the long-standing residents, I hope to show how grocery retail gentrification in a low-income neighborhood might affect the overall grocery purchasing habits of long-standing residents in a gentrifying area.

Research Design

I. Participants/Sampling

Participants for this study were recruited through a snowball sampling process, and each participant completed a 10 question semi-structured interview. Because the interviews were semi-structured, there were not any time limits or restrictions placed on the interviews. During the interview process, I recorded the

interviews by audio only on my cell phone. Each interview lasted, on average, 40 minutes, and each interview was conducted in the home of the participant in the Shaw/U-Street neighborhood.

The participants of this study are all long-standing residents of the Shaw/U-Street neighborhood of Washington, D.C. I have defined “long-term residents” as residents who have lived in the Shaw/U-Street neighborhood for at least twenty years. Because the gentrification process in Shaw/U-Street began in the 1990s and the Whole Foods grocery store was constructed in 2000, I interviewed the residents who have lived in the area for at least fifteen years because they have experienced the complete revitalization of their neighborhood. I initially anticipated interviewing at least 10 residents, but overall, I was able to interview 8 long-standing residents of the Shaw/U-Street neighborhood. The participants ranged in age from 33 years old to 90 years old, and of the 8 participants interviewed, five participants could have been considered middle aged (between 33 and 55 years old) and three participants were past retirement age (65 or older). Six of the participants were female and two participants were male, and all but one of the residents owned their homes rather than rented. All long-standing residents that were interviewed for this study identified themselves as African American.

II. Method of Data Collection & Interviews

In order to collect data, I utilized semi-structured interviews and included questions about the residents' overall perceptions about neighborhood change and redevelopment, their opinions about the Whole Foods Market and Trader Joe's grocery stores, and their opinions about their nutritional health/diet. I have also asked the residents about their food purchasing patterns before and after the addition of the grocery stores, how often they shop at the grocery stores, and if they have had any major changes in their diet since the grocery stores have opened. In addition to these questions, I have also asked the residents questions about their opinions on changes in the culture of the neighborhood. In addition to these semi-structured questions, each participant filled out a basic demographic form that includes age, race, gender, housing type (rent or own), and length of time resided in the neighborhood.

Throughout the interview process, I used follow-up questions to gather more data from the residents that gave me a clearer understanding of their point of view. Several different follow-up questions such as, "can you provide an example?" and "how has this impacted you?" provided me with several examples and experiences that I was able to use to further understand the residents' views of the gentrification process and how the new grocery stores are impacting their food purchasing habits.

III. Data Analysis Strategy

In order to interpret and analyze the data collected from the interviews, I have utilized a three-stage content analysis of each interview. First, I analyzed the residents' overall views on gentrification and neighborhood revitalization by coding their responses as either positive (opinions were all positive or only one problem was noted), negative (opinions were all negative or only one improvement was noted), or unsure (mix of positive and negative opinions). Then, I coded for the reasoning for the positive and negative opinions such as housing costs, racial differences, new businesses and amenities, displacement, etc.

Second, I analyzed the residents' overall views on the grocery stores in their neighborhood by coding their responses in the same way as their opinions on gentrification: positive (opinions were all positive or only one problem was noted), negative (opinions were all negative or only one improvement was noted), or unsure (mix of positive and negative opinions). I also used similar coding in understanding the reasoning behind the positive or negative views such as cost, racial/cultural differences, increased selection of products, improved amenities, etc.

Lastly, I analyzed the residents' reasons for utilizing these two new grocery stores in the same way as the previous two sections: positive (opinions were all positive or only one problem was noted), negative (opinions were all negative or only one improvement was noted), or unsure (mix of positive and

negative opinions). I also used similar coding in understanding the reasoning behind why they do or do not shop at these grocery stores; reasons that may be noted are cost, racial/cultural differences, increased selection of products, improved amenities, etc.

After coding the interviews, I organized the responses of each participant into the three categories that seemed to be the most important across all of the interviews: housing, race, and affordability. After categorizing the interviews, I analyzed the residents' responses as being either positive or negative in order to gather the general or overarching opinions of the residents to compare to previous studies that have examined gentrification and food accessibility in a gentrifying area. By breaking down the content analysis into the three separate categories of housing, race, and affordability, I was able to get a clearer indication of the overall opinions concerning gentrification and the new grocery stores and understand the reasoning behind each opinion.

IV. Trustworthiness

Although a snowball sample may have not produce the most representative sample of the Shaw/U-Street neighborhood's long-standing residents, it was an effective method in finding participants who were interested in voicing their opinions about gentrification and the effects that it has had on their lives. Even though a snowball sample was used, the sample included a wide

variety of ages, income levels, and length of times lived in the neighborhood to construct a representative case study. While these may be concerns, residents gave several different examples of personal experiences, which ensured that there was enough depth and variety in the information collected to conduct a thorough analysis.

Another limitation of this study was time. Due to the scope of this research project, data was collected from fewer participants than originally anticipated, and although this study is limited by the number of participants, there was plenty of saturation across interviews - many of the respondents had very similar reactions to the same questions. Because of this, the limited number of participants was not an issue in gathering enough information to analyze.

The trustworthiness of this research project is also limited by my identity as a young, white woman. It seemed to be difficult to gain the trust and acceptance of the long-term residents of the Shaw/U-Street area, many of whom are low-income and African American. Also, because I identify as a gentrifier, some of the residents did not feel comfortable expressing their true opinions about gentrification, race, and health to me, which lead to limited or insufficient responses. I feel as though my identity may have interfered slightly with the validity of this study because some of the participants didn't seem comfortable with sharing their true opinions with me; however, I addressed this issue by

having the participants give specific examples to supplement their answers. By doing this, I was able to be sure that the responses I was given were more valid.

V. Ethics and Human Subject Research

In order to protect the identities of the participants, I discarded all names, personal information, or identifying information that may link the interview to the resident after analyzing the data. Each participant was also presented with an informed consent document, confirming that they had voluntarily agreed to take part in the study and had granted permission for me to use their comments and opinions in this research project.

Chapter 5: Results

After conducting the interviews and creating the transcripts, I read through each interview thoroughly and highlighted the major themes and concepts that were most frequently discussed by each respondent. The three major categories that I chose to focus on to best answer my research question were: overall neighborhood change, grocery store gentrification and changes, and grocery purchasing habits. The categories that I focused on are all interrelated in understanding how the long-standing residents feel about and understand the changes being made in their neighborhood as well as how these changes may affect their utilization of the new grocery stores in the area.

Within these three categories, I found that there were three issues mentioned the most frequently throughout the interviews: housing/buildings, affordability/money, and the race of people/the new neighbors. Because the changes being made in the Shaw/U-Street neighborhood are focused mainly on housing redevelopments, I found the mention of housing and building new homes to be very important. Along with the construction of these new homes comes new neighbors as well as new businesses and amenities (such as Whole Foods and Trader Joe's), so the frequent mentioning of who the new people entering the neighborhood are as well as the affordability/pricing of groceries was also important to highlight throughout the interviews.

After highlighting these three concepts in each interview, I coded for whether or not the concept was mentioned in a positive or negative statement in order to gain a broader understanding of how the long-standing residents feel about the new grocery stores, how they are utilizing these stores, and whether or not these grocery stores have made an impact on their purchasing habits.

Gentrification and Overall Neighborhood Change: Affordability & Money

Overall, the respondents had very mixed responses to the overall neighborhood changes ranging from very positive to very negative. When explaining the negative effects of neighborhood changes, residents described issues of residential displacement as well as a lack of affordability. In describing the positive effects of neighborhood changes, residents referenced improved amenities as well as improved safety. One long-term resident explained:

I have mixed feelings about it because on one hand, I'm glad to see the city revive all of the abandoned buildings and things have changed a lot. The drugs are less, the violence is less compared to what I saw when I was here in the '90s, but on the other side of the coin, all of my friends had to move away because they could not afford to stay in the city once the city got revitalized. We were here when it was a dump, and when it became "livable" so to speak, we were not able to stay here and live. Luckily for

me, I bought my house back in 2001, and if I didn't buy it then, I wouldn't be here. There's no way I would be here.

In addition to discussing the residential displacement occurring in the neighborhood, respondents also discussed race in nearly every interview. When discussing neighborhood change and residential displacement, one long-term resident stated:

A lot of things have changed, and the change is coming because of all these houses here used to be owned by Blacks. White people came in, and I always said, "It takes one white man to come in to change everything." When white people came in, the grass got greener, the streets got cleaner, the sun is brighter. I think in this neighborhood now, there's less than 10 black families because you know everything is...that's just the way it is. That's the way it is now.

Another respondent discussed the importance of race in connection to the changes in the neighborhood:

And I've seen the changes, which now, I think some of the changes are good. But now listen to this, and this is true, not knocking white people, but before white people came to this neighborhood even the liquor stores had closed signs. They got dog parks now, back then they didn't even

have parks for inner-city kids to play in! Then the businesses is flourishing here, but that's just the way things go. Just the way life is.

One resident commented on how the neighborhood was before and after their new neighbors arrived:

Drugs, trash, this was the dumping ground. There was nothing but garbage, it was horrible. Once a year, we would have a neighborhood clean-up, and then we would get bags and brooms and shovels and clean up that way. We would have bags and bags of trash, but then the trash people would never come to pick it up. God knows when they would come and get it. Same with the police, if you called the police, they never came. Now, there's a white guy with his buddies that pick up the trash. He's a nice guy. And now I see the trash people come pick up the trash. So, I've seen a lot of changes.

This same resident went on to say:

But you know what really bothers me? All of the white people, when they see me they don't speak. They don't know what I had to do for them to come here. And I resent that. That's one thing that I do, I resent that. Because I don't know who they think lived here before they came here. It was us! And now, we don't count. Sometimes I feel like I don't really

belong here. The prices of things, everything, it's just outrageous. Why is it so expensive? What is the reason? When we moved here the houses were like nothing. Now they want to price us out so we can't come? Well that's too bad. You're gonna have to live here with me.

Another resident who was raised in the neighborhood stated:

So, probably everyone has told you, it was definitely a different place and definitely a different demographic - mostly African Americans. Crime was very very high, drug dealing, killings, so much violence. Just not a very safe place to be. My dad went to Howard and knows a lot about the neighborhood as well, and he says it was just...you wouldn't want to live here. It was completely different. It was not as clean, it was filthy. This place, the building that we're standing in, drug dealers used to live here...it was an abandoned house.

One resident who had lived in the neighborhood for over 40 years commented on the new neighbors and stated:

White people move here, they are privileged, and they don't speak. They don't speak. I don't know why they don't think they can speak to me. They act like they're scared. Who do they think they are? I feel like I moved here when nobody wanted to come here, and I worked so hard

cleaning it up and sweeping it up, and now they trash it. This was a forgotten neighborhood, but now I see police patrolling here all the time. Police never came here before. I don't know. Sometimes I feel like I want to move because I resent it, I just want to get away like you know, here you go, you take it. I've been looking for somewhere close to a metro, but I just can't find anything close to a metro because it's so convenient. I found one place, but then I got cold feet. And now I've just stopped looking. But I want to move. You probably think I'm terrible, but I want to move around people who are my color. Who will speak to me rather than the people who think they're better than me.

While responses to the new, white residents in the neighborhood seemed to have both positive and negative effects for all of the long-term residents interviewed, it was very obvious that race was a very significant factor on everyone's minds.

Throughout the interview process, the respondents frequently mentioned their homes and other homes in the neighborhood. One resident said that her home was the only one left on her block that had not been purchased yet: "I think my little house, in fact, I know my little house is the only one left. And you can see I'm stuck up in here between the condos..." The respondent made it very clear that she was not going to be selling her house no matter how much money

they offered her for it. Other residents were also very adamant about not selling their homes and staying in the neighborhood for as long as possible. One resident stated:

I'm angry...I get offers for my house all the time. I got an offer for my house flat out a million dollars and I said no. I'm gonna leave on my own terms. And if I have to leave right now, like "oh my god I have to sell my house!" I would not sell it to anyone who wants to tear it down.

There were very mixed feelings about the changes happening in the neighborhood in nearly every interview. Respondents described that on one hand, many of the former residents of the Shaw/U-Street neighborhood were forced to move, but on the other hand, the residents who owned their homes were able to stay and benefit from the new amenities and businesses in the neighborhood.

Retail Gentrification and Grocery Stores

Throughout the interviews, some of the long-standing residents of the Shaw/U-Street neighborhood of Washington, D.C. expressed feelings of resentment towards the changes happening in the neighborhood, but none of them expressed resentment towards the grocery stores specifically. While some residents said things like, "they didn't put that here for us" or "this must be for the new white neighbors," the residents seemed to view the new grocery stores in the

neighborhood as an overall good change because the quality of foods at other surrounding grocery stores seemed to improve as well. One woman stated:

The Giant down here. It was really crappy. It was pretty bad because it was food for us. I used to say, "I think they take the food from the stores in Georgetown and Bethesda and Fairfax that didn't sell and bring it here." Because we don't have cars, we can't go over there, so we have to eat the food here. My son used to go all the way to Georgetown to buy his meat because it was worth it. It was fresh. This Giant was crappy. There was a Safeway up there too! Oh, that was bad. I bought some chicken there one time and had to turn around and take it back. I've had to take my food back to Giant, too. But not anymore. And you know why? Because a lot of white people, they won't buy crap.

Another woman who had lived in the neighborhood for over 69 years stated:

Not many people were resistant [to the new grocery stores], they just wasn't sure what it was and what it would bring. "This must be for the new white neighbors, they're taking over the neighborhood." But I've been here all my life. I've seen the prostitution, the drugs, so I know it needed some change, and it was never going to change by staying an all-black neighborhood.

Throughout many of the interviews, I found that the grocery stores were being discussed in a racial way. One resident stated when talking about Whole Foods: “And it’s crowded with the people who just moved here. You won’t see too many of us [Black people] in there.” Another resident said: “I’ll be honest with you, it’s for this new upscale area. That’s who it’s for. Ain’t no joke about it, that’s who it’s for.” It seemed as though many residents recognized that these grocery stores were entering the neighborhood at the same time as new residents were moving in, but some didn’t seem to mind because they were benefitting from these new grocery stores as well. One resident stated:

The new stores I like. Now we have fresher products, better products. But unfortunately they moved in when all of the rich, white folks moved in, but they’re a business to make a profit. And they knew they weren’t going to make a profit if they came here before that, and you know what, that’s fine. I’m cool with that because I’m tired of getting stinky meat from Safeway that I have to keep returning and to go so far to get my groceries.

Another resident referenced race when discussing the new grocery store in the neighborhood, stating:

White people won’t buy crap, so these stores had to step up their game. And nothing is cheap. It’s not cheap. I’ve never gone to Trader Joe’s. Whole Foods...I just walk in and look. It makes no sense.

One of the residents who had been raised in the neighborhood stated:

I'd say those grocery stores are a necessary evil. You know, it's really great to have these things because it's like, "Oh! I can walk to the store!" but at the same time, it's attracting so many other people to this neighborhood. I still shop at the Giant, but I also go to Whole Foods and Trader Joe's. I don't do all of my shopping there, but I go there sometimes. The culture of those stores has definitely impacted the neighborhood. The whole vibe of this area is changing, going from predominantly black place to a white place. And not even necessarily "white," but people who are just not from DC. DC culture is changing.

Many of the respondents attributed the access to higher quality food in surrounding grocery stores to the white residents moving into the area, and I found this to be interesting because of the many negative statements previously made about the new residents when discussing overall neighborhood changes.

In terms of the new grocery stores that had recently entered the Shaw/U-Street neighborhood, the respondents had a mix of both positive and negative things to say about the new grocers. On one hand, the new stores brought more options to the neighborhood, but on the other hand, many of the residents did not shop at these stores due to issues of affordability. When discussing Whole Foods,

one resident said: “It’s so expensive, but I love the place. I love everything there. It’s beautiful. They have healthy things, but I can’t afford it.”

Grocery Purchasing and Grocery Store Utilization

In terms of food purchasing and accessibility of the stores, many of the residents did not think their food purchasing habits had changed as a result of the new grocery stores. Affordability and cost were the main concerns in purchasing food for all of the residents that I spoke to, and all participants thought that fresh fruits and vegetables were generally expensive at all grocery stores. One woman stated, “I think fresh fruits and vegetables are always expensive no matter where you go. I don’t think there’s a big difference from before.”

A majority (75%) of the residents stated that they did not shop at the new Whole Foods or Trader Joe’s in the neighborhood, and many of them shopped either at Giant or at a grocery store outside of the neighborhood. One long-term resident said, “No. I don’t go to Whole Foods. Why am I gonna spend all of my money there? I do most of my shopping at Costco and Wal-Mart.” A few other residents mentioned shopping at Wal-Mart as well, referencing the fact that it was much less expensive than the other grocery stores in the area.

Of all of the long-term residents I interviewed, only two residents thought that the new grocery stores changed their grocery purchasing habits, and one woman stated: “Yes! I buy healthier things, and now I can buy more quality

foods. It has changed my diet, not in a major way, but I'm more conscious when I go to the grocery store now because I have more choices." When talking about Whole Foods, another woman said, "I shop there a lot there because of their fresh produce. It's fresh, presented well. I think more about what I'm buying now."

Summary

Overall, I found that the long-standing residents of the Shaw/U-Street neighborhood had very mixed emotions about the changes happening in their community. On one hand, many of the residents were angry and upset about the new developments, and on the other hand, a few of the other residents seemed optimistic about the new houses and businesses entering the neighborhood. However, whether the residents felt positively or negatively about the changes, there was one issue across all opinions that seemed to be on everyone's minds: race.

Although none of the questions asked in the interviews had to do with race, all of the residents that were interviewed for this project mentioned race at least once in their responses. Whether the residents felt positively or negatively, the issue of race seemed to be a very large part of everyone's understandings of why the changes in the neighborhood were occurring. From new dog parks to new high-end grocery stores, the long-standing residents attributed all of the changes happening in their community to their new, white neighbors.

Chapter 6: Discussion

The data from this study can only be understood in terms of what the long-standing residents have considered to be relevant in terms of the changes they have experienced in their neighborhood, and throughout every interview, I found that race was the most discussed topic in terms of the new grocery stores as well as overall neighborhood changes in the Shaw/U-Street neighborhood. Secondly, the long-standing residents referenced affordability of the grocery stores as well as the increasing prices of other goods and services in the neighborhood as the second most important issue facing their food purchasing habits.

While I was hoping to understand whether or not the new grocery stores had improved the grocery shopping patterns and therefore the eating habits of the long-standing residents, I instead discovered how the residents view the new grocery stores in the neighborhood in the context of greater neighborhood change as well as the implications that these changes might have for them in terms of further potential changes in the future.

The Importance of Race

Based on my findings, the issue of race seemed to be at the center of all changes happening within the Shaw/U-Street neighborhood. Although none of my research questions addressed the issue of race explicitly, every respondent that I interviewed mentioned race at least once when discussing the changes happening

in the neighborhood. Similarly to Shaw and Sullivan's 2011 research on the Alberta Street neighborhood of Portland, I found that the long-standing residents of the neighborhood used explicit racial language when discussing the new grocery stores in the neighborhood. In Sullivan and Shaw's study (2011), African American residents were most likely to express feelings of resentment and exclusion regarding new retail establishments because they felt as though these businesses did not cater to their needs or incomes, and my research showed very similar results.

Because of the huge demographic shift in the Shaw/U-Street neighborhood from black to white in recent years, I was not surprised at how often race was discussed by the long-standing residents. Several of the residents referenced how awful the grocery stores in the area were before gentrification started, and many of the respondents attributed the positive changes in the neighborhood's surrounding grocery stores to the new residents moving in. Throughout many of the interviews, the residents mentioned that since the redevelopment in the neighborhood started, many of the old, worn out stores have been forced to upgrade their amenities in order to be competitive with the newer, bigger stores.

Although a majority of the residents admitted to never shopping at these new grocery stores, the long-standing residents seemed to view the development of the new grocery stores as positive changes for themselves and the

neighborhood overall. I found this to be extremely interesting because previous literature has suggested that neighborhood changes are unanimously negatively received by long-standing residents; however, the residents of Shaw/U-Street seemed to acknowledge that without the rapid influx of their new affluent, white neighbors flocking to the area, they would still have to travel far outside of their neighborhood to purchase fresh meats and produce.

The Affordability of Grocery Stores

Food desert literature (Cummins and Macintyre 1999; Food Research and Action Center 2011; Smoyer-Tomic et al. 2008; Ball et al. 2009; Bader et al. 2010; Chen 2010) suggests that spatial access to fresh foods is a key element when studying food deserts; however, there are also several economic and cultural factors that are essential in understanding food deserts in redeveloping neighborhoods as well. Based on my findings, the reasons behind why the long-standing residents of Shaw/U-Street do or do not access the new grocery stores are focused mainly on affordability rather than just the physical location of the grocery stores.

Previous research (Sullivan 2007; Sullivan and Shaw 2011) has suggested that adding grocery stores to low-income areas may actually do more harm than good for the long-standing residents of these urban neighborhoods, especially if the grocery stores are high-end, because the stores reflect the new, affluent

residents' cultures and preferences rather than the long-standing residents'. Because of this, the long-standing residents are oftentimes either unable to afford to shop at these new stores or feel uncomfortable utilizing them. While this may hold true in other low-income gentrifying neighborhoods, I found that the Shaw/U-Street neighborhood was a bit different in terms of the new grocery stores affecting the long-standing residents.

I originally thought the long-standing residents of the Shaw/U-Street neighborhood would feel culturally excluded from these grocery stores, but many of the respondents did not express feeling excluded, and rather said they did not shop at these stores due to issues of cost and affordability. One resident stated: "I love [Whole Foods]. I love everything there. It's beautiful. They have healthy things, but I can't afford it. But I don't knock it because the place is always packed." Another resident stated: "But overall, I'm glad we have it. They have certain things that you can't find a lot of places, but I still can't afford to buy it."

Although a few of the respondents stated that they enjoyed the new grocery stores and shopped at them frequently for fresh produce, a majority of the respondents stated that the new grocery stores did not change their shopping habits in any way because they could not afford to shop there. Unlike previous studies that have shown grocery retail gentrification doing more harm than good, I found that the development of these grocery stores provided an indirect benefit for the long-standing residents of the Shaw/U-Street neighborhood. Although most of

the residents of the Shaw/U-Street neighborhood that I interviewed did not actually utilize the new grocery stores because of affordability issues, many of the residents still seemed to benefit from the new grocery stores entering the neighborhood.

Summary

Based on previous research concerning long-standing residents' attitudes towards retail gentrification as well as the displacement aspects associated with redevelopment, I hypothesized that the long-standing residents of the Shaw/U-Street neighborhood would not utilize the new, high-end grocery stores in the area because of affordability and cultural reasons. Because previous research has also suggested that the long-standing residents of the Shaw/U-Street neighborhood had been culturally, politically, and residentially displaced by the white newcomers, I did not think the new grocery stores would change the long-standing residents' shopping or eating patterns.

Although most of the residents of the Shaw/U-Street neighborhood that I interviewed did not actually utilize the new grocery stores because of affordability issues, it was difficult to say whether or not the addition of these stores to the neighborhood has actually changed the grocery shopping patterns or eating habits of the residents in any way. While the residents might not be shopping at the stores and gaining any benefits from the stores in that way, many of the residents

still seemed to benefit indirectly from the new grocery stores entering the neighborhood. First, many of the residents noted that without the presence of their new, white neighbors, the grocery stores in the surrounding neighborhoods would have likely never been improved. Second, all of the residents noted that without the influx of white newcomers to the area, the neighborhood would likely still be a dirty and unsafe place to live. Although the development of new grocery stores in the Shaw/U-Street neighborhood does not seem to be directly affecting the grocery purchasing habits or fresh food consumption, these stores have still made an impact on the lives of the long-standing residents of this neighborhood by providing them with improved amenities.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

Beginning in the early 1990s, many of Washington D.C.'s low-income neighborhoods underwent extreme redevelopment efforts which have led to new amenities, apartment buildings, and businesses. In the rapidly gentrifying neighborhood of Shaw/U-Street, many of the previous residents have been residentially displaced and forced to move out of the neighborhood. Of the long-standing residents who are still living in the area, many feel alienated from the community that was once theirs.

Within the last fifteen years, the Shaw/U-Street neighborhood has gained two new grocery stores: Whole Foods Market and Trader Joe's. Both of these grocery stores emphasize healthy lifestyles as well as promote products that are organic, local, and sustainable, but do the long-standing residents of this rapidly gentrifying neighborhood access and utilize these new grocery stores?

Although my research question centered around whether or not the long-standing residents of the Shaw/U-Street neighborhood accessed and/or benefitted from these new grocery stores, throughout the interview process I realized that there were much deeper and more complex issues that affected whether or not the long-standing residents utilized the new grocery stores. From issues of race and class to affordability and convenience, I discovered that the long-standing residents have a much different view of the new grocery stores in the neighborhood than what I had originally hypothesized. While the new grocery

stores in the Shaw/U-Street neighborhood are not directly affecting the grocery purchasing habits or fresh food consumption of the long-standing residents, these stores have made a very different impact on the lives of the long-standing residents of the Shaw/U-Street neighborhood.

In the context of Critical Race Theory, this study highlighted how important it is to present stories and narratives from people of color in order to address inequities and other issues experienced by individuals. Critical Race Theory focuses mainly on race and racism within American society and how these factors are present in nearly every social and non-social interaction (Creswell 2013). As stated previously, the Shaw/U-Street neighborhood has had one of the largest demographic shifts from majority black to majority white in the entire country, and because of this, I knew that race would be an important factor in my study.

Critical Race Theory framed my research and helped me to better understand the impacts of gentrification on the long-standing residents of the Shaw/U-Street neighborhood by highlighting how and why race is such a significant factor in neighborhood change. By focusing this project solely on the long-standing residents rather than a mix of old residents and new residents, I was able to construct a case study that highlighted how race and power are at the center of gentrifying neighborhoods as well as give a voice to the long-standing residents of the Shaw/U-Street neighborhood.

Recommendations for Further Research

While my study was able to examine how the long-standing residents of the rapidly gentrifying neighborhood of Shaw/U-Street viewed and utilized the new, high-end grocery stores, I believe there is much more research that needs to be done in order to understand the complex relationships between long-standing residents and new retail establishments in other gentrifying communities across the United States.

In terms of public health, further research is needed to understand the details of how high-end grocery stores may positively or negatively affect the long-standing residents of gentrifying neighborhoods, and more specifically, how the grocery purchasing habits of long-standing residents may change in terms of the specific food items being purchased as well as the locations that the food items are being purchased. I believe these factors need to be more deeply analyzed in order to understand the potential public health effects of gentrification in previous food desert areas and how to improve public health nutrition in redeveloping areas. For example, where are residents regularly purchasing food? How far are residents traveling to purchase food? What kinds of foods are they regularly purchasing? While my study initially set out to understand how new places to access and purchase food were affecting the diets and purchasing patterns of the long-standing residents, I was unable to gather enough data to

sufficiently say whether or not these new grocery retailers are affecting the diets of the long-standing residents.

Another aspect of this phenomenon that needs to be further researched is how income level and education level of long-standing residents of a gentrifying neighborhood may or may not affect grocery purchasing and food consumption habits. Are less educated people less likely to shop at these stores? Because previous studies have shown the relationship between income, education, and health, it is important to understand how these factors may contribute to grocery shopping and eating habits within a gentrifying community.

Summary

It is clear that the changes and redevelopments in the Shaw/U-Street neighborhood will not be slowing down any time soon, and it is a trend that is likely to keep growing in similar redeveloping cities throughout the United States. Because many low-income neighborhoods across the country are undergoing gentrification, there is an increased challenge in improving these neighborhoods structurally while still keeping the neighborhoods inclusive for the long-standing residents who have built their lives in these areas. In order to keep these redeveloping neighborhoods equitable and affordable, future studies need to focus on developing policies that will help avoid creating disputed areas within neighborhoods, especially around retail stores that are essential to everyone:

supermarkets. Because many low-income neighborhoods across the United States have become food mirages due to cost and accessibility of new, high-end grocers, it is important to focus on how to create grocery stores that promote healthy eating while simultaneously increase food access for various racial, cultural, and socioeconomic groups.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Recruitment Materials

RECRUITING NOW:

RESIDENTS OF SHAW/U-STREET NEIGHBORHOOD

**Have you lived in the Shaw/
U-Street neighborhood
for over 20 years?**



**Would you like to participate in
a research study about food,
grocery stores, and neighborhood
change?**

If interested, please contact:



**THE GEORGE
WASHINGTON
UNIVERSITY**
WASHINGTON, DC

**Ashley Brooks
Sociology Department,
George Washington University
phone: 757-403-6600
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Appendix 2: Informed Consent Document

Dear Potential Participant [Actual Name]:

I am seeking your participation in a research study on the views of long-standing residents of the Shaw/U-Street neighborhood of Washington, D.C. regarding grocery purchasing habits and neighborhood redevelopment. I am conducting this study in my role as a graduate student of Sociology at George Washington University. I am interviewing you because of your experiences living in the Shaw/U-Street neighborhood.

Before you decide whether to participate in this study, it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what is involved. The primary objective is to understand if the addition of new grocery stores to the Shaw/U-Street neighborhood of Washington D.C. has improved the ability for residents to access fresh fruits and vegetables. The study also aims to understand if the neighborhood changes have had an effect on the nutritional health of residents. Therefore, the assessment of long-standing residents of this neighborhood are important for this project.

STUDY PROCEDURE

Participation in this study involves taking part in a telephone or in-person interview lasting 45-60 minutes at a time and place convenient for you. You will receive in advance a list of topics we plan to discuss. We will not necessarily discuss every topic in detail or in this order, and you can choose not to answer particular questions. Unless you request otherwise, the interview will be audio recorded. At the beginning of the interview, you will be asked to indicate (1) your consent to participate (see below), and (2) whether you can be identified by name and in any publications that result from the project.

RISKS

The risks of this study are minimal. We do not anticipate any risks to your participating other than those encountered in your normal daily life.

BENEFITS

There is no financial compensation for taking part in this study. This study will increase understanding of how neighborhood redevelopment can effect purchasing habits. This study will also facilitate communication among public officials, non-profit organizations, and community leaders regarding effective approaches to improving access to fresh fruits and vegetables in redeveloping neighborhoods.

CONFIDENTIALITY

At the beginning of the interview, you will be given the opportunity to indicate whether your name can be associated with interview responses in any publications resulting from this research. If you choose anonymity, you will not be identifiable from your comments. Regardless of whether you request anonymity, all interview recordings and transcriptions will be kept in a secure location (a password-protected computer file on a password-protected computer in a locked office). Transcription of the interviews will be done by a professional organization that will not have access to your identifying information. Thereafter, only the researcher and any assistants he directly supervises will have access to these records.

PERSON TO CONTACT

If you have questions, concerns, or complaints about this study, or if you feel you have been harmed by this research, please contact either Dr. Gregory D. Squires or Lauren Brooks on weekdays between the hours of 9 am and 5 pm (Eastern Standard Time).

Institutional Review Board: Contact the Institutional Review Board (IRB) if you have questions regarding your rights as a research participant. Also, contact the IRB if you have questions, complaints or concerns which you do not feel you can discuss with the investigator. The George Washington University IRB may be reached by phone at 202-994-2715, Fax: 202-994-0247, or by email at ohrirb@gwu.edu

VOLUNTARY PARTICIPATION

Participation is voluntary. Refusal to participate or a decision to withdraw from the research will involve no penalty or loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled. Nor will refusal to participate affect your relationship with the investigator.

COSTS AND COMPENSATION TO PARTICIPANTS

There are no costs involved in participating in this research, and you will not be financially compensated for participation in this research.

CONSENT

Participation is voluntary. You may refuse to participate at any point in the study. You can refuse to participate before the interview begins, discontinue at any time, or skip any questions that may make you uncomfortable. There will be no penalty of any kind for withdrawing at any time.

Your consent to participate in this study will be documented via audio recording at the beginning of the interview.

If you choose to participate, please state your name, the date, and the following:

“I confirm I have read the information in this consent form and have had the opportunity to ask questions. I voluntarily agree to take part in this study.”

“I understand that my comments [are/[are not] being recorded.”

“I hereby [grant/withhold] my permission to use my name and that of my organization in any publications that results from this research.”

Appendix C: Survey Instrument

Demographic Questionnaire

Age:

Gender:

Race:

Housing Type (rent or own):

Interview Questions

1. How long have you lived in this neighborhood?
2. How do you feel (positively or negatively) about the overall changes in the neighborhood (both structural and cultural)?
3. How do you feel (positively or negatively) about the addition of Whole Foods and Trader Joe's to the neighborhood?
4. Before the addition of Whole Foods and Trader Joe's to the neighborhood, where did you shop for groceries?
5. After the addition of Whole Foods and Trader Joe's to the neighborhood, where do you shop for groceries?
6. Do you think the addition of Whole Foods and Trader Joe's to the neighborhood has changed your grocery purchasing habits? If so, how?
7. Do you think the addition of Whole Foods and Trader Joe's to the neighborhood has changed your diet in any way? If so, how? If not, why not?
8. How often do you purchase fresh fruits and vegetables?
9. Where do you normally purchase fresh fruits and vegetables?
10. Do you feel as though purchasing fresh fruits and vegetables is unaffordable?