

WOMEN'S NARRATIVES OF RACIALIZED AND GENDERED SPACE IN AUSTIN, TEXAS

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This article examines African American women's movement in racialized and gendered space in Austin, Texas in the mid twentieth century, reflecting on the relationship between race, gender, power and space. It draws on oral history interviews with African American women to consider how they negotiated the racialized and gendered geography of the city as well as the microspaces – especially downtown clothing stores – that were racialized and gendered in particular ways.

Keywords: racialized space, gendered space, race, gender, geography, narrative, Austin

Even though I knew there were... “differences” such as there were certain things we could not do, it was kind of like there were certain things you knew you could not and you just did not do it. Like you did not go to the water fountain that was for Whites and drink water there. If there was a store that you could not go into you did not go. Now what would happen with reference to the shopping, African Americans could go into the stores, but you could not try on things. You could not try on a dress, shoes. Of course that eventually got better. (Overton 2009, April 6)

Introduction¹

In 2004 I began a project recording life history interviews with people who identify as African American, “in an effort to come to a deeper appreciation of the important events, values, and intellectual perspectives in the lives of African Americans, and to examine the importance of race and racial identity in America.”² Over the last twelve years my graduate students and I co-created life history interviews with 180 people in Texas and Tennessee, with birthdates ranging from 1920 to 1996. They are roughly equally divided between men and women, with slightly more women. They talked about children, music, shopping, art, love, buying a house, work, laundry, cooking, antiques, car racing, church, parents, grandparents, poetry, parties, and inevitably, race, racial consciousness, and the landscapes of race. The narratives offer moving insights into how women and men of color experienced an array of social changes in the twentieth century.³

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² The African American Oral History Project description.

³ Under my direction, graduate students at the University of Texas at Austin and later at Middle Tennessee State University co-created life history interviews with African Americans, often returning to the same narrator multiple times. We have generated over

Because of my interest in the geographies of race and gender, my students and I developed questions about how people moved through the space of their cities and towns, and how they perceived those spaces. Even before we asked specifically about landscape, people spoke of the boundaries of racially segregated neighborhoods, the racially divided and gendered sections of public space and the cognitive maps (learned and continually reshaped through experience) they used to navigate these highly racialized and gendered geographies. They recounted the behavior that was expected of a person of color in different public spheres, and how it changed at various points in American history. The oral histories took a geobiographical approach,⁴ looking at the “spatial relations in people’s memories [that help] to elucidate more complex, even dissonant, historical landscapes” (Reiser Robbins and Robbins 2015: 257).

This paper reflects on the oral histories of black Austin women born between 1925 and 1948. While they described life in Austin throughout the twentieth century, they focused most sharply on the years between 1940 and 1970, often connecting the events of that period to their experiences at the turn of the twenty-first century.

The women narrated the subtle ways they negotiated racialized and gendered geographies in Austin, a daily life-experience that required complex navigation. They described the “friction of distance” – bodies bearing the visible marks of being black and female and subject to restricted movement – and the enormous effort it took to engage in this constant navigation.⁵ Their narratives reveal an acute awareness of how power was exercised through the social control of black women’s bodies and their movement in the city, including the microgeographies of the downtown spaces of commerce. They provide testimony of the lived experience of Domosh’s description of landscapes and places as “shaped by gendered relationships, discourses, practices and other topologies of power, including race, class and sexuality”, and a deep understanding of gendered and racialized geography “that can only adequately be understood by paying attention to relations and representations of power through which it was created and continues to be recreated” (Domosh 2014: 291).

The narratives also demonstrate the ways in which women challenged the confrontation between “geographies of domination” and “black women’s geographies”. Katherine McKittrick’s analysis of the materiality of the slave ship led her to reflect on “black women’s geographies (such as their knowledges, negotiations, and experiences)” that confronted “geographies of domination” and challenged the normalization of spaces that implied the “where and therefore who” they were (McKittrick 2006: xi). The black Austin women described their understanding of the spaces where the two geographies were materialized, and how they denaturalized the connection between where and therefore who they were.⁶

1000 hours of audio and video interviews, and 18,000 pages of transcripts. The project will be deposited at the American Folklife Center at the Library of Congress.

⁴ Christine Reiser Robbins and Mark W. Robbins explain: “We borrow the term geobiography from the work of archaeologist Dennis Byrne and oral historian Maria Nugent, who analyze geobiographical information in colonial Australia by mapping individual movements and spatial practices through archaeological and discursive sensibilities” (Reiser Robbins and Robbins 2015: 257).

⁵ Mona Domosh and Joni Seager’s concept of the gendered “friction of distance...the body that navigates the geography of daily life [that] bears a visible mark of being female and male” (Domosh and Seager 2001: 110). The friction of distance is great in certain conditions – restricting movement is a form of social control applied in particular ways to particular populations – so that the “smooth functioning of daily work and home life requires complicated navigation” (ibid.: 114).

⁶ Katherine McKittrick (2006) examined the interplay between geographies of domination (such as transatlantic slavery and racial-sexual displacement) and black women’s geographies (such as their knowledges, negotiations, and experiences). This interplay “is underscored by the social production of space. Concealment, marginalization, boundaries are important social processes” (McKittrick 2006: xi).

Historical Background

Austin has been the capital of Texas since 1839, apart from a brief period in the early 1840s. In 1850, five years after Texas became the twenty-eighth state of the United States, forty-eight percent of Austin's families enslaved people. By 1861 Texas, along with ten other states, had seceded from the Union in an attempt to create a country where slavery could remain a legal institution.⁷ A bloody four-year civil war followed, that ended in 1865 with the defeat of the seceding states and the abolition of slavery. After the Civil War, Austin's African American population increased by more than half, with the newly freed people establishing residential communities throughout the city. From 1865 to 1877, in a period known as Reconstruction, federal troops occupied the American South while the federal government passed civil rights legislation to address the years of embedded racial hierarchy. When the federal troops withdrew, the experiment in biracial democracy ended. Without federal protection, the states that had seceded created a whole system of laws and social customs called Jim Crow laws that reversed civil rights legislation, attempted to enforce white supremacy, and severely limited the economic, social and physical movement of African Americans (Foner 2005). The Jim Crow period, while arguably still in existence,⁸ was most powerfully bookended by two Supreme Court decisions: the 1896 *Plessy v. Ferguson* decision that legalized segregation in the United States, and the 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* decision that reversed *Plessy*, declaring that "separate educational facilities are inherently unequal."⁹

In the 1880s Austin developed as an educational center, with the establishment of the University of Texas for whites and the Tillotson Collegiate and Normal Institute for blacks (Humphrey 2010).¹⁰ The growth in population slowed during the early twentieth century due to a lack of industry and few city services. The lines of separation also hardened, with the segregation of blacks and whites characterizing many aspects of city life. A 1928 City Plan provided for the development of Austin, including an array of city services, parks, a hospital and library (*ibid.*). The plan also recommended relocating Austin's black population to an area on the other side of East Avenue (now Interstate 35, a major highway that bifurcates the city) heading away from the downtown area. The plan suggested providing municipal services only to African Americans in East Austin.¹¹

⁷ A passage from the *Texas Declaration of Causes for Seceding States* affirms the centrality of preserving slavery as a principal cause of secession as well as the ideology of white supremacy. "We hold as undeniable truths that the governments of the various States, and of the confederacy itself, were established exclusively by the white race, for themselves and their posterity; that the African race had no agency in their establishment; that they were rightfully held and regarded as an inferior and dependent race, and in that condition only could their existence in this country be rendered beneficial or tolerable." (<http://www.ucls.louisiana.edu/~ras2777/amgov/secession.html>, accessed 7. 3. 2016)

⁸ Police shootings of unarmed black men in the United States led to the creation of new civil rights organizations including Black Lives Matter (<http://blacklivesmatter.com/about/>, accessed 22. 9. 2016). Video footage has resulted in social media distribution of many of the killings. The mainstream press has also covered the shootings, with *The Washington Post* creating a database of police shootings for 2015 and 2016: <https://www.washingtonpost.com/graphics/national/police-shootings/>, and <https://www.washingtonpost.com/graphics/national/police-shootings-2016/> (accessed 22. 9. 2016).

⁹ For an overview of civil rights cases that preceded *Brown v. Board of Education* see: <http://www.uscourts.gov/educational-resources/educational-activities/history-brown-v-board-education-re-enactment> (accessed 17. 9. 2016).

¹⁰ The University of Texas was a state supported school while Tillotson Collegiate and Normal Institute was founded by the American Missionary Association (Humphrey 2010).

¹¹ "There has been considerable talk in Austin, as well as other cities, in regard to the race segregation problem. This problem cannot be solved legally under any zoning law known to us at the present. Practically all attempts of such have been proven unconstitutional. In our studies in Austin we have found that the negroes (sic) are present in small numbers, in practically all sections of the city, excepting the area just east of East Avenue and south of the City Cemetery. This area seems to be all negro population. It is our recommendation that the nearest approach to the solution of the race segregation problem with be the recommendation of this district as a negro district; and that all the facilities and conveniences be provided the negro in this district, as an incentive to draw the negro population to this area. This will eliminate the necessity of duplication of white and black schools, white and black parks, and other duplicate facilities for this area." *A City Plan for Austin, Texas*, Koch and Fowler, Consulting Engineers, 1928, Edie and

By the middle of the twentieth century blacks in Austin had created an array of their own institutions, including 150 small businesses, thirty churches and two colleges (*ibid.*). Throughout the twentieth century, black leaders and activists in Austin led sustained attacks on segregation. Texas was an important site of several court cases that challenged segregationist policies, including the 1944 NAACP suit that ended the white only Democratic primary in Texas and the 1950 Heman Sweatt case that desegregated the University of Texas School of Law (see: Hine 1979; Lavergne 2010; Gillette 1981). After the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision, race relations in Austin began to change, but it was not until the 1964 Civil Rights Act that outlawed racial discrimination in public accommodations, and the 1965 Voting Rights Act that worked to ensure access to voting for people of color, that the process gained momentum. The 1968 Fair Housing Act, barring discrimination in the sale, rental and financing of houses, demonstrated that housing laws could be successfully challenged (Humphrey 2010).¹² While narrators – both men and women – refer to the influence of the “classical” phase of the American Civil Rights Movement that began with the 1955 Montgomery bus boycott and ended with the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.’s assassination in 1968, they more often speak of a longer, complex understanding of the movement that connected local activists to national efforts throughout the twentieth century.¹³

African American Women’s Narratives

While this paper draws on excerpts from a broad array of the Austin black women’s narratives, I have included longer excerpts from five women whose life stories offer keen insights into their relationships to power and racialized and gendered geographies.¹⁴ The five women profiled, Dorothy McPhaul, Dorothy Banks, Faye Carson, Rosie Chambers-Clemons, and Gloria Black, were born between 1933 and 1947 during the period of legal segregation.

Dorothy McPhaul, born 1933¹⁵

Dorothy McPhaul spoke of her maternal grandfather, Simon Sidle, owning a grocery store and barbecue pit in Pflugerville, a segregated settlement on the northern border of Austin, Texas. He likely lived in the section known as the “Colored Addition”, an area of the town set aside in 1910 for black workers who were not allowed to live in town.¹⁶ “They [her grand-

Lew Wasserman Public Affairs Library, The University of Texas at Austin (“Proof of Austin’s Past is Right There in Black and White”, *Austin American Statesman*, November 25, 2009, <http://www.statesman.com/news/news/opinion/proof-of-austins-past-is-right-there-in-black-and-nRRSf/>, accessed 7. 3. 2016).

¹² A number of narrators in The African American Oral History Collection noted that blacks had difficulty purchasing homes outside of East Austin until after the Fair Housing Act of 1968 (see: http://portal.hud.gov/hudportal/HUD?src=/program_offices/fair_housing_equal_opp/FHLaws, accessed 6. 3. 2016).

¹³ For an overview of the long civil rights movement see: Down Hall 2005.

¹⁴ The narratives have been edited and condensed from the longer interview transcripts, while leaving the narrator’s language unchanged. I have made every effort to retain the narrator’s meaning.

¹⁵ The narratives in this section are from the transcripts of an oral history conducted by Amber Abbas in February and April 2005: McPhaul 2005, February 21; McPhaul 2005, February 28; McPhaul 2005, April 7.

¹⁶ Pflugerville, located fifteen miles north of Austin, was named by a German immigrant in 1849 but did not develop into a community until after the American Civil War. By 1910 it had a population of 500, although the population declined after World War II (see: Smyrl 2010). “In 1910 black workers in Travis County who worked in the Pflugerville cotton industry and ice factory were not allowed to move into the town. (...) In April 1910 the settlement was placed in the county records as Pflugerville’s Colored Addition. (...) In 1990 the name was still Pflugerville’s Colored Addition. The addition never held more than six families at one time, but

mother and grandfather] started the business together...When my grandfather bought his property in Pflugerville, he just built a store because there was a need for one and he knew he could make profit of it." It is likely that the store served the African American community. Her grandmother had thirteen children and ran the store. In addition to the store, Mr. Sidle trained and traded horses, which is how he got started in the antique business: "As long as I can remember... my grandfather was a horse trader and a trainer... He would go out and break horses, trade horses, and then sometime he was paid with antiques." (McPhaul 2005, February 21)

Her grandfather and mother worked in Austin and commuted. When her mother was fourteen, she and her aunt moved from Pflugerville to Austin. Her grandfather did not want to give them the downpayment to buy a house because he did not want them to move away from Pflugerville, so Mr. Jones, the owner of the Harlem Theater (an African American movie theater) and a close friend of her grandfather, co-signed a loan for them. "After he [Mr. Jones] signed for it, Papa stood for it. That's my grandfather. So he [Mr. Jones] didn't have to worry about anything, but he gave them their first opportunity to own their home. That was directly across from the Old Anderson High School." (McPhaul 2005, February 21; McPhaul 2005, April 7) Sometime in the 1930s her grandparents sold their farm in Pflugerville and moved to Austin.

Her grandfather opened an antique store, "Simon's Used Furniture" on Red River Street in 1918. Ms. McPhaul, her aunt, her mother, and her grandfather all, at various times, owned and operated antique stores. Her aunt Theresa took over when her grandfather died. Ms. McPhaul remembered Red River as a whole street of antique shops, two of them owned by African Americans and the rest white owned. The dealers got along well, often shopping in each other's stores. Later, when the city of Austin built Waterloo Park along Red River Street, they were forced to sell their property. Their family purchased a building on 6th Street in downtown Austin in what was then a black section of the downtown business district. While Interstate 35 became the unofficial but well understood dividing line between black and white Austin, black Austin once included some business areas between the highway and Congress Avenue, a major downtown street that leads to the Texas State Capitol.

Her grandfather was a shrewd businessman who negotiated the racial restrictions he encountered in the antique business. Sellers tried to keep him from entering the houses where sales were being held by putting a table outside on the sidewalk but he enticed them to invite him inside through his business acumen.

My grandfather, to get fine antiques, when he would go to the house to take them antiques or buy stuff – to keep him from coming in and buying stuff from inside the house, they would set a table outside. But he would always carry something that he *knew* that they wanted [so that he could] get inside the house to buy something. So we would buy the stuff that they had outside, *plus* he would get something inside also. He was shrewd. (McPhaul 2005, February 21)

Her mother's primary position was working as a cook for several wealthy white families, with whom she formed a strong bond.

They were good to my mother. At that time my mother made \$3.50 a week... \$3.50 was good wages. Mother's always been able to manage money. She would pay her the \$3.50 but

as many as fifty-five families had lived there by 1978, when the settlement was on the verge of becoming a ghost town. (...) In 1989 six families lived in the addition." (Thompson 2010b)

she would slip her extra money because they loved [her]. Mother grew up with that family and as a young girl she started working real early. (McPhaul 2005, February 28)

Her employers sent her mother to Prairie Normal and Industrial College, an historically black college in Prairie View, Texas, outside of Houston. While there may have been a benevolent element, they also profited because her mother was better able to prepare dinners and serve them at the social functions that were important to them politically and in terms of business. “They sent her to Prairie View College to enhance her education because they was in the political world and for entertaining... and they wanted her to know exactly what to do... She finished in homemaking.” (McPhaul 2005, April 7)

Her mother started her own catering business and developed an elite clientele.

She was a caterer, even while she was working for the Moores and Ludecks. She did catering for Scarbroughs, for all the different colleges and universities around [and] some of President Johnson’s aides and people when they would come here. She did well in catering... That was a business she had on her own, and always the family members... helped her... Mother cooked so well that everyone wanted to have her cater for them. (McPhaul 2005, April 7)

The families her mother worked for also formed a bond with Dorothy McPhaul, who grew up with them.

When I was small, Mother worked for the best people. They didn’t have any children so I was their baby. I had a chance to go places where a lot of blacks never went because they would carry me everywhere they went. They’d carry me to the movies, they’d carry me to the operas, they’d carry me shopping. They bought my clothes from Neiman Marcus... My mother took care of them until they passed... She loved them... and I loved them. (McPhaul 2005, February 28)

Later, when she became a teacher and moved to LaGrange, Texas to teach, there were still “White Only” signs. She describes her experience with the wealthy white families her mother worked for as having shielded her from ideas about racialized geography so she didn’t follow the racial signage.

When I first went to teach in La Grange there were still signs: “White Only” still places where you had to go to the back, but for some reason, by working with the Ludecks and Moores, I don’t know what race I thought I was because I refused to drink out of those “Black Only” [fountains]. I just didn’t do that. At the doctor’s office where the Blacks went to the back I never went to the back. I went to the front because I wasn’t used to doing that. (McPhaul 2005, April 7)

Her mother’s association with the political and social elite changed the family’s racial geography, allowing them a certain amount of access that others did not have. Unlike most African Americans in the city, she was able to have shoes made for her at a store that specifically excluded people based on race. The association with the Ludeck and Moore families also impacted on Ms. McPhaul’s ideas about how whites practiced racism.¹⁷

With the Scarbroughs there was no – Mother catered for the Scarbroughs. I didn’t recognize any differences. My feet were so narrow that Mother used to have to have my shoes

¹⁷ While she states that she had her shoes made in Scarbroughs, this could nonetheless mean that she did not go into the store but instead her parents picked up the shoes, which would be consistent with the other testimonies of African Americans blocked from trying on clothes in many downtown stores (McPhaul 2005, April 7).

made from Scarbrough's. Scarbrough's made all of my shoes. I can't remember any racial differences. It might have been going on, it's just that the way I was raised I couldn't see any differences. Sometimes, even though there's race, they treat children and younger people different. One person can hate another person, two racists, but the young person [and] the children they'll treat different. You see? So they're not abusive to children. (McPhaul 2005, April 7)

Dorothy Banks, born 1938¹⁸

Dorothy Banks' great grandmother lived on a farm on the outskirts of Bastrop, Texas. Her grandmother was born in Bastrop, married when she was fourteen and had sixteen children. By the time she was eighteen she moved into East Austin, although Ms. Banks said it wasn't called East Austin at the time. They lived on 7th Street and in and around Comal Street. The family all stayed close together.

On 7th Street there used to be a big White two-story house, and that's where we all lived, because we all always stayed close together... all the family members – the uncles, aunts – all the family lived there... There was one in front, and one in back, and sometimes we'd live in the front or the back, whichever, and we all lived together. So basically I was raised by my mother, but more by grandmother.

She remembers whites, blacks, Germans and some Mexicans living there. They always rented their houses, "because nobody was making enough money... even if they pooled it, I don't think they had enough money at the time to buy a nicer home." Their landlord, Mr. Friend, was black and he owned quite a few houses down on 7th Street at the time (Banks 2005, February 18).

Her grandfather was a laborer and her grandmother was a maid at several popular downtown Austin hotels including the Commodore Perry, and the Austin Hotel. Ms. Banks attended "Old Anderson", the all black high school, but left school before graduating and worked as a maid. She realized that even if she was educated the job opportunities were few.

I could have had a college education, but that's all I was going to get anyway. That's just the way it was: the jobs were just not going to be yours. That's why you had so many Black schoolteachers... That was the best-paying profession that they could go into. (Banks 2005, February 18)

She later earned her bachelor's degree and worked as a writer for a period of time at Austin's black newspaper, *The Villager*.

After the Brown decision, Ms. Banks remembered that many black families stayed in East Austin because they had nice homes there. African Americans who were newer to Austin moved to the wealthier white areas.

Most of them really stayed or lived in... the same houses... because they invested too much money in the land and property. Dr. White, he was new in town, he was living across the street so he really didn't have as much invested in a home. He was not the first Black dentist, but he was one of the latest to come in... He moved into northwest Austin I think. Pretty soon some other people moved, like if they would... come into Austin, then they would

¹⁸ The narratives in this section are from the transcripts of an oral history conducted by Martha G. Jenks in February and March 2005: Banks 2005, February 18; Banks 2005, March 11.

move. But all the...old guard, they still stayed over here in their houses because they had some real nice houses at that time. (Banks 2005, February 18)

Ms. Banks described the commercial landscape in East Austin as having small grocery stores, garages to fix cars and everything else they needed except for clothes.

At that time, when a Black person went downtown, you couldn't try on clothes, nor could you try on shoes. Couldn't try on hats, couldn't do any of that. What you had to do, you better know your size, and get it, and go. Salespeople didn't want to wait on you. Scarbroughs was one of the biggest stores down there. You could go in and you'd just be standing around, because nobody would [wait on you]. It was like you weren't standing there. You really didn't get waited on, but you had no place else to go to purchase your clothing. (Banks 2005, February 18)

Ms. Banks noted that even in 2004 she could go into a store in Austin and no one would wait on her. "Half the time, if you go in, they won't wait on you, and then they're acting like you're trying to steal something." (Banks 2005, March 11)

She envisioned the changes in East Austin that would result from gentrification.

I'd say in about ten more years, you won't recognize East Austin as East Austin was, because the whole nuance is going to be completely different... I think what they're going to do is try to push Blacks farther and farther towards Pflugerville and Manor and places like that. I think that's what's going to happen.

African Americans who moved north and east of Austin faced a time-consuming commute because their jobs were in Austin. "That's always been the case where they had to come to Austin to get jobs, because the jobs were never there [in Manor or Pflugerville]... [but] it takes so much time to commute. It takes so much of your day." (Banks 2005, February 18)

Faye Carson, born 1946¹⁹

Faye Carson and her family were originally from Hondo, Texas²⁰ and moved to Austin when her grandfather got a job at what was called the Oil Mill.²¹ They were able to buy a house. Her mother worked as a cook in a private home. Unlike Dorothy McPhaul she and her employers did not develop the kind of relationship that enabled her to move more fluidly in the spaces of downtown Austin. She walked a long distance to the bus she took to work. While Ms. Carson remembered it as good exercise for her mother, it also "punished her knees", and she developed crippling arthritis (Carson 2008, February 13). Her mother worked for people,

who could afford a butler... They had wait help, but as time went on, it was only the two of them [in the house], so they cut back on the help and my mother's responsibilities increased. Her main function was to cook and that's what she did. Quite often I'd go out there and help her get finished especially after I started driving the car. Then it was the matter of getting her

¹⁹ The narratives in this section are from the transcript of an oral history conducted by Lauren Goodley in February 2008: Carson 2008, February 13.

²⁰ Hondo, Texas, located forty-one miles west of San Antonio, had a population of 2,500 in 1915 (Noonan 2010).

²¹ Cottonseed production was the second most important industry in Texas (after lumber) by 1900. In 1990 Texas still produced 48% of the cottonseed oil exported by the United States. "In 1909 most of the 194 Texas mills employed between five and fifty workers (...) most of them clocking seventy-two hours a week or more. (...) Most workers there were unskilled Mexican and African Americans who worked twelve-hour shifts. Before World War I unskilled workers at the Austin mill had earned a dollar a day and skilled ones, two dollars. By 1919 those wages had risen to \$2.25 and \$4.50, respectively." (Standifer 2010)

to work, because she had to get there, so I needed to schedule my classes so that I'd be free in the middle of the day to get her to work [and] to get back. Then in the evening, a fer the evening meal, I needed to be free to go back and get her. (Carson 2008, February 13)

When she was young her mother bought her clothes in the downtown stores. They went downtown on the bus, but because she entered the bus in East (black) Austin and exited downtown she could sit wherever she wanted; as a result she never noticed segregation on the bus. Later she realized that when her mother boarded the bus to go to West Austin to work, she had to sit in the back of the bus.

That was the interesting thing about growing up on the East side because... when I did ride the bus I always... sat on the bus wherever we wanted to sit... You could sit anywhere you wanted to when the bus was on the East side of town, in the black community. Then when you got downtown, at the hub where the buses started fanning out, we always got off. I never went further than that... [My mother] never bought me clothes from anywhere but from stores downtown. That was when stores were still downtown, that sold clothes. We'd get on the bus, we'd go down, we'd shop, she'd put me on the bus and send me back home [to the] East side. She then would board a bus and go west, because that's where she worked. I never realized anything because I never went that way [west]. I [never] realized... that Blacks had to stay in the back part of the bus. (Carson 2008, February 13)

Later in her life, Ms. Carson noticed that she had spent all of her time growing up in a segregated community, although she'd imagined herself as urbane. She never knew there was a world "out there" beyond her community. When the racial riots broke out in Watts, California in 1965, she felt that, "Whites didn't really care for us, some of them didn't". When an African American colleague asked her to take part in a sit-in at a cafeteria in Austin that refused to serve African Americans, she said no.

I didn't anticipate eating there anyway, you know... [but] it did start me to thinking about what my place was. When I went to [the University of] Texas [there were] very few Blacks, true enough, but back then, you were not bothered in any way. I never had anyone overtly come up to me and say something ugly even back then... If an Anglo did not care to be with you, they just didn't come around you. That was fine, you know? We had each other... so we really didn't need them. It was like we were a little island inside this big world. (Carson 2008, February 13)

She loved to shop but had a number of incidents in stores. "I've had incidents, you know, you go in a store, and somebody cuts in front of you, or somebody says something, but for the most part, I just went tra-la-la-ing along." There was one store she particularly liked, but she was always conscious of being the only black person there. The stares by clerks and security guards were a form of social control, to make people of color feel unwelcome.

I literally have walked in that store, and there were nothing but Anglos be they salespeople, and/or customers. They would turn around, and look. They just stop what they were doing and look to see a Black person coming through the door. That didn't bother me. I tra-la-la-ed right up in there.

She went to a department store in Austin with her aunt not long before she was interviewed in 2008. Her aunt felt so uncomfortable because there were "nothing but Anglos" that she purchased her things and immediately left the store. Later when she went to a restaurant in Houston, Texas and noticed it was "packed with Anglos" she insisted on a table where she could preserve a sense of safety by sitting where she could observe the room.

There was not a seat that I could take that I wasn't up at the front with all of them behind me... There were times when... they always wanted us to sit in the back. That's the one thing that I enjoy most: if I go on unfamiliar turf, I want to be where I can see everybody else. You know, see the lay of the land. (Carson 2008, February 13)

Rosie Chambers-Clemons, born 1946²²

Rosie Chambers-Clemons' parents were sharecroppers who grew up chopping and picking cotton for the Barton family in Utley, Texas, where they lived in a house on the Barton's land.²³ Her paternal grandmother also worked for the Bartons. She remembered the Bartons as being "real nice" to them. Her mother's family were sharecroppers as well and "had a real hard growing up time", often going without food. Her family moved to the then African American Clarksville neighborhood in Austin in 1940, a community started by a freedman in 1871 that withstood the pressures of having no city services after the 1928 city master plan.²⁴ They lived in a rental house with no indoor plumbing. Years later, her family "started buying the house" from Carl Wendtland Realtor for five hundred dollars at \$50 per month. They opened an account at a lumber company called Calcasieu and had someone add rooms and put in an indoor bathroom. At the time her father earned \$7 per week working at Triple X, an eating place on Guadalupe Street in Austin and a second job at the Big Bear Food Store, a grocery store then located on Congress Avenue in downtown Austin.²⁵

In her leisure time as a child, she spent time at a zoo named Coxville Zoo, located at the end of North Lamar Boulevard. Owned and operated by Doris Louise Hunsucker Cox and her husband Alvin Wilson Cox, the Coxville Zoo was a private zoo that operated from 1939 to 1969. In the 1940s it was four miles north of Austin on the "Dallas Highway", one of the main roads in Austin before the Interstate 35 was constructed in 1962, and the zoo was not far from Pflugerville. It was a fifty five acre facility, with animals, cabins, swimming and boating facilities, a gas station and a general store. Photographs of the zoo typically show Anglo American children, and so the zoo, which was likely segregated, may have had separate days for African American children or separate areas (see Russell 1989).

She described a drive-in movie theater called Delwood, located in central East Austin on 38 ½ Street, where she used to go to see movies.

We had a lot of fun. The drive-in movies – Delwood drive-in movie... is where Fiesta [a grocery store] is now [on] 38 ½ and I-35. We'd park in the car. They'd buy us sodas and snack food. We'd sit there and we could hear it sometimes, but most of the time we'd read their lips. (Chambers-Clemons 2008, March 23).

Her comment about lip reading indicates that the Delwood drive-in was likely segregated. Robert Weyeneth wrote of exclusion being the rule in most drive-in theaters, with white

²² The narratives in this section are from the transcript of an oral history conducted by Lauren Goodley in March 2008: Chambers-Clemons 2008, March 23.

²³ Utley, Texas is approximately thirty miles east of Austin, with a 1914 population of twenty-five. It was established in the 1850s as a trading post for plantations in the area (Mitchell Marks 2010).

²⁴ It was not until 1975 that the city of Austin paved the streets in Clarksville. Two years later gentrification began: "Land values in Clarksville rose with the municipal improvements, and in 1977 a development company began buying lots and building houses that attracted a young, predominantly middle-class white population to the community. Rent costs subsequently increased for the older residents" (Thompson 2010a).

²⁵ Later her father worked for the Health Department for the City of Austin on Sabine Street and later still at the county courthouse. His last job was as the first black car guard at the Texas State Capitol.

drive-in theaters and a few black drive-ins. Occasionally drive-in theaters incorporated fixed partitioning into their layouts and separate concession stands and restrooms (Weyeneth 2005).²⁶

Downtown Austin had a number of movie theaters whose racial geography changed over time.

All the kids in Clarksville, we would all go to the movie. That was a big thing. We went to the Ritz Theater. At that time, we weren't allowed at the Paramount or the State. They were right next door. Then later on, we were allowed, but we sat upstairs. Whites sat downstairs. That's the way it was at the Ritz Theater too. The fun part was getting the popcorn, and the Sugar Babies, that was my thing, and the sodas, and watching the movie. It was only Westerns most of the time. (Chambers-Clemons 2008, March 23)

She rode the bus as a child and stood because of segregated seating. When the white people got off the bus, close to East (black) Austin she could finally sit down. Like Faye Carson, the racialized seating changed depending on the direction in which she was heading.

See, when I rode the bus going to school, we'd get on the bus on West Lynn, you stand up all the way to downtown, because all the seats were only for White people except the ones in the back, and usually they were full. We didn't get to sit down until after you leave Congress and they [white people] got off which was quite an experience. I never liked that... Everyday you had to do that. Coming back was better than going because you didn't sit in the front, but you could sit if you did have a place to sit... We were all scared because we had never been out of that environment. Clarksville was our protective environment. (Chambers-Clemons 2008, March 23)

Ms. Chambers-Clemons talked about her mother's shopping experiences on Congress Avenue. She could not try on clothes in stores except for those that were Jewish owned.

We couldn't eat at Woolworths. We could order. You could stand up and eat it. I came up when Yaring's [department store] was on Congress [Avenue] [and] Scarbroughs. All the major stores were on Congress. If my mother wanted to buy me a dress, she had to know my size, because I couldn't try it on. There was some stores on 6th Street, I believe it was, Groner's and Levine's. Those were the stores [where] we could try on things. They were Jewish people. (Chambers-Clemons 2008, March 23)

Gloria Black, born 1947²⁷

Gloria Black's family owned property in East Austin and described their area as being like a small country where the extended family lived and kept chickens, pigeons, rabbits, and a cow for milking.

²⁶ The theater was likely segregated. According to Robert Weyeneth, "The outdoor movie theaters of the automobile age occasionally incorporated fixed partitioning into their layouts. The general pattern was exclusion – there were white drive-in theaters and a few black drive-ins – but a handful of outdoor theaters admitted both races. The Bellwood drive-in near Richmond, Virginia was constructed to welcome (but partition) the races. When it opened in 1948, the Bellwood had segregated motor entrances leading into two separate parking areas defined by a wall in between. African Americans entered the drive-in from the back, along its northern side, and parked in the walled-off northeastern corner of the theater lot. Separate concession stands and rest-rooms were provided in the vicinity" (Weyeneth 2005: 20–21). Weyeneth refers to Shannon Eileen Bell (1999).

²⁷ The narratives in this section are taken from the transcript of an oral history conducted by Shelley Manis in February 2006: Black 2006, February 21.

I lived with my aunts. Next door to my aunts, we had one house that was a two-story house, and that was like the main house, then a garage, then a driveway, then another house. Then behind that house, but facing 18th Street, was another family house ... all the way down. So [we] were like on a family compound, with it [opening] up in the center for everybody – the clothesline, the wash area, the smokehouse. I came along when it was outdoor plumbing. (Black 2006, February 21)

Ms. Black remembered that when she grew up on the East Side, African Americans had grocery stores, ice cream parlors, hotels, restaurants and businesses all along 6th Street. She described the city as divided by Congress Avenue and the river. She brings the racialized geography into the present, noting that gentrification has driven large segments of the black community entirely out of the city boundaries.

Congress Avenue divides East and West. The river – instead of Town Lake, it's the Colorado River – divides North and South ... What's now Old Pecan Street, which is [East] 6th Street was businesses all the way down ... Then people [black people] moved farther out ... Now they're taking them out of the city: Pflugerville, Round Rock, Bastrop. (Black 2006, February 21)

As with other African Americans, Ms. Black narratively created a map of the racialized space of downtown Austin stores, including the microspaces inside the stores.

We went to Scarbroughs, which was one of the main stores. We could only go in one door, down to the basement. Yaring's²⁸ was a store that we could actually go in, but you couldn't try on caps. T.H. Williams was a store that you could go in and shop, like we were human beings. French Bootery [and] Dacy's were stores we could go in, and [were] treated like human beings, Kara-vel's [too] ... Most every child either went to Dacy's or Kara-vel's to purchase shoes. Mr. Dacy was very nice, and Mr. R, from Kara-vel's, extremely nice. Mr. Simon at Yaring's, and Mr. Weaver. Those were the stores on the Avenue that people knew they could go to comfortably and be treated like human beings. White Pharmacy.²⁹ Down on Sixth Street that's where everybody went to buy blue jeans [at] Gilde's ... and Levine's. (Black 2006, February 21)

Ms. Black described a space in downtown Austin that her family used as a metaphor for the places they could enter only in the context of labor but not as guests. Her great-grandmother's husband was a chef at the Driskill Hotel in Austin, a prestigious historic hotel, yet racist laws disallowed her and her family from eating there. They had a family "joke" that if you didn't like what was for dinner, you could go eat at the Driskill. She commented that the Driskill was a part of them and yet they could not take part in it.

My great-grandmother, who started the Douglass Club – her husband was the chef at the Driskill Hotel. When I grew up, if I didn't like something they were having for dinner at the house, they'd say, "Well you can just go eat at the Driskill", knowing that black people couldn't go eat at the Driskill. That was always a joke. Then when Bill and I got married – that shows you the change of time – our reception was at the Driskill. It was really special. My grandmother and Pearl, they all said, "In my lifetime" because the Driskill was a part of us, but yet we couldn't take part in it, you know? Then all of a sudden, in [19]69, [19]68,

²⁸ Yaring's Department Store opened in 1936. See: *Zoning Change Review Sheet*, Austin, Texas, April 13, 2010 (<http://www.austintexas.gov/edims/document.cfm?id=141080>, accessed 25. 10. 2016).

²⁹ White Pharmacy was located in downtown Austin at 615 Congress Avenue (<http://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/mctaph670941/>, accessed 6. 3. 2016).

finally we could go to the Driskill. I remember my grandmother. We walked in to what they call the Emerald Room, and it was green, and it was pretty and they'd say, "In my lifetime." (Black 2006, February 21)

Negotiating Racialized and Gendered Geographies of Domination

The women spoke of freedom of movement in the racially separate communities of East Austin and Clarksville and the feeling of safety in their neighborhoods, with the extended family forming protective enclaves around their members, away from the white world and the racist restrictions of the larger city. Dorothy Banks noted the physical closeness of her family in East Austin, as did Gloria Black. Like Ms. Banks and Ms. Black, Rosie Chambers-Clemons spoke of a feeling of safety in her all black neighborhood. Ta-Nehisi Coates suggests that this is a type of segregationist nostalgia, that portrays a classless black neighborhood and ignores the fact that the ghetto was predicated on, "denying black people privileges enjoyed by white Americans" (Coates 2014).³⁰ When affluent African Americans moved to wealthier sections of Austin any sense of segregationist nostalgia disappeared.³¹

With the exception of Gloria Black, all of the women's grandparents or parents lived in rural areas outside of Austin – some as far as 120 miles away – and moved into black neighborhoods in the city between 1919 and 1940. Dorothy McPhaul's father was a rare narrator who owned his own store and gas station before relocating to Austin, and later owned his own business in Austin. With the exception of Dorothy Banks' family, the families of the women profiled all eventually owned their own homes in all black neighborhoods. Two of the women mentioned that their houses were financed by a theater owner or by a realtor, rather than by banks, perhaps an indication of redlining, or the practice of denying services and loans on the basis of pricing to residents of certain areas based on their racial make-up.³²

The women who were connected to wealthy or influential white families in Austin, and who formed a close relationship with their employers, moved through racialized space in slightly less restricted ways. Their connections were often in the context of domestic service or "caring labor." Linda McDowell wrote of service providers selling, "part of themselves as part of the service through their embodied and emotional attributes – the smile, the caring gesture (...) These attributes are (...) part of the performance of identity by raced, classed, and gendered bodies produced within regulatory frameworks" (McFowell 2005: 8). Caring labor, "exhibits a different geography: it is embodied, hands-on labor demanding copresence (...) undertaken in thousands of, often small-scale, workplaces, including other people's homes", and is undertaken by women, often minority women and women of color (ibid.: 2).³³ Dorothy McPhaul and her mother were close to her mother's employers and gained ac-

³⁰ "It is common today to become misty-eyed about the old black ghetto, where doctors and lawyers lived next door to meatpackers and steelworkers, who themselves lived next door to prostitutes and the unemployed. This segregationist nostalgia ignores the actual conditions endured by the people living there – vermin and arson, for instance – and ignores the fact that the old ghetto was premised on denying black people privileges enjoyed by white Americans." (Coates 2014)

³¹ I discuss the narratives that describe the microaggressions of white neighbours in Austin and San Antonio in Norkunas 2015.

³² For an early work on the relationship between racial segregation and poverty, see: Massy and Denton 1993.

³³ "They are produced within the regulatory frameworks that construct, discipline, and regulate gendered (Butler, 1990, 1993), raced (Collins 2000), and classed (Skeggs 2004) selfhood as a normative fiction." (McDowell 2005: 8) McDowell writes about the economic and physical gendered geography of twenty-first century migrant women engaged in caring labor. "For many women who are providing commodified domestic care, the spatial connections between their own homes and the institutions, firms, hospitals, care homes, and the individual homes of others in which they are employed increasingly are distanced. Migrant women, who move across international boundaries, now leave their own homes behind and as distant strangers perform intimate caring and body work for and on their employees, clients, or patients (...)" (ibid.: 19).

cess to physical and economic spaces in the city. Others, like Faye Carson's mother, did not form an affective bond and hence did not benefit from the same access.³⁴

The transportation system was an integral aspect of racialized space. Bus routes were designed to move black women who engaged in caring labor from the eastern black part of the city to the western white part of the city in the mornings and to return them eastward in the evenings. Inside the buses racialized seating changed as the buses moved into and out of black neighborhoods, into and out of the downtown area, and into and out of white neighborhoods. The women reflected on this as another example of the "friction of distance" as they negotiated where and when they could sit down. As Faye Carson noted, buses coming from East Austin and heading downtown did not seem segregated to her as a child, as there were no whites who entered the busses in black neighborhoods to signify exclusion. Buses that left the downtown area for East Austin were emptied of white people so Rosie Chambers-Clemons was able to sit down for the first time on her way to school. When Faye Carson's mother boarded the bus heading west to affluent Austin where she worked as a domestic helper, she sat in the back with the racialized geography becoming increasingly visible (see Norkunas 2015).

When the women left their neighborhoods they entered a fluidity of spaces that were, in Doreen Massey's lexicon, tangible manifestations of systemic gendered and racial inequalities, whose meanings and uses changed over time (Massey quoted in Neely and Samura 2011: 1938–1940). Downtown consisted of a particularly significant landscape where women regularly negotiated the intersections between racialized and gendered spaces. While East Austin had black and white owned stores that sold most of the goods a family needed, the exception was clothing: for clothes, women were obligated to shop in the racially complicated downtown space. Here the "friction of distance" meant that women expended an enormous amount of effort in navigating the geography of domination so that they could perform everyday activities such as buying clothes.

Women learned to read the gendered and racialized geographies of domination and shared information about where they felt welcome, which stores they could enter through which doors, and the forms of social control they were likely to encounter in different stores. They understood that the racialized terrain was as complex inside the stores – which were microgeographies of the larger public spheres – as this terrain was throughout the exterior landscape. They were constantly deciphering the range of activities allowed or disallowed, activities which changed according to the store owners' racial attitudes and over time. Some stores allowed African American women to try on particular items of clothing but not others (coats might be permitted, but not caps or gloves). In other stores black women were not allowed to go into dressing rooms or were told to try on clothes in the basement, or were subjected to other demonstrations of the power dynamics of racial and gender inequality. Many female narrators specifically remembered Scarbrough's excluding black women. Built in 1910 by Emerson Monroe Scarbrough, "a former Confederate soldier and owner of E.M. Scarbrough & Sons department store" the store became a symbol of a racialized and gendered geography of domination (Wermund 2010).³⁵ While black women were later allowed to enter the store,

³⁴ Dorothy Banks observed that even women with education had few employment opportunities apart from caring labor or work as a teacher. Her grandfather was a laborer and grandmother was a maid at several popular downtown Austin hotels including the Commodore Perry and the Austin Hotel. Ms. Banks left school in the eleventh grade, before finishing high school and working as a maid. She realized that even if she were educated the job opportunities were few for black women. She could be a teacher or she might be a domestic even with a college degree. "I could have had a college education, but that's all I was going to get anyway. That's just the way it was: the jobs were just not going to be yours." (Banks 2005, February 18)

³⁵ The article announced a public event to mark the commemoration, that would be attended by uniformed Sons of Confederate Veterans: "Now, nestled in the shadows of towering high-rise condos, the historic buildings will celebrate their 100th anniversaries

Gloria Black remembered that there was one door in Scarbrough's that African Americans were allowed to enter and that led to the basement. Dr. June Brewer, who was born in 1925, said, "I can remember downtown stores not permitting Blacks to try on clothes. Scarbrough's was one... You'd go in and if you wanted to buy something you could not try it on. There were periods of those types of things, not being able to use restrooms, and doors. I mentioned that at the Ritz theatre... it was demeaning to have to go up to the balcony" (Brewer 2004, May 5). Rosie Chambers-Clemons and Dorothy Banks mentioned that they had to know what size they wore, as they could not try on clothes but had to buy them and go.

The fluidity of the racialized spaces was evident in the women's descriptions of Jewish owned stores treating African Americans with respect.³⁶ Rosie Chambers-Clemons and Gloria Black noted that only in Jewish owned stores could they try on clothes and "be treated like human beings". A number of the women mentioned working and, to some extent shopping in a high status Jewish owned jewelry store. Delores Alspaugh, who was born in 1946, said her mother and her aunt worked for the Koens in the back area of the store stocking china, silverware, and crystal and gift wrapping.³⁷

This was a jewelry store that was owned by Jews... That was the number one jewelry store in Austin. Joe Koen and Son Jewelers and Kruger Jewelers were the two family owned jewelry stores that I can remember... There were all kinds of customers. There were the governors, what we call the "High Society" people. White people and African Americans during that time... You hear people talk about how back in the day I say that people made a difference with their employees. The one thing that I can say about the Koens, they never, never showed any partiality... Mr. Koen and all the people that worked there, they treated my mom and my aunt with the utmost respect. (Alspaugh 2007, March 16)

Ernestine Thompson, born in 1943, lived with her aunt when she went to school and worked as a gift wrapper on Saturdays at Koen's, where they paid her \$12.00 per week, a fair wage. Her aunt worked in the Koen's home, cooking and cleaning and was treated "very good" (Thompson 2005, April 25).

In many stores women were rendered invisible, in attempts to compromise their identity by linking the "where and therefore who" they were. They were met with unwelcome stares, or were neglected by sales staff. As Dorothy Banks noted, "It was like you weren't standing there. You really didn't get waited on, but you had no place else to go to purchase your clothing". As a result of people halting their activities and looking at her, Faye Carson was very conscious of being the only black person in a store. Her aunt once left a store immediately after she made her purchase because there were "nothing but Anglos" inside. As Bobby Wilson noted, "Segregation did not prevent blacks from engaging in the commodity and consumption circuit and their public display of consumer goods, but it did provide capital the spatial fix needed to remind blacks of their marginal status in both individual and collective consumption" (Wilson 2005: 588–589).

tonight. The celebration begins at 5:30 p.m. in the Scarbrough Building and will feature appearances by Mayor Lee Leffingwell, Scarbrough and Littlefield family members and uniformed Sons of Confederates Veterans. It is open to the public" (Wermund 2010).

³⁶ "By 1890 there were an estimated 26 Jewish-owned businesses in Austin. Eleven of these were either dry goods, clothing, or general stores, while four were grocery stores. (...) As late as the 1960s Jews still owned several of the downtown stores on Congress Avenue. They owned many of the city's clothing and jewelry businesses. Jewish owned stores included Snyder's, Slax, Jack Morton's, Goodfriends, Yaring's, Benolds, Kara-vel, Central Auto Supply and Joe Koen and Son." (<http://www.isjl.org/texas-austin-encyclopedia.html>, accessed 6. 3. 2016)

³⁷ 1883 Joe Koen opened in hotel drug store, Congress Avenue, Austin, Texas, 1888 Joe Koen moved to 105 East 6th Street, 1972 moved from 105 E. 6th to 611 Congress Avenue (<http://www.joekoenjewelers.com/aboutus.html>, accessed 10. 2. 2016).

The women born before 1950 narrate lives lived apart from white women and men, with the exception of their employers. They were confined to a geography defined by racial exclusion, and that geography had transgenerational economic consequences. When they traveled to the consumer space of the downtown area – a space that was marginally shared between races as long as racialized rules of separation were strictly observed – the women entered a particularly gendered landscape that they negotiated with white women. Here, in a geography where the bonds of gender might have superseded those of racial restriction, they instead comingled gendered and racial oppression.

The women, their parents, and their grandparents used “their knowledges, negotiations, and experiences” to confront various geographies of domination by patronizing stores where they were treated with respect, asserting their presence when they were made to feel invisible, and maintaining a sense of identity separated from the gendered and racialized forms of social control. Faced with actions of exclusion, they left, or stood their ground. Faye Carson maintained her right to be inside the store, buying what she wanted: “They just stop what they were doing and look to see a Black person coming through the door. That didn’t bother me. I tra-la-la-ed right up in there”. Buying clothes or shoes, taking the bus to school or work, going to the movies, eating a sandwich at Woolworths, going to the bathroom – each small component of everyday life necessitated planning, effort, and possible confrontation with racial and gender geographies. Their awareness of the power implications of racialized space, and to a lesser extent gendered space, transformed their everyday interactions in mixed race spaces, such as downtown Austin, into political acts. They well understood that their bodies bore “the visible marks of being black and female and subject to restricted movement” within a capitalist system where exclusion in the spatial realm had consequences for their movement in economic, political and social realms.

Postscript

Several women predicted an increased racialization of space for African Americans in the Austin area. Dorothy Banks said that the city plans for renovating East Austin would result in an exodus of African Americans: “I think what they’re going to do is try to push Blacks farther and farther towards Pflugerville and Manor and places like that”. Gloria Black used the language of being taken out of the city to describe the changes in black Austin: “Now they’re taking them out of the city: Pflugerville, and places like that”. Gloria Black used the language of being taken out of the city to describe the changes in black Austin: “Now they’re taking them out of the city: Pflugerville, Round Rock, Bastrop”. In 2014 Eric Tang and Chunhui Ren released a report from the Institute of Urban Policy Research and Analysis at the University of Texas on the declining population of African Americans in Austin (Tang and Ren 2014). A public event was organized in 2016 to explore the state of black Austin, and noted the consequences of gentrification:

Tang...detailed the severity of gentrification in the city. Between 2000 and 2010 in the downtown neighborhood east of Austin’s historically black Huston Tillotson University Austin’s black population declined by 60 percent, and the Latino population by 33 percent, Tang said. In that same area, he said, the white population increased by 442 percent. (Easter 2016)

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Ženski narativi o rasno i rodno određenom prostoru u Austinu u Teksasu

Sažetak

U ovom se članku istražuje kretanje Afroamerikanki u rasno i rodno određenom prostoru u Austinu u Teksasu sredinom 20. stoljeća promišljajući o odnosima između rase, roda, moći i prostora. Članak se oslanja na metodu usmene povijesti s Afroamerikankama kako bi se razmotrili načini na koje su one savladavale rasno i rodno određenu geografiju grada i mikroprostore, posebice trgovine s odjećom u središtu grada, koji su posebno rasno i rodno određeni.

Ključne riječi: rasno određen prostor, rodno određen prostor, rasa, rod, geografija, narativ, Austin