

Nice-Nastiness and Other Raced Social Interactions on Public Transport Systems

Gwendolyn Y. Purifoy*
Kent State University at Stark

Research on public transportation systems has often focused on racialized and institutionalized dynamics that result in poor and ethno-racial minority neighborhoods being underserved. Few scholars have studied raced social interactions on the buses and trains themselves. In this article, I explore how legacies of racism are reproduced through raced social interactions on public buses and trains in Chicago. Drawing on over 3 years of ethnographic field work and interviews, this article demonstrates how ethno-racial minorities, particularly Blacks, experience racial hostilities that are often masked as *nice-nastiness*. Nice-nastiness is a type of individual expression that combines expressions of politeness with disdain and distancing. Nice-nastiness can be expressed as (1) pretending the “other” does not exist; (2) whispering and lowering one’s voice; (3) standing instead of taking a seat; (4) letting others have space for auditory expression; and (5) pseudo-swagger. I locate nice-nastiness on the racial microaggressions and color-blindness continuum and show that this expressive tool is shaped, at least in part, by the closeness, confinement and mobility of public transportation, where escape is not possible, unlike in wide-open spaces. I use public transportation as a space to examine how raced behaviors are enacted in everyday life, and shaped by confinement and motion.

As one of the few places where people of different ethno-racial backgrounds and social classes encounter each other consistently, public places are sites of the construction and replication of cross-race civility and incivility. Public places can be sites where strangers are met with a friendly smile, helpful directions, and a handshake (Goffman 1971; Jacobs 1961). Indeed, wide-open public spaces, like Elijah Anderson’s “cosmopolitan canopy,” can serve as a “respite from the lingering tension of urban life” (Anderson 2011, p. xiv). But people can also avoid and disengage with others by walking past them quickly, crossing the street, stopping and waiting for others to leave, or changing direction of travel, among other things. And they can also express direct racial hostility, by making expressly uncivil comments, with little risk of consequence, since exit is usually an option in wide-open public spaces such as plazas, streets, parks, and beaches.

Yet public transportation, unlike some wide-open static spaces, is often not a respite from the incivility encountered in the urban landscape, but instead often serves as a space where racist remarks, gestures, speech, and behaviors are performed during everyday face-to-face interactions. Passengers whose lives are often racially, as well as

*Correspondence should be addressed to Gwendolyn Y. Purifoy, Department of Sociology, Kent State University at Stark, 6000 Frank Avenue NW, North Canton, OH 44720; gpurifoy@kent.edu.

economically and physically distanced, come together in confined and mobile public spaces as they travel to and from work, school, social activities, and appointments. This study uses ethnographic observations on Chicago buses and trains, and suburban trains that travel into Chicago, to illuminate how closed, mobile spaces with limited exit possibilities shape Whites' and sometimes Asians' expressions of their disregard for and the undesirability of Blacks.¹ Social discomfort is not easily avoided or unrecognized in closed, public spaces such as public transportation, where exit possibilities may be limited. Decisions about how to interact with others must be made quickly, and the physical layout of train and bus seating, doors, and windows shapes civil and uncivil expressions of social distance, disdain, and far more rarely, of similarity. Examining social interactions on public transportation thus helps us to better understand how race constructs daily face-to-face interactions and incivility in the urban public sphere.

Mobile spaces highlight racial attitudes that can often be masked (Goffman 1959) in the wide-open static spaces on which Anderson's cosmopolitan canopy is based. Theories of the cosmopolitan canopy presume wide-open spaces where ethnic and racial borders are deemphasized (Anderson 2011), and urban social places and cultural venues that bring diverse populations together for sociality (Duneier 1999; Grazian 2003; Low 2006; Zukin 2002). But where escape, avoidance, and active disengagement are ever-present, on buses and trains, racial and ethnic boundaries are accentuated because of the materiality of public transportation. Bus aisles are narrow, seats are close, and the space is crowded at various times during the day. These borders are expressed by Whites (and Asians) in a variety of ways, including *nice-nastiness*—a type of individual expression that combines expressions of politeness with disdain and distancing. Thus, conventions of politeness often used in crowded urban spaces, such as avoiding direct eye contact, allowing others to have room, and keeping one's voice low, are also means by which Whites (and Asians) avoid intimacy with Blacks. Such actions include standing, sitting, or moving away from ethno-racial minorities on trains and buses, or whispers to other coethnic passengers. Understanding these dynamics contributes to debates about how the material spaces of cities shape ethno-racial interactions, movement, and activities (Brown-Saracino 2009; Duneier 1999; Grazian 2003; Raudenbush 2012; Rushing 2009) and contributes new knowledge about how public transportation, often understood to be a means to escape segregation, can serve as a site for the hyperrealization of racism that is generated in part by segregation.

Such racist performances are not "backstage" (Eliasoph 1999; Goffman 1959; Picca and Feagin 2007) in these confined and mobile spaces, but rather, where "prejudices are potentially solidified and perhaps further intensified" (Wilson 2011, p. 241). While earlier research has referred to such interactions as "microaggressions," "unconscious prejudice," or "racial apathy" (Bonilla-Silva 2006; Forman 2004; Sue et al. 2007; Vega 2014), much of this scholarship is focused on attitudes, on sites where exit is an option, or where people have the freedom to avoid others. In confined spaces that are also mobile, people are forced to make fast decisions or "gut" moves knowing that escape is not possible once the vehicle is in motion (Fleetwood 2004; Ocejo and Tonnelat 2014). These sites are thus excellent sites for observing racial interactions that cannot be thought through quickly (see also Eberhardt et al. 2004). While some racist acts may seem small, subtle, or brief, for ethno-racial minorities, especially Blacks and Latinos, these acts are not singular; rather, they are a part of other expressions of racial distancing in urban spaces. On public

transportation, they may also last for the length of the ride, so that the materiality of the site makes exposure to racism unavoidable. As I show below, Black passengers notice such racism and the effects can be enduring (Rollock et al. 2011; Wilson 2011).

SOCIAL DISTANCING IN CONFINED MOBILE SPACES

Public transportation systems have long been sites of racial contention, including as the basis for the landmark *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896) decision, as a site of demands for integration in the Southern United States, and White resistance to integration in the Northern United States. Public transportation has served as sites where racially subjugated laws and practices not only restrict access to public transportation, but also shape Blacks' experiences (Bullard 2004), and today, urban public transportation is continually racialized (Kirouac-Fram 2012; Zylstra 2011). Most urban public transportation research has primarily focused on transportation policies, unequal access, transportation racism, funding, situational mobilities, and the design and planning of systems and services (Allen 2009; Bullard and Johnson 1997; Bullard et al. 2004; Farmer 2011; Golub et al. 2013; Hanson 2004; Hutchinson 2000; Jensen 2013). These works clearly document that urban transportation systems contribute to less transportation access for Blacks and Latinos, to lower property values for underserved areas, and to racial segregation. Furthermore, while studies on mobilities, such as situational mobilities, help us to better understand movement, the built environment, and interactions (Jensen 2013, pp. 3–4), far less is understood about how mobile spaces and systems shape daily social interactions between those privileged and disadvantaged by these systems and planning. I address this dearth and show what happens at the face-to-face level when cross-racial groups interact on these unequal closed, mobile spaces.

Urban sociologists and others have also examined how mobile public spaces are racialized spaces, where the uneasiness of being in the same space as the “other” is often on display (Bullard and Johnson 1997; Kim 2012; Lenton et al. 1999). Yet very little scholarship has aimed to understand how face-to-face stratification processes are shaped and impacted by the materiality and mobility of the buses and trains. This article gives attention to the materiality and mobility of buses and trains and how raced interactions are shaped through these spaces.

Social interactions are not shaped independent of the urban landscape. Urban planning and policies shape social interactions in the public terrain (Bridge and Watson 2002; Carr 1992; Duneier 1999; Freeman 2009, 2006; Hayden 1995; Jacobs 1961; Lofland 1998; Shepard and Moore 2002; Tonkiss 2005; Vitale 2008; Zukin 1995). Place also mediates social life and social interactions, contributing to their conflictual or harmonious qualities (Brown-Saracino 2009; Freeman 2009; Grazian 2003; Rushing 2009). This is especially true on public transportation where racial inequalities are built into the system, as is the case for Chicago's public transport systems. Mobile public spaces reflect institutionalized inequalities and these differences illuminate the vulnerability of social interactions and help us to better understand the persistence of inequalities in the urban public realm. Gender studies also inform our understanding of how inadequate protection against street harassment and other forms of stranger harassment shape women's experiences in public places and reproduce inequalities (Dunckel-Graglia 2013; Fairchild and Rudman 2008; Fuller 2003; Loukaitou-Sideris 2014), but here too,

with little attention to race. Like on public streets and other public settings, on public transportation, visual cues such as race (Anderson 1990, May 2014) shape social interactions while also being limited by the materiality of the space. Racial aggression, whether enacted as microaggressions, color-blind racism, or nice-nastiness, paints the landscape while acts of kindness are unusual.

Earlier studies of racial social interactions on public transportation inform us about how raced interactions are shaped by geographical and social exclusion (Swyngedouw 2013; Wilson 2011), linked fate (Raudenbush 2012), criminalization of transit-riding youths (Fleetwood 2004), and diverse anonymity in crowded mobile spaces (Ocejo and Tonnelat 2014). Most of these studies, however, have focused on a singular train or bus line or the racialization of youths on public transportation (Raudenbush 2012; Swyngedouw 2013; Wilson 2011). I expand this area of urban sociology by not only examining cross-racial interactions on various transit routes that travel through Chicago, but I also include train routes that carry suburban passengers into Chicago.

Public social interactions are negotiations for space and comfort of place (Abu-Lughod 2007; Anderson 2011; Gieryn 2000; Goffman 1971; Lofland 1973). The materiality and mobility of public transportation spaces shape these interactions and negotiations in particular ways (Wilson 2011). Norms of politeness are one means of easing these interactions; gestures such as moving one's body and material things, facial gestures, and sound modulation are some of the ways that scholars have shown that urban dwellers interact with each other. Notably, much of the work on urban civilities studies racially or ethnically homogeneous groups, or does not mention race. Unlike wide-open spaces, like the cosmopolitan canopy, or planes and cruise ships that are closed spaces but make few stops, more frequent stops on public transportation routes mean the space is constantly disrupted and can become continually unsettled as bodily movement and controls must be expanded or limited (Amin 2006; Fleetwood 2004), while uneasiness can intensify. While others have documented intrarace interactions and, particularly, solidarities (Raudenbush 2012), when these spaces are racially heterogeneous as well, different patterns of interactions can be observed.

There is also a dearth in race, urban, and transportation scholarship that examines how minority transit personnel, particularly Black transit personnel, experience hostility from Whites and how such experiences can also be shaped through the places that the trains and buses travel through. I attend to this understudied area to foreground the risk and injury (Feagin 1991) that Blacks experience during daily face-to-face interactions in confined and mobile spaces.

Examining social distancing on public transportation, then, can help us better understand how the reproduction of inequalities is not contained in the communities, neighborhoods, or wide-open public spaces of the metropolis, but enacted in everyday interactions that require quick decision-making and limited possibilities for exit on these mobile spaces. As I show, acts of racial incivility are far more common than acts of civility and kindness on urban public transport systems. By showing that Blacks notice such incivilities, this analysis also contributes to research that shows that such experiences are injurious for ethno-racial minorities (Feagin 1991; Okazaki 2009), especially Blacks.



FIG. 1. City of Chicago Community Areas Map. Retrieved online © Peter Fitzgerald, 2013. Retrieved from http://www.thechicago77.com/wp-content/uploads/2008/12/chicago_community_areas_map.png.

RESEARCH STUDY, OVERVIEW, AND DATA COLLECTION

CHICAGO'S RACIALIZED COMMUNITY AREAS AND TRANSPORT SYSTEMS

The city of Chicago is organized into 77 Community Areas (CAs)—which contain hundreds of neighborhoods—that have historical, political, socioeconomic, racial, and developmental import (Figure 1).

Most CAs are racially segregated. Segregation in Chicago has endured despite population and economic growth and decline; its CAs are as distinguishable by race and class as they are by services and social experiences (Sampson 2012; Squires et al. 1987; Wacquant and Wilson [1989] 2005; Shah et al. 2006). Many people in Chicago use the terms “North

Side,” “West Side,” and “South Side” to refer to general parts of the city. Most CAs on the south and west sides of the city are predominantly minority, while CAs on the north and northwest sides of the city may be majority White, or majority minority with just a handful of diverse CAs (US Census 2010). These patterns mean that in Chicago, most residents do not live with non-coethnics. The ridership on the buses and trains in this study reflect these boundaries.

PUBLIC TRANSIT IN CHICAGO

In Chicago, public transportation is an overwhelming part of the landscape, with an average of over 910,000 weekday bus boardings, over 755,000 weekday rail boardings, and an average of over 1,300,000 commuter rail boardings in 2013 (Regional Transportation Authority Mapping and Systems [RTAMS]). Public transportation systems in metropolitan Chicago are overseen by the Regional Transportation Authority (RTA). Chicago’s major transportation authority is the Chicago Transit Authority (CTA). Metra is the commuter rail system that serves Illinois and Wisconsin.

Chicago Transit Authority (CTA)

The CTA operates eight rail routes that are designated by color (Red, Green, Blue, Pink, Orange, Brown, Purple, and Yellow). Two of these routes operate 24 hours (Red and Blue) and one route (Purple) operates an express route into and out of the Loop (Chicago’s central business district). The material train system is known colloquially as the “E” or “L” (short for “elevated”).

The bus and train routes that are the focus of this paper were chosen because they travel through diverse communities in the city and into the downtown areas of Chicago, and because of the heterogeneity of the passengers at some point on the route. Although there were several bus routes serving the North Side that met these criteria because some parts of the North Side are more integrated than others, the hypersegregation of Chicago meant there were not many to choose from on the South Side or West Side of the city, even though these areas’ buses have some of the highest ridership levels in the system.

This paper examines social interactions on the Red Line, a 24-hour “L” train. It is the CTA’s busiest train route with over 77,000,000 boardings in 2013 (CTA Annual Report 2013). The train travels between the 95th Street and Howard Street stations. The 95th Street station, which is the southernmost end of the Red line, is one of the CTA’s busiest train stations with almost 4 million entries in 2012 (CTA 2012 Annual Report). It heads north, passing through the southern part of the city, mainly through low-income communities (2007–2011 per capita incomes \$9,300–\$24,000), traveling on to downtown and the northern parts of the city that have per capita incomes mostly between \$34,000 and \$88,000 (City of Chicago Health and Human Services 2013). The Red Line ends at Howard Street, a station that is far less busy than 95th St., but serves as a connection point to the Purple line that runs between a northern suburb (Evanston) and downtown, and to the Yellow Line that exclusively serves the suburb of Skokie.

The Red Line thus permits, if ridden from end to end, elevated views of the demographics of the city. But because it passes through some demographically mixed areas and through the busy downtown working, shopping, and tourist corridors, and to the

homes of the Chicago White Sox and the Chicago Cubs, it also offers opportunities to view how cross-race interactions take place.

Social interactions were also observed through field observations on four bus routes: #147, 151, 146, and 6. These routes travel through areas of the city that have diverse class, race, and/or ethnic makeups (US Census 2010). The #147 Outer Drive Express bus (4:30 am to 11:20 pm) originates at the Howard Street Red Line station and travels mostly along Sheridan Road and through the Rogers Park and Edgewater communities, both mixed income, before traveling express along Lake Shore Drive where it exits onto the “Magnificent Mile” (Michigan Avenue’s high-end retail area) at Oak Street. The route of the #151 Sheridan varies. Some of the northbound buses travel from Union Station (which is located on the west side of the Loop) to Belmont and Sheridan Road or Halsted Street and Belmont, streets which are only halfway through the city’s North Side. At other times, it travels further north, to Devon Avenue and Clark Street in the Rogers Park CA on the city’s far North Side.

The #146 Inner Drive/Michigan Express² originates at the Berwyn Red Line station in the Edgewater CA, and heads downtown, traveling through wealthier White areas before its express run beginning at Belmont. The #6 Jackson Park Express, by contrast, starts on the South Side at 79th and South Shore and travels into downtown. It runs express along Lake Shore Drive from 47th Street to Roosevelt Road. The Jackson Park Express serves Kenwood, Hyde Park, and the South Shore communities.

Metra: The Commuter Rail

The final site of observation is on the Metra, the commuter train system of the Regional Transportation Authority (RTA). Eleven Metra lines link suburban and Southern Wisconsin travelers to Chicago, with the downtown business and tourist areas as the primary destinations. Metra stations are mostly located in middle- to upper class communities; however, the Metra Electric^{3,4} train serves more low-income to middle-income communities (US Census 2010). The Metra train is more expensive than the CTA: A CTA train trip from State Street or Randolph & Michigan Avenue to 95th Street is \$2.25; that same trip is \$4.75 on Metra. The Metra Electric (Route: University Park, IL, to Millennium train station in downtown Chicago) and the Union Pacific West (Route: Elburn, IL, to Ogilvie Transportation Center in downtown Chicago) lines are the subject of this research because they leave from different stations, and the ridership provides class and racial diversity. Additionally, both of these routes either have several Chicago stops and/or reflect West and South Side of Chicago’s (metro) physical, socioeconomic, and residential differences.

The Layout of Chicago’s Buses and Trains

On CTA buses, passengers enter through the front door and can pay the fare with an electronic transit card or with cash. On most buses there is an exit halfway or three-quarters of the way from the front. There are several bus models, and seating arrangements vary based on these models. Seats are mostly paired facing forward, with others banked in rows of 3–8 seats and facing inward toward the aisle. On the articulated buses, inward facing seats are often elevated in the middle of the bus. On most buses, there are several steps by the back door that lead to additional seating. The front seats on the buses are labeled as priority seating for the elderly, pregnant women, and people with disabilities

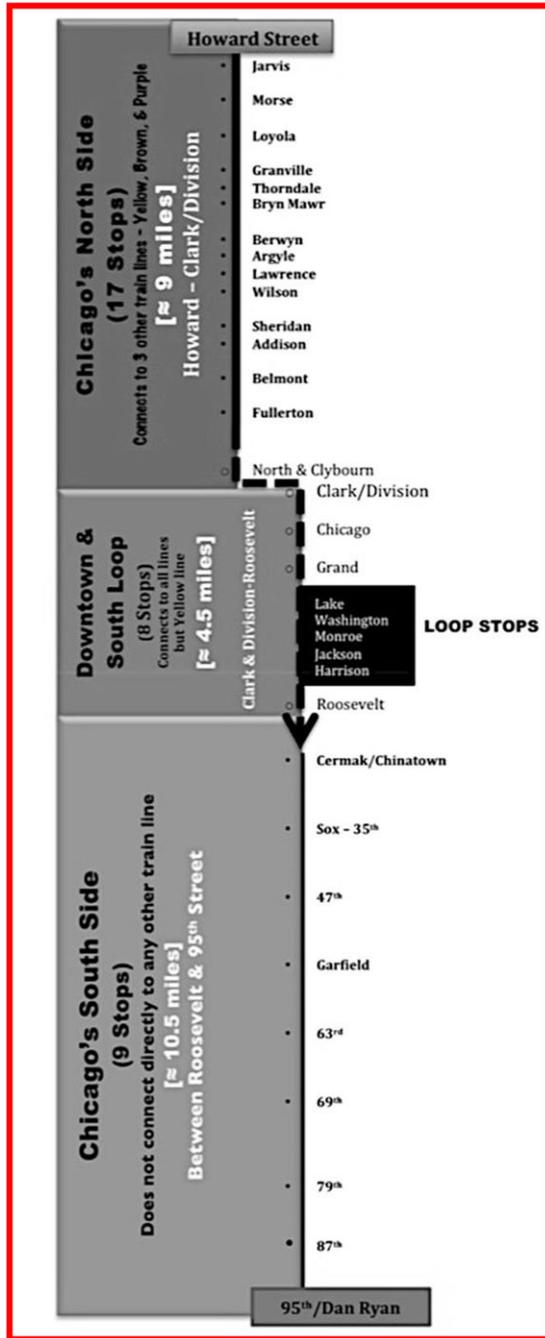


FIG. 2. Red Line Route and stops.

(this rule is also announced on the PA system after most stops). Standing passengers can hold on to holding straps and bars (see Appendix A).

On CTA trains, passengers can enter into one of the two sets of doors on each train car. The train cars also have different models for seating. Passengers riding the older trains can choose from seats that are usually paired and facing either direction of travel. There are also paired seats facing the aisles at each car exit door. On the newer train models, there are several aisle facing seats and fewer paired seats. Technically passengers can travel from car to car, but this is discouraged by a metal overlay on the handles and signs noting that it is prohibited, and unlike in other cities, passengers rarely pass through from car to car. On the North Side, because most stops are only a few blocks or a half-mile apart, passengers can disembark from the train more often and change cars. On the south side the stops are 1–1.5 miles apart, so opportunities to exit the train are fewer (Figure 2).

Metra train entrances and exits are in the center vestibule and a single door at the end of each car. During nonrush-hour trips, not all doors of the train will open. Passengers, when boarding, can go to the left or right side of the train car for seating and can also sit upstairs (see Appendix A). During transit and at stops, passengers can and often do walk through the train between cars (unless they are locked, during nonrush periods). Transit personnel travel through the Metra trains collecting fares (cash or various Metra ride passes). Unlike on the CTA trains, where there is only one person operating the trains and doors, on Metra, there is an engineer and several train personnel for each trip.

The seating and standing arrangements on both the trains and buses place passengers in close proximity to each other. On the longer articulated buses, passengers have more options for bodily space and movements, but this is limited on the smaller buses where the seating capacity is less than 40 and the aisles are narrower (see Appendix A). On CTA trains, passengers cannot escape the train cars as easily as Metra riders, who can travel between train cars for most of the trip. The materiality of a Metra train, with its upper-level and lower-level seats, means that passengers have more options to avoid interactions, but on CTA, the proximity of seats and holding straps limits exit options and shapes interactions in a particular way (Wilson 2011).

PARTICIPANT OBSERVATIONS

I conducted ethnographic field observations on the bus and train routes between 2010 and 2014. Most of the observations were made during the end of morning transit rush hours (8 am to 9:00 am), mid-morning through midday (10 am to 3:30 pm), the latter part of evening transit rush hour and early evening (6:00 pm to 8:00 pm), occasional late evenings (10 pm to mid-night), weekends and holidays, and during major Chicago events such as the 2012 NATO summit. These times were chosen because crowdedness during the morning and evening transit rush hours—6:30 am to 9:00 am and 3:30 pm to 6:30 pm—made certain observations, like those between passengers and bus drivers, challenging.

Passenger–passenger, passenger–bus driver, and passenger–train crew interactions were recorded, as well as descriptions of the interior and exterior spaces. I considered any gesture—smile, nod, or speech—aimed at the bus driver or passengers as an interaction (Miller 2011). I also noted when there was not a gesture or speech oriented toward

the driver. I did not record these passenger–bus driver interactions on every trip but decided before boarding if they would be recorded. When recording passenger–bus driver interactions I sat in seats where I had a clear view (usually an elevated middle seat or a front seat behind the driver) of the passengers’ faces as they boarded and passed the bus driver. On the trips that I recorded passenger–bus driver interactions, I only recorded these interactions at stops (boardings and exits) and focused on passenger–passenger interactions at other times. I noted when people moved or remained in place as passengers boarded or left the bus, and the conversations and tones of voice used, including those on cell phones. I noted when people turned or otherwise moved their bodies in response to others and when they did not. I noted the perceived gender and perceived race of the passengers and transit personnel.

INTERVIEWS

I supplemented observations with semistructured and convenience interviews (Emerson et al. 1995; Lofland et al. 2006). I conducted 35 semistructured and convenience interviews with CTA and Metra riders. The majority of my interviews were with people who were standing or walking near bus or train stops, or in the stations. I first asked if they regularly took public transportation in Chicago. Some said no and many said “Sorry, I can’t help you get where you have to go.” This response, I assumed, was because my question sounded as if I was looking for help. When people responded yes, I told them who I was, briefly described the project and if they noted they were interested, I completed a verbal consent and then handed them the research consent document. Conducting interviews on the streets of downtown allowed for a diverse sampling of passengers traveling into the downtown area, the common space for the study. Additionally, I utilized a variety of recruitment techniques to recruit other interviewees such as sending out emails asking friends to forward my request to people they knew who might be interested in talking with me about their experiences on public transportation. Because the interviews were confidential, I asked that they give my information directly to the participant. I asked, (1) *Can you tell me what your trip is like from when you board the bus/train and when you exit downtown?* (2) *Which public transit route(s) do you take?* (3) *How long have you taken those routes?* And (4) *How many days a week do you take public transportation?* For those who rode the Red Line, I also asked if they had any experiences with the Red Line construction, because this was going on during the study (2012–2013).

RECORDING OBSERVATIONS

It was important for me to capture as much of the activity on the buses and trains as possible. Interviews were audio-recorded, transcribed, and then coded. Field observations of the spaces were recorded through pictures, videos, and notes in a notebook. I did not want to compromise my ability to sit as a casual passenger and did not want to have my notes compromised if other passengers saw them. I thus used both a notebook and my phone (a notes application) to record written notes. As I observed, I wrote. I often used my cellphone during busy trips because trying to position my notebook where I could write and hold my belongings was challenging during peak hours on buses and trains. I mostly used this technique when recording passengers’ activities while riding, passenger

interactions with the bus driver, and demographics of who was in the space. Recording notes into my phone also allowed me to secure the data immediately because I was able to email the notes to myself and then delete them from the phone.

My constant typing did not seem to call any unwanted attention to what I was doing. When recording in my notebook, I recorded in a special code that I created. This allowed me to scribe conversations word for word without fear that someone would be able to read what I wrote. When I disembarked from the bus or train, I stopped to write other notes.

NICE-NASTINESS IN ACTION

Using evidence collected over 3 years on four CTA bus routes, one CTA “L” route, and two Metra routes, I observed a general pattern, which was that Whites, and some Asians, tended to use social conventions of politeness—nice-nastiness—to socially distance themselves from Black passengers and transit personnel on public transportation. This distancing was hard to interpret as overtly hostile, since it was carried out through the types of social conventions of politeness that are often seen in urban public places. Yet, these conventions were used in racially distinctive ways.

PRETENDING THE “OTHER” DOES NOT EXIST: AVOIDING LOOKING AT PEOPLE AND DISTANCED STARING

When Blacks sat next to Whites on the bus, they often experienced *nice-nastiness* as White passengers turned their bodies or their heads to face or stare out the window and would then turn back around after the Black passenger changed seats or got up to exit. Black and Latino/a bus drivers, who are the first people passengers encounter on the bus, also had the same experiences. This form of nice-nastiness—avoiding staring or looking at people as if pretending they do not exist—was frequent. This form of hostility began as passengers entered the bus. As Figure 3 indicates, it is clear that Whites were more likely than Blacks to have no or hostile interactions with the bus drivers.

During a ride on the Outer Drive Express bus, I noted that the LED display sign was not working, but there was a hand-written sign taped to the bus’ windshield indicating the route. The BFBD (Black female bus driver) also announced the route when she opened the doors at each stop. When we reached the Thorndale stop, she opened the doors and said, “This is the 147 Express to Congress.” A well-dressed boarding WFP (White female passenger) looked at her, scanned her transit pass, and said, “I don’t need you to tell me what bus this is.” The bus driver looked at her, but gave no reply. Thus, although the bus drivers were in unavoidable spaces, interaction patterns reflected race and gender patterns (Figure 3).

As evidenced in Figure 3, White passengers interacted with Black bus drivers less than 40 percent of the time. However, White passengers had high rates of interactions, 60 percent and higher, with White bus drivers. Black passengers’ interaction patterns were similar (40 percent and higher) regardless of the race of the driver, except Black male passengers interacted more with White drivers. White bus drivers experienced more interactions with passengers than Black male bus drivers across most groups. Additionally, when Black bus drivers spoke to passengers or stopped away from designated bus stops because they saw a passenger running for the bus, White passengers, especially White

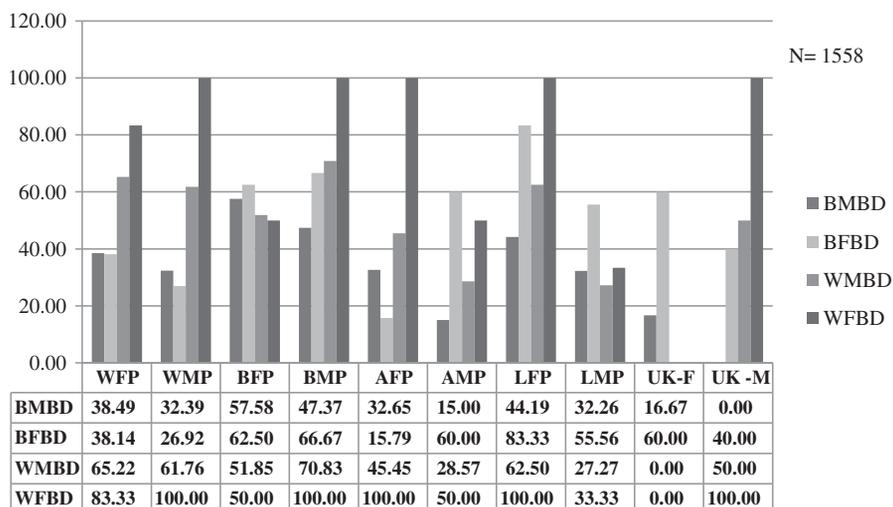


FIG. 3. Bus driver and passenger interactions by race-gender of driver and passenger. Key: B, Black; W, White; A, Asian; L, Hispanic/Latino; U, Race undetermined; BD, bus driver; P, passenger; M, male/man; F, female/woman. *Figure only includes interactions with Black and White bus drivers.

female passengers, rarely said thank you compared to other groups. However, White female passengers said “good bye” or “thank you” to the White bus drivers more often than to non-White drivers when exiting through the front entrance/exit doors. This finding was compelling because passengers have every opportunity to greet the driver, as the structure of the bus makes it impossible not to have the potential for greeting. Nevertheless, the data show that White passengers were far less likely to have interactions or positive interactions with the drivers. Moreover, being occupied with electronic devices did not disrupt these interaction patterns as Black passengers who were on mobile devices were also more likely to interact with bus drivers than other groups. The fixed and confined spaces of the buses meant that Black bus drivers were hyperexposed to this “avoidance/pretend the person is not there” form of nice-nastiness.

This kind of nonrecognition of others is one way urbanites can make their way through crowded spaces. But clearly, on the buses, this convention was racialized, such that Black drivers were ignored more frequently than were White drivers. These patterns repeatedly exposed Black drivers to the violence of racism in close-up and confined spaces next to the driver’s seat.

This pattern was also observed between passengers. During one trip on the Outer Drive Express, bus a White female passenger turned and stared out the window when a Black female passenger sat next to her in the aisle seat. She continued this gaze out the window until after the Black female changed seats (she was with someone who appeared to be a boyfriend). She then turned and faced forward and did not stare out the window again when other non-Black passengers sat next to her.

This pattern was also observed on Metra trains, but the patterns varied by train line. In this space, White passengers did not always divert their gazes from Black passengers. Instead, they often stared at them for unusual periods of time, but usually at a distance rather than the more impolite close-up staring. For example, on the Metra Electric line,

when the train stopped at stations in Black communities, such as Harvey and Riverdale, seated White passengers often stared out the window and watched as passengers walked the platform to board the train and then stared at them to see which side of the train car they were going to enter and where they were going to sit. During one northbound trip, a WFP (White female passenger) fixed her gaze on two young BMPs (Black male passengers) who boarded in Hazel Crest (85 percent Black) (US Census 2010). She watched them as far as she could while they walked the platform, and then she turned her head to watch them as they entered the train's center vestibule and then chose a seat (see Appendix A). This staring down BMPs in particular was a common occurrence, and not repeated when White passengers boarded the train. This crafty nice-nastiness could be interpreted as just "being observant," but because it was racialized, it cannot be understood merely as a form of general protectiveness. Distant staring was done so the observed did not necessarily see them, but where other Blacks in the area could see them, such that these other Black passengers' feelings were disregarded. During transit rush hour periods, when the Metra Electric train was more likely to be commuters, more evenly divided by race for much of the trip, and where the trains also ran express, fixed gazed observances of boarding Black male passengers were less common.

A Black male Metra employee interviewee noted that, "most White people disassociate themselves with anyone." But he also added that for the past 10 years he noticed that White women will sit next to professionally dressed Black male passengers at night when the train is not full as a form of protection against other Black males, particularly young Black males, even though train personnel are often present in the space. White women appear to not be racist because they will sit next to a Black male after seeking him out, but it is done, from what he surmised, as a way to avoid interactions with Black males that they considered undesirable, and perceived as more likely to be a threat, suggesting that class and gender dynamics are also at work, although they are beyond the scope of this paper.

QUIETING RACIST TONES: WHISPERING AND LOWERING ONE'S VOICE

In many public places, being quiet, including lowering one's voice, is one of the rules of social order (Goffman 1971). But on public transportation, Whites tended to lower their voices in racialized ways. During one instance on the Outer Drive Express bus, a WFP (White female passenger) became annoyed with a BFP (Black female passenger) who sat next to her. She scooted over when the BFP sat down. After a few minutes she yelled at the BFP, "Excuse me ma'am can you move over? I just moved over and then you moved over." The BFP was not touching her. The WFP called someone on the phone and then turned a little bit toward the window. She pulled her shirt collar up and held it next to her mouth and eventually said laughingly, "Don't take this the wrong way..."—lowering her voice during this part of the conversation—"but if he's South American, maybe he can bring some drugs here. . . . Well if he's driving that type of car, he's obviously not part of the drug cartel." The lowering of her voice only when expressing an ethno-racial stereotype signified that she only partially did not want the BFP or other passengers to hear her. Thus, she was lowering her voice in part as a way to not be fully responsible for her racist remarks, yet she did not have this conversation by text or off the bus, and thus either did not care who heard her, or was untroubled that others did. In another

instance, a WMP (White male passenger) turned toward the window on the Red Line train and mumbled “these black people talking” referring to two Black female coworkers who were seated next to him and talking. He repeated it a few times, loud enough for those near him, including me, but quiet enough that the Black women talking could not necessarily hear him.

The use of the lowered voice to express racist comments also happened in instances in which White passengers were discussing the (segregated) areas of the city through which the trains passed. These kinds of remarks were thus explicitly shaped by previous institutional arrangements, that is, racial segregation. Whites’ sense of the Red Line as a place of fear and danger when it travelled through certain parts of the city, specifically when it traveled into predominantly Black South Side areas, was particularly evident, as exemplified during a trip on St. Patrick’s Day weekend on an eastbound UP-W (Union Pacific to West) Metra train:

A middle-aged WFP (White female passenger) boarded at Oak Park (a predominantly White middle-class suburb) and began a conversation with a middle-aged White couple shortly after we left the station. She complained about the lateness of the train. She discussed her preference for the Metra over CTA. She eventually said, “I would have taken the Green line but it’s cree . . .” She didn’t finish the word, but instead looked sideways at me. She lowered her voice and then continued, “I’ll take the Blue line.” The WMP (White male passenger) from the couple then cautioned her about the Red Line and not taking it south because it was dangerous. She concurred and added that she won’t take it south, “like toward [White] Sox Park.” (March 16, 2013)

Whispering meant that passengers wished others to hear them, and that they also risked Black passengers hearing them make racist remarks, but they persisted in doing so. Whispering often implies politeness in crowded space; here, that possibility is combined with a specifically racist set of comments.

CONFINED DISTANCING: STANDING INSTEAD OF TAKING A SEAT

Another form of politeness in urban settings is making room for others, such as moving slightly aside so others can pass on the sidewalk. But in closed, interracial spaces, those conventions can take on other meanings. During one rush hour trip during the winter on a northbound Outer Drive Express bus, several young black passengers boarded the bus downtown at the Madison and State Street bus stop and sat in the middle section of seats that faced east. Some of those in the group repeatedly used the N-word and profanity. As the bus traveled and became more crowded, boarding White and Asian passengers avoided standing or sitting near this group. However, Black passengers both stood and sat near this group. The group was conscious of the fact that non-Blacks were not sitting or standing in spaces near them. One of the young Black men looked around and eventually said:

Everyone on here looking and saying *I can’t wait ‘til they get off*. They [are] like, *they Black and they’re loud and cursing*. Folks gonna walk in the cold to get away. – Black male passenger (January 2013)

When he said this, the non-Black passengers who were within a few feet noticeably tensed up, looked down, or looked away. The responses to and avoiding of this group of young Black passengers—who were college students as noted by their conversation and clothing—were not subtle, brief, benign, or unconscious. In another example, during a southbound crowded trip on the Outer Drive Express bus in March 2013, an Asian female passenger passed up seats near two Black female passengers and instead chose to squeeze into a seat between a White male passenger and a White female passenger. There was more room in the space between the two Black females. On buses, Black passengers sat alone longer than any other group. This avoidance pattern and looking away from Blacks and other minorities was repeated on many rides on the buses and trains even when minority passengers were seated alone, standing, and/or silent.

Similar conventions were also observed on trains. At various stops along the Red Line, passengers do not just board the train willy-nilly, without contemplation, but employ various techniques in deciding how quickly to board and what to do once in the train car. For this reason, trains are an important site for observing how racialized interactions are produced by the spaces. For example, when Latino/a passengers boarded the Red Line train they tended to sit wherever there was availability, regardless of where the train was at the time or who was in the train car(s).

However, boarding and seating patterns varied among White passengers depending on where the train was located and who was in the space when they entered the train car. For example, when boarding the Red Line train at 35th Street (Sox Park) White passengers' boarding patterns often followed the White Sox home game schedule. There was usually an abundance of White people on the platform after the games so when the northbound train doors opened, boarding White passengers readily found places to stand or sit as they boarded. They did not linger near the doors scanning the train car nor did they cluster in particular areas of the train car when lots of empty seats were available. Additionally, they did not keep their heads buried in a book as was often observed during non-Sox game days and times, when the train cars were more likely to be majority minority passengers at this stop. One might suspect that these patterns could be indicative of a train culture of boarding quickly after big events; however, the pattern repeated into downtown areas, even though fans were not boarding in large numbers at those stops. During rush hour and weekends, northbound trains were predominantly White during the downtown stops and White passengers boarded the train in the same matter as they did at 35th/Sox during White Sox home games, finding space where there was a spot.

On most days the Red Line northbound train is predominantly minority passengers from 95th to Harrison (but sometimes Roosevelt). On these days, when the train pulled into 22nd Cermak/Chinatown, boarding Black passengers sat wherever there was a seat, but Asian and White passengers mostly stood or sat near each other and avoided Blacks who were already sitting or standing in the space. When other White and Asian passengers boarded the Red Line beginning at Roosevelt, the next stop, sitting/standing patterns reflected these same patterns of *nice-nastiness* in *giving up space*. Whites and Asians avoided sitting next to Blacks and chose to stand until empty seats became available next to non-Blacks or when two connected seats emptied. For example, an AMP (Asian male passenger) and WMP (White male passenger) boarded a crowded non-rush hour northbound Red Line at Harrison. Most of the passengers in the train car were Black. There were plenty of aisle seats available. Instead of sitting, these men stood in the aisle, holding the back of the empty seats. The majority of the Black passengers exited the train by

North/Clybourn, which is the last subway stop. When we left the subway and stopped at Fullerton, several people, including most of the few remaining Black passengers, exited. At this point, these same men, the AMP and WMP, moved and sat across the aisle from each other in seats next to White passengers, even though the empty seats they held onto for most of the ride were still empty, but with the same Black male passengers sitting in the window seats. During another trip an older WFP (White female passenger) boarded the Red Line train at the Addison stop and passed up several seats next to people of color but then sat next to a WFP who was loudly chatting on the phone.

At nighttime, the Red Line northbound trains were often filled with young Black males as they moved through the South Side. As these trains moved into the integrated spaces of downtown, White passengers repeatedly passed up empty seats next to these men. This was a pattern for both White men and women as typified during one late Friday night (10:45 pm) trip on a northbound crowded Red Line train: Several White passengers boarded at the Roosevelt and the Jackson stops. These passengers did not sit next to any of the young BMPs (Black male passengers) who were already on the train. The BMPs were sitting quietly, at times looking out the window, yet they remained alone during all the subway stops and once above ground as we moved through the first above ground stops. Once the train became predominantly White, these same standing passengers sat down in other seats, while still avoiding the young Black males. Sitting patterns by these White passengers did not change as the train became less crowded, but only after the train car was no longer predominantly Black and had moved out of a “black” area and further into the north side.

On the Metra UP-W (Union Pacific to West) train, White passengers exhibited racist patterns similar to those on the CTA. Black Metra passengers sat alone longer than any other group. Although Blacks were a very small percentage of the ridership throughout the day, non-Black passengers often chose to keep walking through the car and into other cars if seats were not available next to other non-Black passengers.

These examples typify a pattern of *nice-nastiness* via *giving up space* when Black and Latino passengers are on the trains traveling from the South Side. These patterns can simultaneously be read as “I prefer to stand instead of crowding you on the seat,” yet many of these same standing passengers sat later when the train was more White than minority passengers, regardless of crowdedness.

LETTING OTHERS HAVE SPACE FOR AUDITORY EXPRESSION

Another form of “leaving space” is giving them auditory “space.” Here again, patterns of racism against Blacks were evinced. Blacks who were louder in the closed car/bus space were avoided by White (and Asian) passengers, but loud White passengers were not avoided, as shown in these next examples. Four BFPs from an area high school, as indicated by their ID badges, were sitting in the back of the Outer Drive Express bus when I boarded. They were laughing as the bus traveled southbound. They were seated in the middle seats on the last row. Repeatedly, White passengers walked toward their area when boarding but when the girls laughed, they stopped and sat away from them. During a different trip on the same bus route, five White college students from Loyola University Chicago sat in the middle partition area of the bus. They laughed and talked loudly, yet White passengers did not avoid them, but instead stood and sat close to them. None of

these White passengers voiced their resistance to sitting near Black passengers but instead used techniques of *nice-nastiness*, *letting others have their auditory space*, to communicate a message.

This same pattern of letting others have auditory “freedom” was racialized on Metra. On the Metra UP-W, White passengers were more likely to be drinking, drunk, loud, and using profanity, especially during summer months, yet they were not usually avoided by other White passengers, including those traveling with children. There were more Black families on the Metra Electric than on the UP-W, which was surely shaped by the demographics of the communities served by each line. During one northbound trip on the 12:57 pm Metra Electric train at University Park, a group of 14 children, 12 Black children and two White children, along with three adults—one Black and two White—boarded the train. Before the train departed, the Black chaperone repeatedly reminded the children to watch their volume levels because “we’re not the only ones on the train and we need to be respectful of others.” At the time the train car was majority minority. After departure and as we moved a few stops away to Matteson, Olympia Fields, and then Flossmoor, which are middle to upper middle-income south suburbs, more White passengers boarded the train (US Census 2010). Boarding White passengers stood in the center vestibule, looked into the train car, saw all the Black people seated on the lower level, looked up and saw the large number of Black children sitting upstairs and turned around and entered into the other side of the train car, even though there were plenty of seats in the first car. In this instance, *nice-nastiness* was enacted as Whites avoided sharing a relatively wide space with the Black children, who were fairly quiet, especially in comparison to White children. Thus, even when Blacks were making overt efforts to keep their children quieter, this did not translate into Whites’ desires to sit near them. I also observed that White children were much more likely than Black children to be allowed to jump up and down on the seats of Metra trains, especially on the UP-W train, throw fits, hit their parents, scream, and run from one side of the upper seating, down the stairs, and up to the other side. Regardless of these types of behaviors, White passengers and non-White passengers came into and/or remained in these spaces with these unruly White children.

Thus, *giving others space for auditory expression* was indeed racialized. Blacks were politely “given room” for auditory freedom, while Whites’ auditory spaces were shared. Loudness, or potential loudness as in the case of the group of children, was shunned when the sounds were from Blacks, but tolerated as if expected in public when the sounds were from Whites.

“PSEUDO-SWAGGER” AS POLITENESS

Another form of nice-nastiness during interactions was “*pseudo-swagger*”—a convention of politeness by some White passengers involving an exaggerated display of showing their comfort and confidence in engaging Black passengers. Rather than disengaging from a possible conversation started by a minority passenger, some Whites worked to publicly display such engagement. Yet even these expressions of “swagger” were combined with visible and audible distancing. This was observed often on late night Red Line trains. During one northbound Red Line trip, an older Black male, who appeared inebriated, engaged a group of White males, who were also inebriated, in a conversation. The White

males' volume and pitch increased when speaking to the Black male. They looked around at others while talking to him. When he exited at Belmont, their pitch lowered and they only looked at each other when they talked. This pattern, getting louder, raising the pitch of the voice, and looking around at others, was not unique in interactions between inebriated Black and White male passengers. Black male interviewees commented that they were aware of these types of interactions and also noted feeling "patronized" when Whites behaved as if "we have to be dealt with, with some type of attitude or swag." One Black male interviewee also stated, "that's essentially what's happening at that moment."

This distancing coolness or "*pseudo-swagger*" (trying to be or appear comfortable) form of nice-nastiness was also displayed during an interview with a White male passenger who discussed his experiences with taking the Red Line and with the Red Line reconstruction:

...I experienced the reroute to 79th but usually, actually, I had never been down there until this year, but I've always wanted to but just didn't. . . . It was interesting because while riding one day I decided to keep track of who is on the train. It's Saturday so the train is super packed with like tourists. . . . I noticed that when I got to Roosevelt, everyone who wasn't Black funneled off. That's what I noticed. It was kind of interesting because (pause) I'm just sitting there. I don't really feel out of place or anything. I feel fine. (Interview - October 2013)

He had noticed the racial demographics of the train, but also of taking the Red Line south, into predominantly Black areas of the city, as if it was someplace so different that he needed to see it since he's "always wanted to" go south of Roosevelt Road. Expressing to me, a Black female, that he was "fine" with traveling south of Roosevelt, showed that he was comfortable with Black folks, because he did not feel "out of place." I did not ask him about being out of place or about his level of comfort, but he conveyed these things to me, even though he simultaneously noted that he did not typically go to the South Side. Other White male interviewees also proudly told me when they took the train south of downtown, even though rarely. All but one was traveling to the Hyde Park CA, home to University of Chicago, where the median income is \$39,243 and the residential population is 47 percent Non-Hispanic White. Here, "*pseudo-swagger*" is expressed by conflating the mainly Black South Side with a much whiter area south of downtown.

THE ETHNOGRAPHER'S GAZE: MY RIDING EXPERIENCES

I began this project focused on social class dynamics. Although I was fully aware that any study of Chicago would also include race dynamics, I felt that race was well covered by the volumes of scholarship on race and urban life, and I wanted to identify how social class differences were expressed. And indeed, as part of the larger project, I did observe classed (and gendered) interactions in Chicago. But as I began to type up my notes, code them, and analyze what I had, an ugly, yet familiar, pattern arose. Race was everywhere. Race mattered: The race of the passengers mattered, the predominant race in the communities mattered, the race of the transit personnel mattered, and even my race mattered.

As a researcher and resident of the city, I have ridden public transportation more times than I can count. I have traveled north, south, and west on various bus and train lines, but I have ridden the Red Line and the #147 Outer Drive Express bus more than any

other routes. As I traveled the transit routes in my study, one thing was more apparent than anything else: Race mattered. I had expected and hoped that class would shape most of the interactions. Every ethnographer, in some way, shapes some of the scene(s) he or she is observing. Simultaneously, the ethnographer can also be a source of secondary order. I have tried to illuminate both of these in my ethnographic data. As a Black woman ethnographer, passengers responded to me as a Black woman on every route, on every trip I took. While on the South Side, I was brought into the mobile community, through repeated conversations with strangers and comments on my hair. I was avoided and often looked at disapprovingly when riding through downtown on northbound trains. I found that although I displayed plenty of middle class markers—I used advanced technology like smart phones and tablets, wore well-made clothes, read academic journals and thick texts, often carried shopping bags from higher end stores, and even had conversations about more high-brow cultural experiences—in the end I was still Black. I experienced *nice-nastiness* on buses on the North Side, on the Metra UP-W line, and when traveling northbound on the Red Line. People not only said racist things against Blacks while I was in the space, but I too sat alone longer than White and Asian passengers. White people were so politely not staring at me, they often knocked up against me so hard in passing me that I limped when I got off the bus because my knee or foot was injured. These remarks are not made in the name of autoethnography, but that these raced experiences show that as a participant in the spaces, I was not immune the effects of race, class, or gender (Venkatesh 2013). They also serve as additional evidence of patterns of social difference on public transportation.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Residential segregation constructs spatial and social boundaries. Spatial boundaries are imbued with various distinctions including race, class, gender, and culture. Public transportation often brings together people from bounded places into integrated spaces that are brokered by mobility and the physicality of the space: Seating is defined, exit/entrance doors are stable, and limited stops. The intersection of physicality, mobility, and racial integration in an otherwise racially segregated landscape often elicits raced responses as these conditions often shape a space of anxiety for socially distant passengers. *Nice-nastiness* makes these contestations and anxieties less openly confrontational.

In urban spaces, “the resources that actors may use are also structured by preexisting arrangements” (see also Moore 2008; Moore and Frickel 2006, p.10), which include racial segregation. On public transportation, actors often used the conventions of politeness in dominant racial performances. Nevertheless, nice-nastiness does not ameliorate the racialized and institutionalized dynamics that limit cross-racial contact. Moreover, unlike open spaces where various avoidance techniques can be employed, everyday racism is enacted in delicate ways on public transportation.

Public spaces, even when familiar to us by virtue of our repeated visits, are made strange by the variability of the characters and material things passing through or lingering within the space (Lofland 1973). Chicago’s obdurate racially segregated landscape shapes social patterns of difference that are constructed and performed in daily interactions, especially on buses and trains. I have shown how we can better understand social interactions, contestations included, in the mobile urban landscape. Closed, mobile spaces shape

interactions in particular ways, but it is not discussed in the scholarship on public spaces. The emphasis in the urban literature on static places has nearly ignored mobile spaces that move through the urban metropolis carrying tens of thousands of social actors every day. These daily face-to-face raced interactions are not without consequences but have “negative psychological and physiological outcomes” (Rollock et al. 2011, p. 254), are internalized (Pyke 2010) and stressful (Scott and House 2005) for Blacks, just as other forms of and experiences with racial discrimination and prejudice.

In closed spaces where quick judgments are made, individual patterns of interactions show little change. Furthermore, nice-nastiness shows how on public transportation, some White and Asian passengers often did not “enhance a general sense of sociability and community by acknowledging the presence of other people and establishing a connection with them” (Miller 2011, p. 203) but instead enacted distancing strategies. These types of interactions highlight how public transportation can help us better understand the indelibility, obduracy, and consequences of racial residential segregation and isolation.

In confined and integrated mobile public spaces, “discriminatory racial attitudes” (Omi and Winant 2015, p.1), nice-nastiness, and other patterns of social difference expose racial anxiety. As passengers and transit personnel, Blacks on public transportation systems are required to navigate a mobile terrain shaped with raced anxiety and hostilities. Blacks are exposed to continual and abundant amounts of socially injurious interactions presented through nice-nasty techniques. The consequences of daily and face-to-face racism further isolate ethno-racial minorities, Blacks in particular, who are simultaneously negotiating a social world that is fraught with racial residential segregation, the criminalization of the Black body, and membership in the quintessential out-group (Charles 2009; Kefalas 2003; Leverentz 2012; Oliver and Wong 2003; Rios 2011; Scott and House 2005). Blacks are aware of negative imaginings ascribed to them and being targeted for raced responses (Brooms 2014; Leverentz 2012; Scott and House 2005) that are often masked as *nice-nastiness*. Integrated, confined, mobile public spaces increase the exposure to these risks. Blacks often engage in risk reduction activities by either openly acknowledging the nice-nastiness, as the young Black male did on the Outer Drive Express bus, or through silence and stillness as the trains become integrated, as young Black males did on the Red Line and as the Black female chaperone encouraged her group to exhibit on the Metra Electric train.

On public transportation, nice-nastiness and other raced behaviors may appear brief, but are continual abuses that Blacks and other ethno-racial minorities experience consistently when boarding and riding. This burden disenfranchises them in public spaces and warrants further examinations of the direct impact of this type of racism and its aggregate effects. Mobile public spaces provide us with an up close and personal view of every raced behavior and interaction. Observations in these spaces can also bring us to a better understanding of how the spatial organization of the city matters and the materiality of public transit systems shapes social interactions.

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Notes

¹Chicago is a heterogeneous city and so are many of the transit routes that traverse the city. The ridership on the routes presented in this article are majority White or integrated with more White and Black passengers than other race groups when downtown or on the North Side of the city.

²During the first years of my study, the 146 bus was the Inner Drive/Marine Drive bus.

³Unlike other Metra trains that run through locomotive power, the Metra Electric train is powered by electricity which comes to the train by way of a bar/conduit from the train and electrical wires above it that mirror the routes.

⁴The data presented in this article are part of a larger study that examines six CTA bus routes, two “L” train routes, and two Metra commuter train routes and also analyze over 200 transportation planning and policy documents and maps; and 35 semistructured and convenience interviews; and a content analysis of over 15,000 comments posted on a social media website dedicated to people’s experiences on CTA.

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A Appendix

INTERIOR SPACES OF CTA BUSES AND TRAINS AND METRA TRAINS

Interior space of an articulated bus



Interior space of smaller bus (39 seats)



Interior space of Metra Electric train

