

Abstract

Urban enclaves play an important role in sociological theory and in overall community development. This project will look at the exclusivity of a particular enclave in the Indianapolis area, Golden Hill Community, and through observation and interviews, will examine the makeup of this segregated community. Considered by many to be an exclusive upper-class neighborhood, this research will look closely at the social interaction of residents with each other, as well as the outside community, in order to determine its strength and significance as an urban enclave. Over the nine week period, I will be submerging myself in the culture of this community with the help of Dr. Richard Fledman, a local resident and amateur historian. I will be examining the community's past in order to help evaluate its current challenges and position for future stability. The end goal is to develop a detailed framework for placing Golden Hill within the context of other American upper-class enclaves.

Significance of Project – I

Enclaves have always held a place in American cities. An enclave is defined as an area containing residents who share something significant with one another (Abrahamson, 5). The residents in the enclaves act in a reciprocal relationship with the place they inhabit. The place shapes the people and the people in turn shape the place. Each distinctive group, along with its stores and institutions, occupies a geographic area that becomes intimately associated with that group (Abrahamson, 1). They can share not only an ethnicity but a significant commonality based on wealth, life-style, or a combination of these attributes (Anderson, 14). Enclaves are found all across the United States and the challenge for planners is using physical design to foster public social interaction and the development of strong ties among community members (Smithsimon, 5). Sociologists and planners alike, study space in which social processes play out in order to better understand social phenomena. A major facet of my major, Urban Affairs, is to study human interaction and change within the urban community. My desired career, urban planning, takes this sociological perspective and applies it to physical design in order to create the most effective use of space.

This particular proposal takes the natural laboratory of the Golden Hill Community in Indianapolis and applies it to this study on urban enclaves. Some enclaves, like Golden Hill, have intentionally designed entries that unambiguously mark some or all of their boundaries (Abrahamson, 3). Golden Hill may more accurately be described as a “citadel”. The citadel is a concentrated enclave defended by private security forces, physical barriers, and economic and racial exclusion (Smithsimon, 15). The term itself, citadel, refers to a physically and symbolically defended enclave in which managers of global capitalism live, work, and play (Smithsimon, 15). Golden Hill is surrounded on all sides by natural boundaries. It is located west of Martin Luther King Jr. Drive, south of Woodstock Country Club, and just north of 36th street. Throughout its history, Golden Hill has remained an upper-class residential neighborhood with none of the transitions, deterioration, or “regentrification” prevalent in other Indianapolis neighborhoods (Mohlman, 12).

The two guideposts for this study of Golden Hill will be Battery Park City in New York and Beacon Hill in Boston. Battery Park City has emerged over the past forty years as a comprehensive, state-planned development project of luxury apartments, financial sector offices, parks, stores, schools, and museums that are tucked along the side of Lower Manhattan’s Hudson waterfront (Smithsimon, 4). This development, like Golden Hill remains exclusive to the global corporate elite and physical boundaries intentionally separate the area from other socioeconomic classes. Beacon Hill also falls into this category as an elite urban enclave. Sitting atop the Charles River, Beacon Hill remains an isolated neighborhood, exempt from commercial enterprise, and affordable only to Boston’s economic elite. This group of residents has in many instances exercised their power and resources to make governmental decisions in the interest of their party. These two examples of social power and exclusion will serve as important examples in defining the current situation of the Golden Hill community.

Along with these two previously studied laboratories, the work of Abrahamson will be a guiding light with regards to the origin of the study on urban enclaves. His book, *Urban Enclaves, Identity and Place in America*, highlights and compares various neighborhoods across the United States that evoke strong images of residents who share common ethnic, racial, religious, social class, or lifestyle ties (Abrahamson, 15). He breaks down the importance of social interaction within these communities as well as the commonalities

that segregate different communities. Taking previous literature into account, this project will complement previous studies on the maintenance of urban enclaves. It will attempt to determine the effects of exclusivity of urban space on a community by looking at the social relations amongst residents of Golden Hill as well as their interaction with the surrounding area. It is my hope to determine whether or not the boundaries of this enclave play any part in social interaction within and outside of the residential community.

Statement of Central Objective - II

This project seeks to answer the question, what are the effects of exclusivity of urban space on a community such as Golden Hill? It will look at how residents define their community and its boundaries as well as the sense of identity within the community. Through qualitative interviews and observation, I hope to identify the reasons residents choose to live in Golden Hill as well as how they view themselves as a community. This information will then in turn help formulate central themes that either tie or contrast Golden Hill to other urban enclaves and their levels of social interaction. Based on previous studies, I hypothesize that the residents of Golden Hill have limited social interactions with their surrounding community thus refuting the idea that urban enclaves can be used as a foundation of more inclusive and egalitarian social organization. While the research question may appear a bit broad, I believe it will allow me to examine the an already focused topic on a more widespread level in order to determine how the neighborhood has changed in comparison with the community around it. The end result of these interviews and observation will help create a detailed picture of this neighborhood in the context of previous studies on the exclusive nature of urban enclaves.

Methods - III

Research methods for this project will take on a mixed method format. Quantitative data that will be obtained includes updating the Golden Hill registry last revised by Mohlman in 1983. This mainly includes updating the residency list for each lot within the community. The major portion of the research will take on a qualitative interview format. I plan on completing between 12-24 resident interviews depending on availability, as well as an in depth interview with historian Dr. Richard Feldman. Residents will voluntarily be asked a

set of relatively open-ended questions dealing with their involvement within the community, their reason for taking up residency in Golden Hill, their level of safety within the community, as well as interaction with the outside community. It will also look at patterns of social interaction, how residents deal with basic family issues like school, food, and shopping, and the positives and negatives of living in such an isolated community. I will also use observation as a method of research. Observation at various community meetings and social gatherings will allow me a better understanding of the level and depth of social interaction among residents as well as with "outsiders". I will then take this information obtained in the interview and compare it with studies done on other upper-class enclaves such as Boston's Beacon Hill and Battery Park City in New York in order to gain a better understanding of Golden Hill's place among other American urban enclaves. Overall, I want to gain a greater understanding of the challenges facing this neighborhood as well as whether or not the neighborhood's social-class tie is enough to cohesively consider them an urban enclave by definition.

Progress of Project - IV

Week	Progress
Week 1	Create Questionnaire and schedule appointment times with contacts
Weeks 2-7	Complete 12-24 interviews and participant observation
Week 8	Update Golden Hill Community Registrar
Weeks 8-9	Analysis of Data and Preparation of Results for Presentation

Feasibility - V

The only contact and resource needed to complete this project is Dr. Richard Feldman, a physician, amateur historian and resident of the Golden Hill Community. Dr. Colburn, my faculty mentor, has a working relationship with Dr. Feldman and plans to put me in direct contact with him for the entirety of this project.

Working on Campus – VI

The only reason I will be away from campus will be to interview residents of Golden Hill community which is just south of Butler's Campus situated west of Martin Luther King Jr. Drive, south of Woodstock Country Club and just north of 36th street. I will not be living away from campus, simply completing research.

Personal – VII

I am currently an Urban Affairs major and have long term educational goals of getting a Masters in Urban Planning and Design. This research project and the study of enclaves and exclusivity in particular are two subject areas that play a large importance in the field of urban planning. Through this research I hope to gain not only a better understanding of the general research process, but also, I hope to learn about the many facets of residential communities and their relation to real estate development and planning. I am very close to completing the required coursework required to graduate with an Urban Affairs degree and this includes particularly important classes such as Research Methods (SO393) and Urban Society (SO347). Urban Society actually pre-exposed me to the Golden Hill Community and my professor and faculty mentor, Dr. Ken Colburn has professional contacts within that community. I have already assisted Dr. Colburn in a previous research project and I plan to use him for making connections with outside contacts and as a guide for refining my research skills on this project.

Presentation – VIII

Upon the completion of research done during Butler Summer Institute this project will be:

- Presented during the last week of BSI 2012
- Presented at Butler's Undergraduate Research Conference 2013
- Presented at a Regional Meeting such as the *Midwest Sociological Society's* Annual meeting

- Sent for Publication to *City and Community*, a journal of the American Sociological Association section on Community and Urban Sociology

Research Approvals – IX

This project will require Human Subjects Approval. Approval has already been submitted.

Transcripts – X

See attached.

Works Cited – XI

Abrahamson, Mark. *Urban Enclaves: Identity and Place in America*. New York: St. Martin's, 1996.

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Anderson, Elijah. *Streetwise: Race, Class, and Change in an Urban Community*. Chicago: University of Chicago, 1990. Print.

Domhoff, G. William. *Who Rules America?* Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1967. Print.

Lemanski, Charlotte. "Spaces of Exclusivity or Connection? Linkages between a Gated Community and Its Poorer Neighbour in a Cape Town Master Plan Development." *Urban Studies* 43 (2006): 397-420. Print.

Mohlman, Kristin. *Golden Hill History*. Rep. 1983. Print.

Smithsimon, Gregory. *September 56: Community and Neighborhood Recovery at Ground Zero*. New York: New York UP, 2011. Print.