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cosmopolitan spaces (racially diverse islands of civility) that may be in various stages of flux, from white to black or from black to white (Anderson 2011). As demographics change, public spaces are subject to change as well, impacting not only how a space is occupied and by whom but also the way in which it is perceived.

What whites see as "diverse," blacks may perceive as homogeneously white and relatively privileged (see Jackson 1999). While the respective white and black spaces may appear to be racially homogeneous, typically they can be subclassified in terms of ethnicity and social class. "White spaces," for instance, often include not only traditional

but when driving in the white space, they attract special scrutiny; on occasion, they get stopped and questioned by the police, who then may "discover" charges on which to detain them.

On occasion, these black people dine at some of the city's finest restaurants, and they shop, at times haltingly, at high-end stores like Brooks Brothers, Chanel, and Neiman Marcus. Members of this class occasionally mix business with pleasure, as they may casually do business deals with one another and with their white counterparts in settings that are so expensive they are exclusive. Highly status conscious, these blacks are very much aware of the figures they strike at work, at play, and at home, in predominantly white or in racially mixed settings (Lacy 2007; Patillo 2013; Robinson 2010). In these settings, often but not always, they appear distinctive and well dressed, wearing expensive designer clothes. But at times, particularly when appearing casually dressed, they can be challenged in restaurants, in their cars, in their buildings, on the golf course, in a fancy hotel lobby, or even arrested for "breaking into" their own homes (see Ogletree 2010).

Although increasingly present in the consciousness of the larger society, members of the black middle class can be rendered almost invisible by the iconic ghetto. Police officers, taxi drivers, small business owners, and other members of the general public often treat blackness in a person as a "master status" that supersedes their identities as ordinary law-abiding citizens. Depending on the immediate situation, this treatment may be temporary or persistent while powerfully indicating the inherent ambiguity in the anonymous black person's public status (see Anderson 1990; Becker 1973; Hughes 1944). In popular parlance, whether hailing from the ghetto or the middle-class suburbs, most critically, they exist "while black." And for many, their black skin designates them as being "from the ghetto." While operating in the white space, they can be subject to social, if not physical, jeopardy. Thus, while navigating the white space, they risk a special penalty—their putative transgression is to conduct themselves in ordinary ways in public while being black at the same time.

Members of this group are typically only a generation or so removed from the ghetto, and many have impoverished relatives who still reside there. While their lives are in marked contrast to those of their ghetto-dwelling counterparts and kinfolk, when enacting professional roles they do so with limited credibility, their status almost always provisional, and subject to negotiation (see E. Goffman 1963; Jaynes 2004; Anderson 2011). For as a rela-

emerges, manifested in a "code of the street," in which "street credibility" becomes an extremely valuable coin that promises security while in fact it exacerbates violence and homicide rates on the inner-city streets, which increasingly resemble a war zone (see Anderson 1999; A. Goffman 2014).

status, showing onlookers and bystanders alike that she does not really belong, that she is not to be regarded and treated as a full person in the white space. In time, she may conclude that the real problem she faces in this setting is that she is not white and that being white is a fundamental requirement for acceptance and a sense of belonging in the white space.

When blacks come to the realization that common courtesies will not be extended to them, that their white counterparts easily command them and they do not, their faith in the putative fairness of the wider system erodes, and they can become cynical. Such realizations do not occur overnight but are often gradual and may require many months or years of experience and observation before the black person concludes that the "game is rigged" against him, chiefly because of the color of his skin. With an accumulation of race-based micro- and macro-aggressions, the person can hit a wall from which there is seldom a full recovery (Pierce 1970). When this point is reached, playing along, smiling, or laughing in the white space becomes more difficult. Gradually and effectively, he reaches an irreversible revelation that permanently impacts his consciousness.

With these understandings, many blacks approach the white space ambivalently, and ostensibly for instrumental reasons. When possible, they may avoid it altogether or leave it as soon as possible. In exiting the white space, however, a black person can feel both relief and regret—relief for getting out of a stressful environment and regret for perhaps leaving prematurely. For the white space is where many social rewards originate, including an elegant night on the town, or cultural capital itself—education, employment, privilege, prestige, money, and the promise of acceptance. To obtain these rewards, blacks must venture into the white space and explore its possibilities, engaging it to the extent that they can while hoping to benefit as much as possible. To be at all successful, they must manage themselves within this space. But the promise

gathered that Ralph had been involved with some sort of trouble, and she now suggested that Ralph not ride back on the team bus but be driven by his mother. His mother refused.

Hence, the black presence in the white space is tenuous at best. For there are always people who are ready and able to discourage the black person or to discredit him or her through association with

Perhaps most significantly, the farmer's market served as a kind of community center, where people

socioeconomic position of the black persons to whom it is applied. That makes it real in the sense of W. I. Thomas's (1969) famous theorem: "If men define situations as real, they are real in their consequences." Today, the iconic ghetto and its relation to the white space form the basis of a potent and provocative new form of racism. The old racism created the ghetto. The Civil Rights Movement opened its gates, and a new black middle class emerged. But the new form of symbolic racism emanating from the iconic ghetto hovers, stigmatizing by degrees black people as they navigate the white space.

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