Processional Dérive: Review of New Orleans Black Masking Indian Parading as Psychogeographical Praxis

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PAPER

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Abstract

This paper will review the Black Masking Indian culture of New Orleans, Louisiana through the lens of Henry Louis Gates Jr's. *Signifyin(g)* concept as well as concepts from the Situationist International (SI). Outside of New Orleans they may be more commonly known as Mardi Gras Indians, but Black Masking Indians will be used throughout the paper. Gate's literary concept allows for a historicization of the Black Masking Indian culture as a series of subversive acts by utilizing the rhetorical black homonym to contextualize the Black Masking Indian processions not merely as just another organization parading during Mardi Gras. With the inclusion of literary concepts, these place-making performative rituals embody AbdouMaliq Simone's *Generic Blackness* which "points to the substrates of city-making which prevailing regimes of urban power can never fully apprehend or control". Literary concepts are crucial to overcoming these issues of apprehension, illuminating the complexity inherit within any marginalized community's inhabitation of space.

Utilization of literary concepts allow for apprehension of the performative processions as radical spatial praxis with recognizable similarities to psychogeographical concepts developed by the French collective. In Black Masking Indian procession's one will find variations in application of *Psychogeography* which allow for the study of specific effects of the urban (geographic) environment on the emotions and behaviors of individuals when conducted by racialized groups. The sections proceeding the initial literary review will critically examine the lack of inclusive *Psychogeography* studies from the SI. As Khatib was the sole none white memeber of the SI, examination of Abdelhafid Khatib's failed attempt at a psychogeographic study raises critical questions for the application of SI concepts with marginalized communities.

Overall the goal of this paper is to examine the potential inclusion of literary concepts countering the typical reading of the Black Masking Indian processions and New Orleans Mardi Gras as "one in the same." Presented as such is characteristic of a Eurocentric hegemonic observation, both in its failure to identify the micro-cultural events as radical spatial praxis and its perpetuation of passive racist tropes of marginalized communities as void of agency and incapable of self-actualization. Insights from this comparative review provide a critical lens in which to view the social, geographic, and historic separation between the SI and Black Masking Indians. What can be concluded from this comparative review is how the complexity of subaltern urban spatial inhabitation requires the synthesis of theorists not often associated with spatial studies. This of course highlights the continued predominance of white Eurocentric spatial theories and the need for a pluralistic methodological approach that develops a critical spatial discourse incorporating theories from the Global South as well as literary concepts.

INTRODUCTION

Typical observations of New Orleans paint a deeply rich culture plagued by entrenched poverty, high murder rates, crumbling public education, crooked cops, and a sputtering economy.[1] These observations are condescending at best, painting marginalized groups primarily as victims incapable of any action resembling self-autonomy. Perceptions as such only further hegemony through passive racist tropes which illuminating deeply rooted elitism. The racist nature of these tropes sabotage any pursuit for an empathetic understanding of the minority urban spatial experience. To the outside observer, the richness of New Orleans' culture comes in spite of its failure to mimic all other major American cities. This perspective of course rarely arrives at the conclusion that New Orleans may also yield such rich culture because of its failure to be like other cities. Failure to apprehend the complexity inherent in the development of micro-cultures perpetuates a narrative devoid of what inhabitation of the urban environment looks like or *can* look like.

This paper will examine the Black Masking Indian processions in New Orleans Louisiana, as a place-making performative ritual embodying Henry Lewis Gate's Jr. *Signifyin(g)* concepts and Abdoumaliq Simone's *Generic Blackness* concept. The literary review will provide necessary context for utilization of Gates literary concept of *Signifyin(g)* which retroactively reorients the
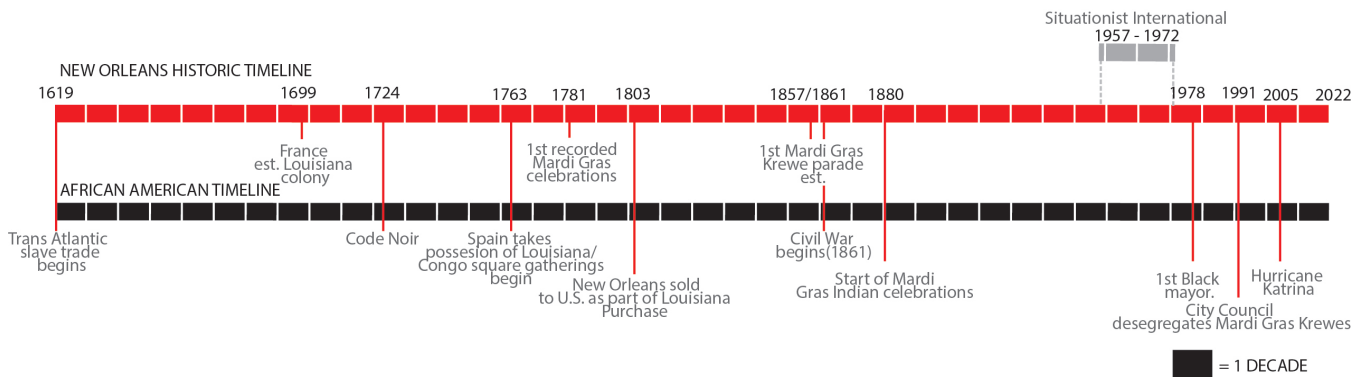
Figure 1.Mardi Gras Indian/New Orleans timeline, creator:Thomas Mouton

Black Masking Indian narrative as a heterogeneous spatial narrative. Thus Gates concept addresses what AbdouMaliq Simone's introduces as *"Generic Blackness"* which states that the reoriented "points to the substrates of city-making which prevailing regimes of urban power can never fully apprehend or control".[2] Failure to properly analyze and interpret the urban spatial experience of marginalized communities is emblematic of the hegemonic system of spatial analysis that is limited in its scope of acceptability through racialization of the "other." Inability to apprehend Simone's *Generic Blackness* identifies the existing hegemonic systems that dictate what is capable of definition. Simply put, these systems rely on a process which is incapable of explicating what the prevailing hegemony denies definability. Pushing back against hegemonic definitions of empirical spatial realities, Simone remarks that "it is those things, but there's something else."[3] Despite their perpetual neglect, complex micro-cultures do in fact exist within the same systems. Still the "something else" here points to the potential comprehension of the alternative spatial praxis of micro-cultures that transcend generic spatial definitions beyond empirical racialized realities.

LITERARY REVIEW

The proceeding literary review will contextualize the development of the Black Masking Indian processions that establishes a sense of authority within New Orleans through performance thus establishing presence.[4] The literary review's first section examines the development of the New Orleans African American micro-culture through the use of ritualized spatial performances. The second section Black Masking Indian processions, will reviewed as a divergent cultural development from that of the dominant Anglo-American New Orleans Mardi Gras processions

CODE BLACK

A "day of respite" for enslaved people was something unique to New Orleans once it became a French colony, adopting the "Code Noir' in 1724.[5] After the adoption Sunday in New Orleans henceforth became a time for gathering and socializing during free time given to slaves, allowing for autonomy through expressive performance. By facilitating community building, these gatherings provided time and space for the traditional song and dance of enslaved people from West Africa to mix with Afro-Caribbean

music and dance. Dance was also used as a means for oppression by European slave traders during the middle passage forming a paradoxical relation. In Black Dance: From 1619 to Today, Dance historian Lynne Fauley Emery describes one example of enslaved people's experience with dance:

> The African was forced to dance in bondage... He danced because the white ruler wanted his stock in good condition... he danced in answer to the whip. He danced for survival. The Africans danced in a ring; they danced in their shackles; they jumped up and rattled their chains; they writhed and twisted in "disgusting and indecent attitudes." This they did to the accompaniment of a drum...[6]

The dualistic nature of dance performance as means for oppression and autonomy persisted through the Middle Passage into the Antebellum South. In some instances, like the one mentioned above, dance was used against enslaved African Americans as a tool of oppression, and in other cases, the act was subject to such rules that outright abolition was not far off. One of the best examples of these rules could be seen in the Baptist Church's restrictions against drumming and dancing, ruling out most African performative observances. A practice that remained from these restrictions was the "Ring Shout", which incorporated the clapping and stamping of ones feet along with the shuffling of feet, a technique that did not require crossing of one's feet, which was the Baptist Church's definition of "dancing".[7] The Ring Shout thus became a significant influence in the performative dance along with polyrhythmic music and "call and response" methods among enslaved Africans, which collectively enabled self and social development. All of this happened in spite of the Anglo-American oppressive hegemonic structures that created laws nor religious restrictions

The previous sections document the duality of dance as both a potentially oppressive activity, as mentioned in Emery's passage, and liberatory action cultivating culture and illuminating a complex connection to present-day Black Masking Indian processions. This historical timeline of the Black Masking Indians shown in Figure.1 above captures a dualistic experience of

events as separated series within the overarching timeline of New Orleans. The separation of major events graphically emphasizes the impact of certain events on African Americans, while other events remain irrelevant to them highlighting obstacles to autonomy. The linear timeline also highlights the general time frame that the French SI group from the 1950's developed concepts in an attempt to critically reimagine the oppressive capitalist urban environment. Including the brief decade in which the SI operated establishes their relation in time to Black Masking Indian processions that subverted oppressive urban experience through the creation of place. Due to their existence outside of hegemonic definability, these processions expand what urban spatial experience can be and ultimately require pluralistic definitions of space. The literary review establishes a heterogenous performance-based spatial inhabitation traced back beyond the Middle Passage requiring pluralistic definitions of space which negate hegemonic definitions of space through mutual exclusivity.

DIVERGENT SPATIAL INHABITATION

The year 1857 marked the inception of Mardi Gras traditions in New Orleans since then krewes have taken part in some sort of public procession using elaborately decorated floats. These original Mardi Gras parade krewes were open to whites, and the first documentation of separate Black celebrations involving costumes came from novelist Timothy Flint's visit to New Orleans in 1823.[8] However, these Black celebrations documented by Flint did not include any sort of Black Masking Indian processions, which did not begin until approximately 1880.[9] The traditions of the Black Masking Indian began as a means of autonomy through ritualistic, self-actualizing processions and served as tribute to the indigenous people for their support. The initial bond between both cultures started with the Indian tribes providing refuge to escaped slaves and lead to intermingling which preserved family lines.[10] What became the most significant link was a common bond of alienation and oppression within hegemonic society.[11]

While Black Masking Indians are referred to as parading, they take a vastly different form from parades of white Mardi Gras krewes. Unlike the latter, there are no ornately decorated floats carrying Black Masking Indians to separate them from spectators in a dualistic active and passive relationship. The absence of duality allows for engaged interactions with the costumes, songs, and dances of each tribe member serving as a conduit for all-encompassing, active spatial experience eliminating passivity.

There are approximately forty different Black Masking Indian tribes within the greater New Orleans metro area. Of the forty different tribes, they are typically located in historically African American neighborhoods divided between the two districts of Uptown and Downtown, with Canal Street serving as a boundary.[12] Slight aesthetic variations exist between each tribe in costumes, but the overall hierarchical structure of ranking is relatively consistent. Each tribe consisting of the following basic ranks; Big Chief, Minor Chiefs, Spy Boy, Flag Boy, and Wild Man. Every specialized rank has a distinct role to play in the parade. Some of these roles require members to maintain a distance from the procession, at times spanning blocks.[13] The role of the Spy Boy is to scout ahead of other tribe members and relay information back to the Big Chief. Outside of this established structure, there are participants such as second line musicians, family, friends, and community members; in her research on second line traditions, Helen A. Regis defines this loose association as a "massive moving street festival."[14] This moving festival flows through the street at the direction of the Big Chief who decides the route of his krewe.[15] As the procession makes its way through the city, block by block, the route can change at each intersection based on information from the Spy Boy

Historically, Black Masking Indians had a history of violent clashes with police, so the secrecy of parades was necessary in order to keep the knowledge of where they would travel from the local law enforcement. Even though the local police and Indian tribes have since established better relationships, the refusal to seek permits or permission to parade remains.[16] Maintaining route secrecy thus serves as a historic record of the prejudices and a refusal to acknowledge the very hegemonic power structures that refuse to acknowledge them.

ILLUSTRATING THE URBAN DOUBLE-CONSCIOUS

Thus far, I have used the literary review to contextualize the development of the Black Masking Indian processions and will now discuss W.E.B DuBois's *Double Conscious* concept. Dubois concept establish an underlying, ever-present antagonism which is countered by the synthesis of Henry Lewis Gates Jr's *Signifyin(g)* literary concept within the Black Masking Indian processions.

In his 1903 publication The Souls of Black Folks W.E.B DuBois developed his concept of *Double Conscious* to explain the inability of African Americans to achieve "true" self-consciousness while forced to see themselves "through the revelation of the other world."[17] With his concept of *Double Conscious*, DuBois reveals the ever-present antagonism at the core of African Americans' daily lives articulated in the question, "How does it feel to be a problem?"[18]

By constructing Blackness as a "problem," these Eurocentric hegemonic systems of spatial analysis deny its place in the rational, ordered world banishing it to the irrational, disordered world, where rational laws and concepts have no normative function. So long as Eurocentric hegemonic systems construct African Americans as a "problem", attempts to understand Black spatial inhabitation must account for their double conscious perspectives. The problem presented by DuBois's *Double Conscious* is thus addressed within the writings of Henry Louis Gates Jr, in his concept of *Signifyin(g)*.

What does this mean in the instance of the black homonym 'Signifyin(g)', the shadowy revision of the white term? It means, it seems to me, that the signifier "Signification" has remained identical in spelling to its white counterpart to demonstrate, first, that a simultaneous, but negated, parallel discursive (ontological, political) universe exists within the larger white discursive universe, like the matter-and-antimatter tabulations so common in science fiction. It also seems apparent that retaining the identical signifier argues strongly that the most poignant level of black-white differences is that of meaning, of "signification" in the most literal sense. The play of doubles here occurs precisely on the axes, on the threshold or at Esu's crossroads, where black and white semantic fields collide. We can imagine the relationship of these two discursive universes....Parallel universes, then, is an inappropriate metaphor; 'perpendicular' universes is perhaps a more accurate visual description.[19]

The conceptualization and inclusion of Gate's black vernacular facilitates both interpretation of "place" and recognition of oppressive hegemonic spatial structures within which oppressed populations exist. So, using Gates's concept reveals how these oppressive hegemonic spatial structures operate and simultaneously generate, (or at least suggest) new alternative interpretations rooted in the Black *Double Conscious* perspective.

 A historical review of the Black Masking Indians through Gate's concept of *Signifyin(g)* allows for an alternative interpretation of Black Masking Indian culture as a perpendicular universe presented in figure. 2. In the modified version of Gates' diagram, Black Masking Indian cultural events appear in a more accurate rhetorical context. This perpendicular relationship to Anglo-American Mardi Gras can be seen in the present-day culture of Black Masking Indian parades as a continued act of self-formation and autonomy in the urban environment through subversion. The subversiveness comes to form through Gate's concepts redressing DuBois's *Double Conscious* under the guise of Anglo-American traditions.

My introductory review, while brief and cursory, identifies the Black Masking Indian culture and the second section establishes Gate's *Signifyin(g)* concept as a required tool in the development of a distinctly black homonym. The following sections will analyze *Psychogeography* as a concept. The first section will review the Situationist International (SI) concept of *Dérive* through the lens Gate's *Signifyin(g)* thereby reorienting it while remaining true to the DuBois 's foundational antagonism. With the second section I will present a critical review of the Situationist International's development of *Psychogeography* utilizing Abdoumaliq Simone's *Generic Blackness* as a basis for examination and reorientation.

SIGNIFIN(G)

Though they share the banner of Mardi Gras, Gates's concept of *Signifyin(g)* presents the Black Masking Indian parading

$$ \text{signification} = \frac{\text{rhetorical figures}}{\text{signifier}} = \frac{\text{concept}}{\text{image}} $$

Source:"2010UptownIndians-LaSalleWhitefeathers" by Infrogmation is marked with CC BY 2.0.

parading | semantic axis · axis rhetorical axis | parading

Source:"MagazineStCarnivalSun2015 King Cake Float" by Infrogmation is marked with CC BY 2.0.

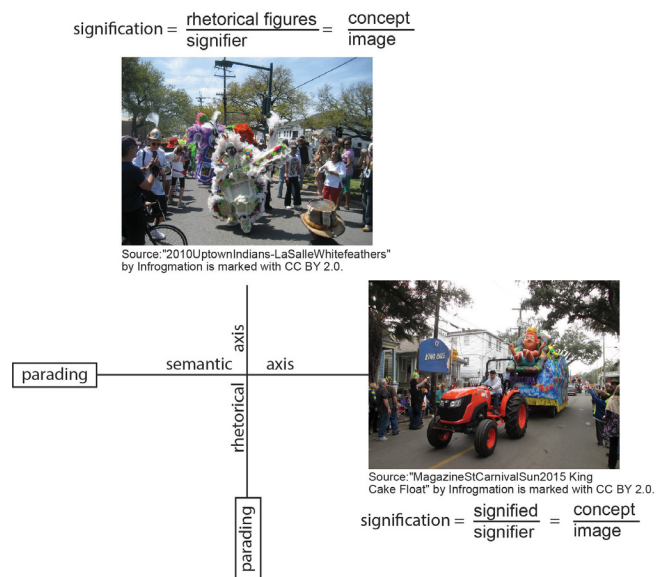$$ \text{signification} = \frac{\text{signified}}{\text{signifier}} = \frac{\text{concept}}{\text{image}} $$

Figure 2. *Signifin(g)* Black Masking Indian diagram, creator Thomas Mouton

appropriately as a perpendicular development of ritualized spatial events to Anglo-American Mardi Gras. What Gates's concept of *Signifyin(g)* allows for is the identification and rereading of historical events as a readable alternative spatial inhabitation. Therefore, within this process, we identify the specific effects of the urban (geographic) environment on the emotions and behaviors of individuals that are subsequently documented through the development of song, dance, costume, and processions. What Gates' work implies is that we can conduct psychogeographical inquiry into this distinct tradition, which we must approach not as separate or parallel, but a perpendicular tradition on its own terms.

PARADING AS PSYCHOGEOGRAPHY
Psychogeography/sīkōjagefē/

The study of the influence of geographical environment (whether consciously organized or not) on the mind or on behavior.[20]

While Guy Debord is commonly thought of as the creator of *Psychogeography*, the concept first appeared in Ivan Chtcheglov's *Formulary for a New Urbanism* published in 1953. It was the Situationist International (SI), founded by Debord, that developed the concept of *Dérive* as "a technique of rapid passage through varied ambiances" that differed from the "classic notions of journey or stroll".[21] Chtcheglov's writings and the SI's creation of *Dérive* as a method represented a turn from Baudelaire's flâneur as a "person who strolls", or an "observer of life."[22] The turn from Baudelaire's flâneur was characterized by Tom McDonough when he said, "for the situationists,

however, the *Dérive* was distinguished from the flâneur primarily by its critical attitude toward the hegemonic scopic regime of modernity."[23] McDonough further differentiates the *Dérive* as a construction of the public space by the walker by asserting a distinction between the passive role of the flâuer and the active role of the *Dérive* represented in situationist theory as praxis. The SI's critical view towards Baudelaire's flâneur was overly representative of the white Eurocentric perspective and thus implicitly addresses the hegemonic urban environment through universalized methods. Of course, this approach does not account for the urban experiences of people with minority perspectives and for whom notions of an unencumbered journey or stroll are quite radical, requiring more than a passive stance.

In December 1958, Abdelhafid Khatib published an article in the *Internationale Situationniste* # 2 describing his attempts to use psychogeography to study the Les Halles area of France. As the SI sole member of the Algerian wing, as well as the only member of color at that time, Khatib's study would provide a new, important minority perspective. Reflecting back, Khatib's study should have served as evidence rebuking any critiques aimed at the "overwhelming white European" makeup of its practitioners. However, this was not the case as Khatib included an editorial note stating that his "study is incomplete on several fundamental points" due to "being arrested twice and spending two nights in a holding cell."[24] While there are examples of SI statements on topics such as colonialism and the racialization of space, little attempts were made to incorporate these issues into psychogeographical concepts.

Since the SI developed its psychogeographical concepts according to implicit Eurocentric ideals and experiences of its members, attempts to universalize their methods and findings inevitably fail to account for the urban experiences of people with alternative perspectives. Or as AbdouMalique Simone put it,"urban life is always about who can do what with whom, under what circumstances, when, and how".[25] The SI's utilization of psychogeographical concepts rely on their ability to circumvent these questions through the white Eurocentric perspective, which Simone described as the "hallucination of whiteness".[26] This hallucination of whiteness speaks to urban thresholds which restrict certain group's movement through the urban environment. These restrictions are what kept Khatib from completing his study and these same restrictions required subversion and secrecy within the development of Black Masking Indian processions. For the Black Masking Indians secrecy of the parade's route addresses these restriction and ensures the randomness of mock dance battles once rival tribes converge, embodying the spirit of SI's *Dérive* concept creating situations. Like that of the SI, the end goal is creating unplanned interactions(situations) relying on spontaneity, for only the Big Chief knows where his tribe's parade will go.[27]

With that said, my critiques are not a complete dismissal of *Psychogeography*, but represent the desired development of
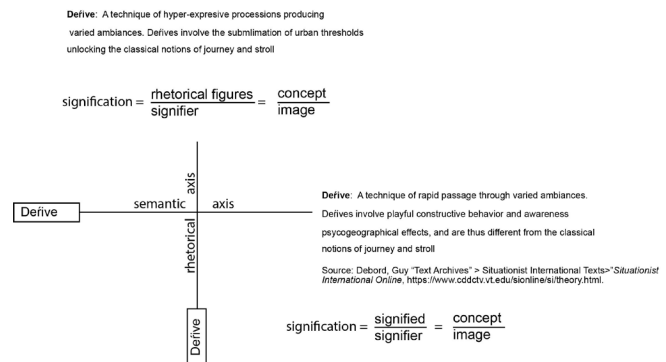

Figure 3. *Signifin(g) Dérive* diagram, creator Thomas Mouton
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reoriented psychogegraphical methods (Fig 3) which can account for these circumvented questions. *Psychogeography* developed as a multivalent concept requires the synthesis of non-Eurocentric pluralistic methodologies .

SPATIAL SUBLIMATION

The third and final section will specifically focus on Black Masking Indian interactions with the Claiborne Avenue overpass presenting one example of divergent spatial Inhabitation as *Psychogeography* praxis. The Claiborne Avenue Overpass, built in 1968, cut through the historic African American neighborhood of Treme, which destroyed the historic tree-lined Claiborne Avenue.[28] Originally, the overpass was part of Robert Moses's plan for an elevated highway running through the French Quarter along the Mississippi riverfront. However, this initial plan was defeated by preservation activists protecting the French Quarter. As a secondary option, the highway's path shifted from the Mississippi river's edge towards the backside of the French Quarter through Treme. The Redline map in (Fig. 4) shows the highway's path through so called "Hazardous Areas". By severing neighborhoods and destroying the grand tree-lined boulevard the highway's path predictably had a negative impact on the African-American neighborhood. In contrast, Claiborne Avenue images below the red line map present how Black Masking Indian processions activate the highway overpass by recontextualizing the racist infrastructure into a cultural event. These time-limited Black Masking Indian processions reactivate the undesirable space. Secondarily, the processions subvert the racially driven piece of infrastructure reorienting it as an urban element within a cultural event.

Black Masking Indians are but just one example of how marginalized communities inhabit space, addressing what Simone describes as "the fundamental incompleteness of the urbanization process".[29] Urban analysis that is overly focused on the Claiborne Avenue overpass for example, fails to account for the cultural development of marginalized groups in the city. The
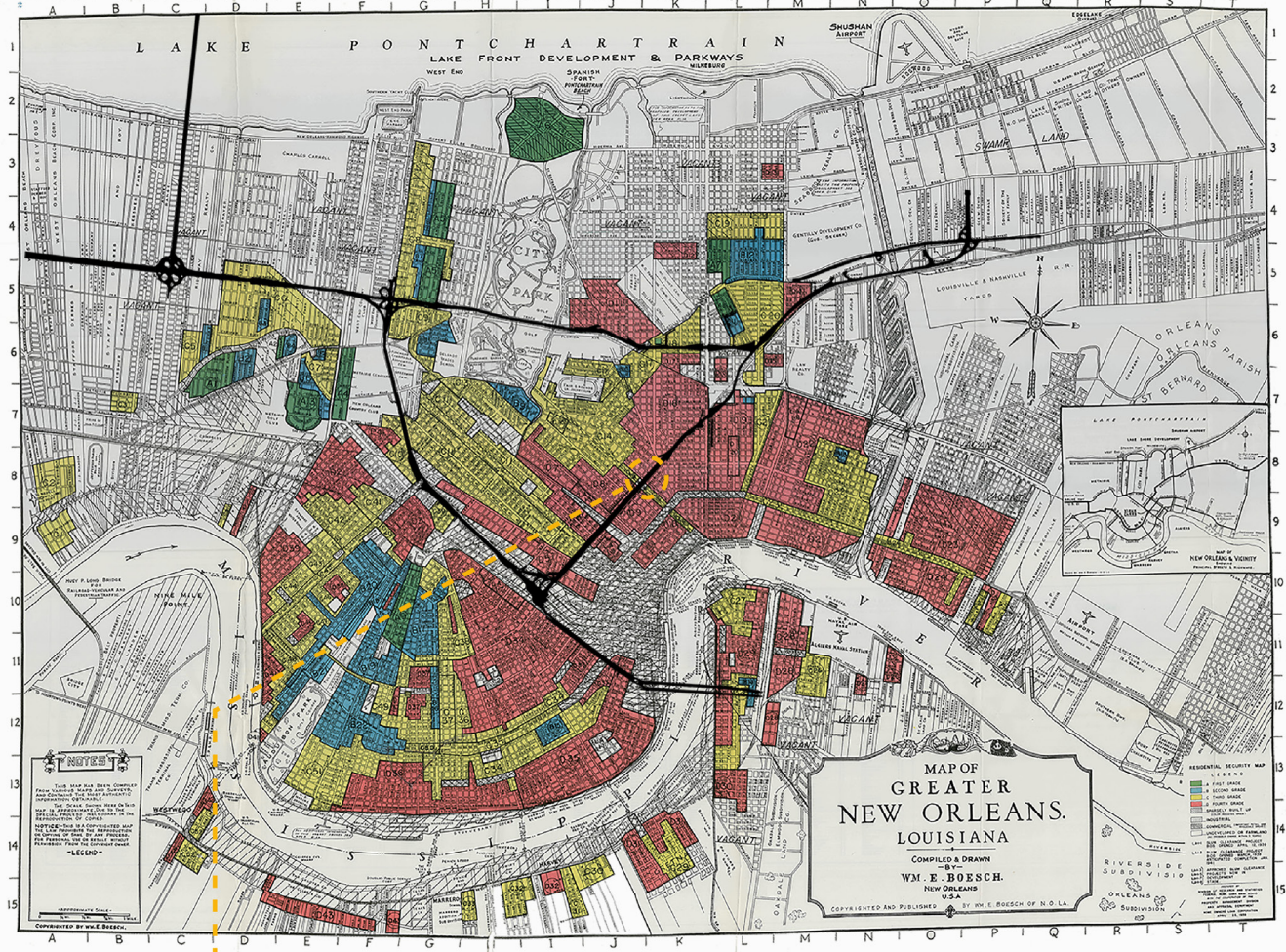
Racist Infastructure
Claiborner OverpassSource: "Claiborne and Bayou" by skooksie is marked with CCBY-ND 2.0

Cultural Event
Claiborner Avenue Indian Procession Source: "Nola: Mardi Gras Indians: Tribe Battle " by smulligann is marked with CCBY-ND 2.0

Public Square
Claiborner at Esplande Source: marked with CCBY-ND 2.0

Figure 4..Claiborne Avenue overpass. Creator: Thomas Mouton

incompleteness of the urbanization process is at the root of he-gemonic systems as the racialized "other" remains unaccounted for. Captured in the Black Masking Indian processions is a certain heterogeneous urban process that exist beyond the race-fixed empirical and historical realities.[30] So there is something in the physical structure of the space and in the norms governing the space that determine certain outcomes or means of inhabiting that space for white versus black people. However, what the hyper-expressive processions illuminate is the urban process that exist just beyond the "definable" linear urban process.

In Helen Regis's research on the second line parading traditions she illuminates the participant's subversive engagement with space and the spatial implications of these New Orleans processions. In her paper titled *Blackness and the Politics of Memory in the New Orleans Second Line*, Regis states, "the majority of participants in the second-line tradition are not owners of homes, real estate, or large public businesses, yet through the transformative experience of the parade, they become owners of the streets". [31] So, with Gate's *Signifin(g)* these processions are presented perpendicularly unlocking a divergent form of spatial ownership. This process as a whole represents a *Psychogeography* praxis which sublimates a historical symbol of racist urban infrastructure in New Orleans. To reclaim power within public space, Black Masking Indian processions overrule traffic laws and disrupt the city's orderly flow. This power enables them to create alternative public spaces, like otherwise estranged yet temporarily reconnected neighborhoods, through alternative spatial creation. [32]

CONCLUSION: "NO HUMBOW"

"Humbow" means bow down in the hybrid creole language used by Black Masking Indians and is typically used as a command for a rival tribe member to bow down. Often this is met with "No humbow" for bowing to anyone other than one's own chief is the ultimate sign of public humiliation. [33] The refusal to bow down has come to encapsulate the spirit of the Black Masking Indian as the processions create "place" by refusing to acknowledge the racially motivated rules and laws denying them. In conclusion, there are two important inferences based on the insights gained from this paper. The first highlighting reductive blindspots within geography and spatial studies and the second inference speaks to a pluralist methodological approach required to address these blindspots. These inferences are meant to reflect the paper's

Figure 5. .London UK, 13th Sep 2019. An Assistant poses with colorful "Black Masking Culture" artist and educator Big Chief Demond Melacon of the Young Seminole Hunters huge exibits of Mardi Gras Indian suits. London Design Festival runs from 14-22 September 2019.
Credit: Imageplotter/Alamy Live News

aspirations for a meaningful discourse about the overarching spatial inhabitation of marginalized groups in New Orleans, Louisiana. By synthesizing literary concepts of non-white theorists, the paper illuminates issues in spatial studies pointing to a spatial discourse that can account for those previously unaccounted for. Doing so appropriately shifts responsibility from marginalized groups to theorist, no longer asking them to "Bow" to idealistic reductive methodologies in order to be apprehended. If their spatial experience is to be analyzed, it must be on their terms.

For this limited review, literary concepts from Gates, outside of the typical architecture or urban fields, prove crucial to the retroactive reading of the Black Masking Indian processions. The review's intentions are to read the processions as psychogeographical study of the urban environments effect on marginalized groups of New Orleans. This then facilitates the procession's consideration as a divergent form of spatial inhabitation transcending the limited interpretation as merely a one day celebration. Furthermore, if read as a radical form of spatial praxis, the parades themself become a documented study of a groups spatial experience. Through ritualization, the songs, dances, and costumes handed down from generation to generation serve as narrative which can be seen in the work of Big Chief of Young Seminole Hunters, Demond Melacon (Fig 5.). What is left open by this review is the further explication of these divergent methods of spatial inhabitation as the processions themselves serve as documentation of a single cultural event of New Orleans.

In his book *Nature of Space*, Milton Santos elaborated on the inseparable relation between description and explication, explaining that description without proper explication is devoid of implicit systems presupposed within a description. Santos goes on to say that "resulting descriptions are merely isolated fragments" that fail to yield a "coherent branch of knowledge and an indissoluble object of study".[34] Santo's critique of Geography's failure focuses on its reluctance to properly capture its object of study "space" due to the disciplines dominance of its subject and not vice versa. Seeking universal truths presupposes singular spatial experiential accounts. These accounts are overly reliant on idealisms which reinforce hegemony through the retroactive application of theories. It is with these retroactive theories that racialization of micro-cultures are evoked as a way to explain how these divergent realities can exist.[35] By seeking universal truths about spaces with divergent realities and micro-cultures, all analysis must always either erase, distort, or misrepresent some group, or phenomenon as part of a uniform whole. Therefore any reliance on Eurocentric spatial studies always fails to account for marginalized urban spatial experiences requiring methodological pluralistic approaches. Urban studies and Architecture require synthesis of theories outside of the standard spatial fields challenging normative spatial analysis which denies the inclusive understanding of marginalized urban experiences.

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