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ABSTRACT OF DISSERTATION

Ellen Hostetter

The Graduate School

University of Kentucky

2007

THE EMOTIONS OF PUBLIC HOUSING POLICY – A CRITICAL HUMANIST EXPLORATION OF HOPE VI

ABSTRACT OF DISSERTATION

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the
College of Arts and Sciences
at the University of Kentucky

By
Ellen Hostetter

Lexington, Kentucky

Director: Dr. Richard Schein, Professor of Geography

Lexington, Kentucky

2007

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ABSTRACT OF DISSERTATION

THE EMOTIONS OF PUBLIC HOUSING POLICY: A CRITICAL HUMANIST EXPLORATION OF HOPE VI

Homeownership and Opportunity for People Everywhere VI (HOPE VI) is dramatically changing the face of public housing. The HOPE VI program proposes to replace barracks-style and high rise apartments with a new public housing landscape built on the planning principles of New Urbanism: small-scale developments of single family homes and townhouses with front lawns and porches. Academic and governmental analyses of HOPE VI have used economic, political, and social perspectives to analyze this significant financial investment, radical landscape alteration, and change in residents' lives.

This dissertation analyzes the process of HOPE VI and its attendant landscapes using a critical humanist perspective focused on the human, emotional dimension of public housing policy. By bringing together geography, psychology, sociology, and philosophy literatures on emotion with geographic literatures on critical humanism and the cultural landscape this dissertation shows that specific emotions such as disgust, fear, shame, and enjoyment permeate, shape, and direct public housing policy and appearance in different places and across time. More specifically, the dissertation shows that 1) disgust, fear, shame, and enjoyment constitute both the political and economic logic essential to HOPE VI and 2) disgust, fear, shame, and enjoyment are articulated through and crystallized in reactions to the public housing landscape – its aesthetic and social context.

The overall contribution of the project is to first, challenge the binaries that often structure academic and governmental analyses of HOPE VI including rational-emotional, outsiders-residents, creation-implementation, and national-local. In challenging these binaries, the project offers an alternative way to think about and understand HOPE VI and housing policy. And second, the dissertation contributes to the methods literature by exploring how to analyze emotion through discourse analysis and how to ask people about emotions.

KEYWORDS: Emotion, Public Housing, Public Housing Policy,
HOPE VI, Cultural Landscape

Ellen Hostetter

December 14, 2007

THE EMOTIONS OF PUBLIC HOUSING POLICY: A CRITICAL HUMANIST EXPLORATION OF HOPE VI

By

Ellen Hostetter

Richard Schein
Director of Dissertation

Richard Schein
Director of Graduate Studies

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Dedicated to Silvan S. Tomkins whose theory of affect is an inspiration

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

When I visited the Geography Department at the University of Kentucky in the spring of 2002, it felt 'right'. The atmosphere of collegiality and intellectual excitement was palpable, so different from other departments I visited.

This atmosphere is not a mysterious, ethereal entity – it is the direct result of the professors, graduate students, and staff who I came to know in my four and a half years at UK. I would not have made it through my masters and now my PhD without the supportive daily interactions within the department.

In terms of this project, my exchanges with Rich Schein, my advisor, have been invaluable. From class discussions in Cultural Landscapes to office conversations about emotions, I thank Rich for his intellectual engagement, for simultaneously challenging and remaining open to new ideas. Rich also has a number of unique traits for which I have tremendous respect. He has a magical ability to distill anything - a theoretical concept or the ramblings of a graduate student - to its essence, turning a confused jumble into something clear and digestible. And he also has an amazing ability to make dissertations, and academic life in general, seem doable.

My committee members are also woven into this project. I thank Anna Secor for taking an early interest in my ideas as my master's advisor and for guiding me through several independent studies, opening my intellectual world and laughing with me along the way. Her seminar on women in the city was one of my best experiences at UK. I also thank Anna for her continued support of my dissertation work. I thank Karl Raitz first, for leading the department and setting the tone of collegiality and second, for his support of my work despite my drift to the 'dark side' of theory. To have the approval of someone I admire so much is invaluable. Karl also remains an inspiration to me as I continue to explore the American landscape on my own and with students. I thank Virginia Blum for making the time to discuss psychoanalysis in an independent study, for co-teaching the Social Theory Seminar on Intimacy, and for her encouraging words as I thought through this project.

The shape and content of the dissertation owes much to the people I interviewed. Too numerous to list here, I thank them all for their time and for sharing their insights and experiences. Special thanks to Gordon Cavanaugh for the tours of D.C. public housing and his keen interest in the project, as well as Debbie Hoskins at the Lexington Housing Authority for being so open with her time and resources. I also consulted with members of the Silvan S. Tomkins Institute throughout the writing of the dissertation: special thanks to John Brodsky and Don Nathanson for providing me with a forum for my ideas and for their unbounded encouragement.

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Thanking my family is an impossible task, for the millions of ways they have supported me is too large to comprehend, much less list. But to make an attempt: I thank my Mom for the phone calls, packages, cards, and her endless capacity to listen, soothe, and talk it through; I thank my Dad for always being excited about what I was up to and for being a model researcher (is it any wonder I enjoy pouring through obscure government documents?); and I thank my brother for making me laugh like no one else can - he is one of the most beautiful people I know. I also thank Grandma, Pop-Pop, and Dee-Dee for their generosity and warming presence growing up.

My husband, Sean Gillespie, saw me through. His love remained a constant no matter what the situation - stressful, frustrating, confusing, or ludicrous (um, where's the Celebrity?). And no matter how much I doubted myself, he believed in my project, my ideas, me. I love Sean's insatiable curiosity about the world, his analytical ability (which he applies to all manner of things - annual reports, my AAG presentations, that funny noise the car is making), and his willingness to do things differently. I eagerly look forward to sharing my post-dissertation life with him.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

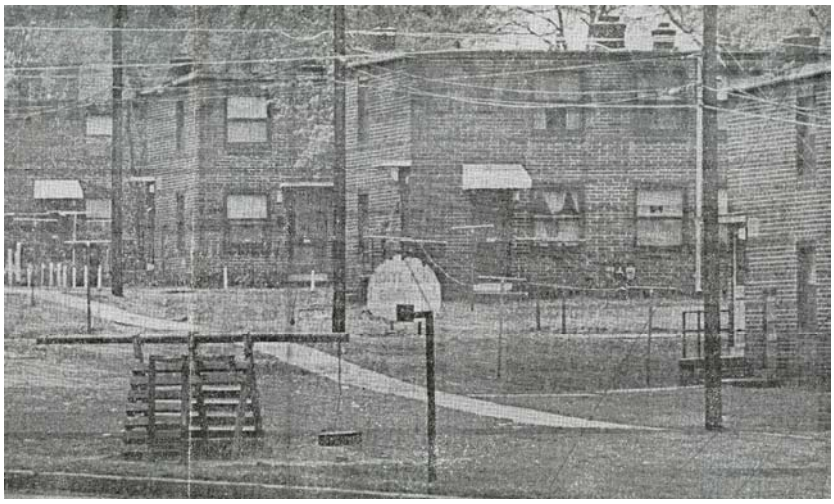

Figure 1.1: Fairview Homes in Charlotte, North Carolina. Photograph taken from a 1983 *Charlotte Observer* story (Martin 1983). Photograph's source: Davie Hinshaw.

The newspaper photograph captures a bleak scene: row after row of austere, flat-roofed apartments; unadorned windows and doors; clotheslines sagging in open yards. You only need to glance at the photograph to guess you are looking at a public housing project. You do not need to read the article to know the likely storyline and characters – violence, drugs, poverty, the inner-city, black youth, welfare mothers, filth, cockroaches.

To the average American, the newspaper photograph makes sense. Although it is an isolated image jostling with other headlines of the day, it is tied to the hundreds of other newspaper photographs and stories, television news reports, and movies that depict public housing in similar ways. And although it is an isolated image sitting on someone's kitchen table, it connects with what they have heard about public housing as the wrong-side-of-the-tracks, that place where you just don't go.

The power of this depiction of public housing comes not only from its constant repetition and reproduction, but from its emotional resonance. The photograph makes sense with a glance because it signifies a combination of disgust and fear. The stark scene associated with filth and cockroaches taps into disgust, while the stories of crime and disorder paired with this landscape tap into fear, offering an unambiguous picture of the public housing landscape as a squalid and dangerous place. It is through disgust and fear that public housing, as a symbolic landscape, conveys powerful messages about race and class in America. Jean Stujewski, public housing resident from Chicago, succinctly

summarizes this message: "The name 'public housing' means you are poor, black, and nobody wants to live there" (U.S. House May 28, 1992).

Since the 1990s, however, newspaper photographs of public housing have increasingly depicted a completely different landscape (Figure 1.2). These photographs show townhouses with gabled roofs and front lawns, brightly colored siding and porches. Feelings of enjoyment organize an understanding of this landscape as safe and attractive. But a glance does not tell you what you are looking at: is it a new central city development geared for urban professionals, a New Urbanist-inspired suburb? And that is the point.

Figure 1.2: Lucien E. Blackwell Homes, new public housing in Philadelphia. Photograph taken from a 2005 *Philadelphia Inquirer* story (Eichel, A11). Photograph's source: David Swanson, *Inquirer* Staff Photographer

1.1 HOPE VI

The HOPE VI program was born in the U.S. Senate Appropriations Subcommittee on Veteran Affairs, Housing and Urban Development, and Independent Agencies in 1992. It immediately fell under the purview of the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD). HOPE VI[1] is a competitive grant for local housing authorities with 'severely distressed' properties, as defined by HUD. HOPE VI has become known for its radical alteration of the public housing landscape and its creation of mixed-income communities. Journalists from across the country provide similar summaries of the program: "HOPE VI, the program under which housing

[1] Please note that the following description of HOPE VI represents what the program is today. HOPE VI was never a static, consistent program; it evolved every year with each new funding cycle. The evolution of HOPE VI will be addressed in the body of the dissertation.

authorities receive grant awards to demolish distressed public housing and replace it with lower-density mixed-income complexes" (Smith 2004, B8); "Enacted in 1992, the federal program for demolishing the old projects took off in the mid-1990s…New regulations called for fewer units and more of an income mix" (Eichel 2005, A19); "HOPE VI grants are designed to remake old-style public housing into safer, mixed-income communities" (Wellin 2004, A1); "HOPE VI grants are designed to tear down dilapidated housing for the poor, replace it with mixed-income communities and provide additional training to help residents move out of public housing within five years" (Smolowitz 2003, A1).

These summaries reflect HUD priorities. On the HOPE VI website, HUD lists "[c]hanging the physical shape of public housing" and "[l]essening concentrations of poverty by placing public housing in nonpoverty neighborhoods and promoting mixed-income communities" (Kezar 2003), along with leveraging support and resources and "establishing positive incentives for resident self-sufficiency and comprehensive services that empower residents" (Kezar 2003) as its main goals.

1.1.1 Changing the Physical Shape of Public Housing

Eighty-five percent of the grant is dedicated to the physical transformation of the landscape either through demolition or renovation. It is difficult to generalize, but the majority of public housing developments across the country consist of plainly built barracks-style or garden apartments (Figures 1.3-1.6); concrete high-rise buildings can be found in larger cities, especially in the Northeast and Midwest. Most were built between 1930 and 1960, when specific modernist-inspired guidelines shaped their design, layout, and configuration. Developments consist of 'superblocks' where a loop road forms a large block with no through streets. Apartments are placed within the superblocks to maximize the amount of open space. Often these developments are visually and physically distinct from their surroundings (see Figure 1.7).

Figures 1.3 and 1.4: Public Housing in Lexington and Washington DC. To the left, Bluegrass-Aspendale, a public housing project in Lexington, KY and to the right Lincoln Heights, a public housing project in Washington, DC. Bluegrass-Aspendale has gabled awnings and a pitched roof, touches of domesticity that adorn an otherwise uniform and bland façade. Uniform and bland can also be used to describe Lincoln Heights. Photographs taken by Ellen Hostetter

Figures 1.5 and 1.6: Public Housing in Charlotte and Washington DC. To the left, Piedmont Courts, a public housing project in Charlotte, NC and to the right Barry Farms, a public housing project in Washington D.C. Photographs taken by Ellen Hostetter

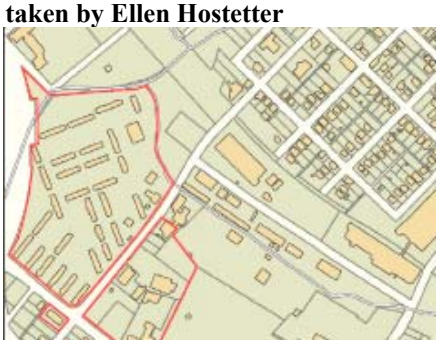

Figure 1.7: Map of Piedmont Courts, Charlotte, N.C. Piedmont Courts is outlined in red. The project's open layout, lack of through streets, and the apartments' orientation to the street contrast with the neighborhood of single family homes at the top right of the map. Map taken from Urban Design Associates power point presentation (Power Point 2005).

A consensus formed in public housing circles around the public housing landscape during the late 1960s and early 1970s: this architecture and configuration came to be viewed as isolating, stigmatizing, and dangerous. HUD seeks to completely do away with this landscape through HOPE VI: 'eliminate public housing as we know it' is a common phrase uttered by HUD officials. The guiding philosophy for the new public

housing landscape revolves around the concepts of blending and integration. HUD wants public housing to look like mainstream America; to blend seamlessly with its surroundings "so that in 10 years, no one can drive around a major American city and say, oh, that's public housing and that's not" (U.S. Senate March 25, 1992).

HUD has chosen a specific planning and architectural movement to implement this philosophy: New Urbanism. New Urbanism is a planning movement that emerged in the 1970s in concert with wide-spread critiques of post-World War II suburban sprawl, urban renewal, and high-rise modernism (Katz 1994; Pyatok 2000). Taking this critique as a starting point, New Urbanists look to urban planners and architects from the 1900s to the 1920s for design guidance, viewing this time period as a 'golden age' in American urban and town design. New Urbanists have distilled 'traditional' American planning ideas into the following core principles: pedestrian scale, clearly defined centers and edges and public and private space, and diversity in terms of housing types and land uses (Charter 1998; Katz 1994; Lennertz 1991).

New Urbanism officially became part of HOPE VI in 1996, with major players in the New Urbanist movement, Andres Duany and Peter Calthorpe, flying to Washington D.C. for meetings with Secretary Cisneros (Hornig 2006). Their conversations led to a May, 1996 media event where Secretary Cisneros signed the Charter for the New Urbanism in the Dock Street Theater of Charleston, South Carolina. The charter puts into words the guiding principles of the planning movement and Cisneros's signature indicated HUD's support of New Urbanist ideas. At the HUD office, this partnership was quickly put into practice as a mix of interest group politics and staff support for New Urbanism.[2]

In collaboration with HUD, The Congress for New Urbanism applied their core principles to public housing, creating *Principles for Inner-City Neighborhood Design*. This document outlines the following design guidelines for the renovation and construction of new public housing: diversity in terms of housing types and price levels;

[2] According to Chris Hornig, first Deputy Assistant Secretary for Public Housing Investments, "I spoke to the Secretary and got the message and went downstairs and said in three weeks we're holding a New Urbanism seminar for all the housing authorities doing a HOPE VI…yeah I mean, we imported Andres Duany and Calthorpe, and…they felt the Secretary had honored his pledge to them to endorse them and we were golden boys as part of what we were doing for internal politics you know, in the department as well as wanting, you know, believing in New Urbanism" (Hornig 2006)

compact, walkable, mixed-use neighborhoods; a variety of transportation connections to surrounding regions; interconnected networks of streets and public open space; a relationship between building and street that provides 'eyes on the street' and encourages interaction between neighbors; careful delineation of outdoor space for each dwelling; architecture that responds to the best tradition in the area; and the establishment of design codes (Principles 2000).

'Connections' is the overriding theme of these New Urbanist principles: connections between people in the community, surrounding neighborhoods, and region via streets, open space, and architecture, all of which are in concert with HUD's blending and integration philosophy. At the level of design details, these principles applied to public housing have produced small-scale developments with a mix of traditional architecture – single family homes, duplexes, townhouses – that make use of traditional housing materials and styles – brick, siding, gables, and porches (see Figures 1.8-1.11). In place of superblocks, these developments typically connect with surrounding street grids and sidewalks. And in place of large swaths of open space, buildings are arranged according to the hierarchy of public-private space found in most American residential areas: public streets and sidewalks with clearly identifiable front and back yards (Bohl 2000; Poticha 2000; Franck and Mostoller 1995).

Figures 1.8 and 1.9: HOPE VI projects in Charlotte and Washington DC. To the left, First Ward, a HOPE VI project in Charlotte, NC and to the right, Capitol Gateway, a HOPE VI project in Washington, DC. First Ward makes use of porches and white railings and columns, while Capitol Gateway varies the townhouse facades and makes use of shutters and pediments, architectural touches that communicate a distinct message – this is somebody's home. Photographs taken by Ellen Hostetter

Figures 1.10 and 1.11: HOPE VI Projects in Lexington and Washington DC. To the left, replacement housing in Lexington, KY, part of this city's first HOPE VI grant and to the right, Arthur Capper/Carrollsburg, a HOPE VI project in Washington, DC. The double gables and white-columned porches give Lexington's HOPE VI project an aggressively domestic and even suburban feel. Arthur Capper/Carrollsburg, on the other hand, has sleek, squared lines without the architectural 'fluff' of gables and porches. It is decidedly 'urban' and is meant to blend within the big-city context of DC. Photographs taken by Ellen Hostetter

1.1.2 Lessening the Concentration of Poverty

The second goal – the deconcentration of poverty and the creation of mixed-income communities – depends on this radical alteration of the public housing landscape. First, in order to achieve the deconcentration of poverty, high-density barrack-style apartments and high-rises must be eliminated and lower density developments of single-family homes and townhouses must be built. Since the total number of public housing units is decreased, public housing units are either built or acquired in scattered sites throughout the community, or residents are given Section 8 vouchers which they use to find an apartment in the private market. And second, in order to create mixed-income communities, HUD has to lure working families to these new public housing developments. The revitalized landscape must look 'normal', like any other middle-class neighborhood in order for this to happen (HOPE VI December 1999).

1.1.3 Leveraging Support and Resources

A third goal outlined by HUD, "[f]orging partnerships with other agencies, local governments, nonprofit organizations, and private businesses to leverage support and resources" (Kezar 2003) is also a frequent item that appears in newspaper coverage. Instead of, for example, developing, building, and managing the HOPE VI projects by

themselves, housing authorities partner with private developers and investors. The structure of Charlotte, North Carolina's 1993 grant for Earle Village provides an example of what these partnerships look like. The Charlotte Housing Authority teamed with Nations Bank (now Bank of America), the City of Charlotte Planning Commission, and the Charlotte Center City Partners, a group of businessmen interested in downtown development, to form First Ward Place. First Ward Place hired Urban Design Associates to create the master plan for Earle Village. Nations Bank acted as a development partner and secured $10 million in low-income tax credit equity.[3] The bank receives half of any income the project generates after administrative expenses are deducted. The Charlotte Housing Authority owns the land, but First Ward Place owns the improvements made to Earle Village (Engaging 2002).

This structure adds financial muscle to the Charlotte Housing Authority. The money invested by Nations Bank and Charlotte Center City Partners is considered 'leveraging' HOPE VI funds: adding private sector funds to the money granted by HUD. The leveraging of federal funds can also be informal, with HOPE VI developments attracting businesses and services to the area. Here is where this financial goal merges with the goal of creating mixed-income communities: once there is a critical mass of working and middle-class families, businesses are often willing to locate in the area and banks are willing to lend them the money to do so. *The Wall Street Journal* explains how this works, using the Atlanta Housing Authority as an example:

> Instead of relying solely on federal dollars to raze old buildings and construct new ones, the Atlanta Housing Authority worked with the private sector, leveraging HOPE VI grant money from HUD to replace a crumbling public-housing site with a mixed-income community. The project – one-third public housing units, one-third market rate units and one-third single-family homes – became the template. The new community, Centennial Place, opened in 1996, with an elementary school, a YMCA, a bank and childcare facility. By 2007, it will include restaurants, a grocery store and a dry cleaner. Overall, the Atlanta Housing Authority figures its HOPE VI projects have parlayed $220 million in federal funds into $3 billion in new investment (Roberts 2006, A4).

Developers partnered with the housing authority to created mixed-income developments. This public-private partnership was a catalyst for investment in the neighborhood – a

[3] The program provides a federal tax credit to those who invest in affordable housing. This credit can be used for 10 years.

bank, school, YMCA, restaurants, grocery store. The domino effect resulted in heavy investment by the private sector, leveraging the federal funds.

Pursuing this 'domino' financial model also depends on the first goal: changing the public housing landscape (Wexler 2001; Fosburg, Popkin, and Locke 1996; Howell and Leonard 1999). HUD believes that developers and other private market businesses, much like working and middle-class families, will not be interested in investing unless the landscape looks like any other residential development. Private market actors need to work with a "successful real estate product" (Howell and Leonard 1999, 25); there is too much risk investing in a landscape that stands out or is in any way stigmatized.

1.1.4 Resident Self-Sufficiency and Comprehensive Services

A fourth goal listed on HUD's website does not receive the same amount of press coverage: "[e]stablishing positive incentives for resident self-sufficiency and comprehensive services that empower residents" (Kezar 2003). Fifteen percent of the grant is earmarked for community and social services such as job training, adult education, after-school programs, apprenticeship programs, financial and family budgeting classes, homeownership counseling, wellness centers, health clinics, drug treatment, child care services, and entrepreneurship training and mentoring. This focus on community services is unique for public housing policy. HUD has traditionally been a 'bricks and mortar' agency focused on building and maintaining housing developments. Programs and policies typically emphasize the physical needs of buildings as well as management and tenant selection issues. The inclusion of programs and services that address residents' social and economic situation is an overlooked, but creative aspect of HOPE VI.

1.2 Analyzing HOPE VI: Binary Understandings

Given the massive financial investment, radical landscape alteration, and impact on residents' lives, researchers have been interested in critically analyzing why HOPE VI was created and how it is being implemented. The majority of HOPE VI studies have used a combination of historical, political, and economic lenses within a binary framework of outsiders-residents, rational-emotional, creation-implementation, and

national-local. A line is drawn between rational 'outsiders'[4] – any individual or group involved in HOPE VI who does not live in public housing such as politicians, housing authority officials, HUD officials, developers, architects, and investors – and emotional public housing residents. Outsiders are positioned as detached at the national scale, far removed from the emotional experiences of public housing residents, creating policies that impact residents. In fact, this framework can become intense with outsiders as a whole conceptualized as "detached from the space of everyday life" (Smith 2000, 226), their understanding of social life defined as abstract and removed from lived experience.

This binary structures three different categories of HOPE VI analysis that span the fields of geography, sociology, architecture, planning, and housing policy: political analyses; economic analyses; and social analyses.[5] Political analyses place HOPE VI within larger changes occurring in government structure and policy (Cavanaugh 1993, 2005; Dreier and Atlas 1996; Falls Short 2003; Hackworth 2003; Hammel 2006; Smith 2000; Wyly and Hammel 2000; Zhang and Weismann 2006). These studies view HOPE VI as part of three interrelated trends: neoliberalism, privatization of government functions and services, and devolution of responsibility from the federal to local governments. HOPE VI then, is an "expression of the rescaling of regulation" (Hackworth 2003, 531), a political calculus that positions outsiders on the rational side of the binary.

Economic analyses discuss HOPE VI in a number of contexts: downtown revitalization efforts, urban renewal, and gentrification.[6] Some argue that HOPE VI is part of larger downtown revitalization efforts where public housing resident interests are

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[4] The HOPE VI studies that I refer to *do not* use this terminology; the term is my own shorthand. I use this term for its spatial implications: outsiders are all those people who do not live in public housing and are, therefore, physically outsiders.

[5] A fourth category of HOPE VI studies – 'reviews' – does not belong under the banner 'HOPE VI analysis'. These studies mainly review and describe the components of HOPE VI with some evaluation of the strengths and weaknesses of the program (Epp 1996; Fosburg, Popkin, and Locke 1996; Freedman 1998; Quigley 2000; Rosenthal 2004; Stegman 2002; Wexler 2001). They are closely related, however, to the political and economic analyses because they situate HOPE VI in legislative and economic contexts, including public laws, government documents, neoliberalism and the push towards public-private partnerships.

[6] There is a fourth, smaller subcategory: 'measures of success' (Howell and Leonard 1999; Salama 1999; Varady et al. 2005). These studies evaluate successful HOPE VI projects, defining success in economic, real-estate terms. The wide-ranging social goals of HOPE VI are said to hinge on "developing and marketing a successful real estate product" (Howell and Leonard 1999, 25; See Vale 1996 for a wider definition of success).

either ignored or actively crushed by powerful economic players (Bayor 2003; FitzPatrick 2000; Goetz 2004; Pyatok 2000; Reichl 1999; Smith 1998; Vale 1999, 1993). The binary framework in these studies presents outsiders as concerned with the bottom line – "fixing the real estate to lure in outside residents" (Pyatok 2000) and "reclaiming urban neighborhoods for middle-income families" (Goetz 2004) – insensitive to the needs of public housing residents who suffer as a result. It should also be said that government officials and professionals themselves confirmed this storyline. A Washington DC lawyer involved with lobbying for HOPE VI told me the best way to sell the program was through "what gets peoples' attention. Money. I think that is the driver here" (Geno 2006). In terms of developers, I was told by one "they're more motivated by how much money they'll make, ok" (Melkonian 2006).

A handful of studies make a direct comparison between HOPE VI and federal urban renewal programs of the 1950s (Goetz 2000; Keating 2000) or gentrification (Wyly and Hammel 1999; Pyatok 2000, 1996). Urban renewal involved the demolition of "whole communities inhabited by low income people in order to provide land for…private development" (Weiss 1985, 253). HOPE VI is similar in that it displaces public housing residents and gives housing authorities the opportunity to partner with the private sector and attract businesses and services. Gentrification is the renovation of low-income areas and the subsequent rise in property values that drives out poorer residents. HOPE VI is seen as fueling this process by freeing valuable inner-city land for revitalization, sweeping out the poor to make way for market-rate, middle-class tenants. The binary structure in these studies emphasizes the gulf between outsiders and residents by presenting these two groups as thoroughly at odds, locked in a battle where "poor and minority residents fight to save their housing and communities" (Goetz 2000, 157).

I use the term 'social analyses' to describe those studies that focus on what is typically understood to be the 'people' side of HOPE VI – the program's implementation. Two subcategories of social analyses are 'discourse' and 'impact', both of which spotlight public housing residents as emotional. 'Discourse' studies focus on the manipulation of discourse during HOPE VI implementation, with some looking at resident resistance to media images (Breitbart and Pader 1995), and others looking at outsider and resident use of the term 'community' (Bennett 1998; Elliott, Gotham, and

Milligan 2004; Gotham and Brumley 2002). All of these reinforce the binary opposition between outsiders and residents: discourse is framed as a weapon in the battle between the two groups. As Bennett comments with regards to the redevelopment of Cabrini-Green in Chicago, "[a]s representatives of the Daley administration and the Cabrini-Green tenants debate the future of the Near North Side, their clashing words can be understood to reveal warring conceptions of community" (1998, 113). The three that focus on the use of 'community' also cast residents as emotional, concluding that 'community' discourses are used by outsiders to justify economic and political calculations while the same term is used by residents to express authentic feeling and their lived experience. Residents' discourse is grounded in feelings of fear, anxiety, anger, and attachment to place (Gotham and Brumley 2002) while outsiders' discourse is merely a "conventional exercise in urban real estate speculation" (Bennett 1998, 101).

'Impact' studies look at how HOPE VI has impacted residents' lives in terms of quality of life and emotion. These studies have investigated resident participation in the HOPE VI process, displacement, relocation, quality of new housing both on- and off-site, and changes in residents' employment status, income, and health (Buron et al. 2002; False Hope 2002; Kingsley, Johnson, and Pettit 2003; Pitcoff 1999; Popkin et al. 2002; Popkin, Levy et al. 2004; Popkin, Katz et al. 2004), as well as explicitly framing the impact of HOPE VI in terms of residents' feelings (HOPE Unseen 2003; Vale 1995, 1996, 1997). Again, the binary is at work – residents are framed as emotional individuals who are impacted by top-down policy decisions. The assumption implicit in these social analyses also reinforces the binary framework. The implementation of HOPE VI is assumed to be a social process with highly emotional residents affected by the program while the creation of HOPE VI is assumed to be a thoroughly separate and abstract process devoid of people.

These resident-focused studies associate residents with three specific emotions: affection, fear, and shame. Affection takes the form of attachment to place. In a survey conducted by The Urban Institute, for example, the majority of public housing residents reported that they were very or somewhat satisfied with their buildings (Popkin et al. 2002) and residents often remark that "their public housing community [is] 'family'" (Fosburg, Popkin, and Locke 1996, 11). The community and support networks that are

formed in each development are often strong and central to residents' lives (False Hope 2002; HOPE Unseen 2003; Smith 1998; Vale 1995, 1999). Residents' fear is typically framed as fear of the changes HOPE VI will bring. First there is displacement of all residents as HOPE VI work commences. Then there is the question of return. For those who will not return to the development there is considerable fear regarding moving and disruption of community ties (HOPE Unseen 2003; False Hope 2002; Popkin, Levy et al. 2004). Residents are also associated with shame, as in the stigma of living in public housing (Vale 1996). Shame is imposed on residents because society views public housing residence as an "attribute that is deeply discrediting" (Goffman 1963, 3) and the landscape itself becomes a stigma symbol: "signs which are especially effective in drawing attention to a debasing identity discrepancy" (Goffman 1963, 43-44)

The binary framework rational-outsider – emotional-resident also structures the methods used by the political, economic, and sociological analyses of HOPE VI. Most single out public housing residents as emotional while outsiders are singled out for their calculating rationality, economic and political savvy. Residents are often interviewed precisely for emotive content – "the comments offered by the public housing residents interviewed are valuable and valid because they reflect the range of emotions – positive and negative – that people experience when projects of the nature and scope of HOPE VI are undertaken" (HOPE Unseen 2003, 6) – while the typical HOPE VI article does not directly engage outsiders in conversation.

Outsiders are either discussed in the abstract, their voices gleaned from newspaper quotes, magazines, and speeches, and their positions summarized by the author, or they are subsumed within categories such as market forces and public policy. Pyatok, for example, provides a summary of some of these outsiders: "[b]oth public and private developers, viewing the world from the middle of the class structure, see a well-designed environment as a higher priority than intensive people-oriented solutions" (2000, 808). These developers are also "directed by legislators and executives who reflect the dominant ideology" (Pyatok 2000, 809-810). Wyly and Hammel subsume individual actors, referring to economic processes instead of individual people in their discussion of HOPE VI:

> New constructions of scale in assisted housing, exemplified by Chicago's Lake Parc Place and the federal HOPE VI programme, constitute a centripetal devolution mediated by the relationship between public policy and local private market forces. National changes in housing finance have altered historical processes of redlining, disinvestment and gentrification. Mortgage capital, traditionally responsible for the creation and exacerbation of rent gaps, now lubricates the flow of capital into the gentrifying frontier of the inner city (2000, 181).

They move on to discuss policymakers and developers, but abstract economic and political entities – public policy, local private market forces, housing finance, mortgage capital – not people, are the main actors in their version of the HOPE VI story (see Duncan and Ley 1982 for a similar critique).

A composite picture of HOPE VI emerges from the bulk of HOPE VI studies: rational outsiders have crafted the HOPE VI program along economic and political lines while residents have reacted emotionally. It should also be said that government officials and professionals themselves reproduce this outsider-resident, rational-emotional framework. When I approached one HUD official with my interest in the emotions of HOPE VI, I was told "We're somewhat removed from the emotional side of projects because we're here in Washington and the projects are happening all over the country. So, you may want to talk to people who are working on them on the local level to try and get that perspective, but we'll try and answer your questions as best we can" (Blom 2006). Another former HUD official told me "yeah I'm not sure how that affects *public* policy per se, but it does affect individual implementations. Local implementations" (Demitros 2006). She went on to discuss NIMBY (not-in-my-backyard) issues surrounding public housing, but the emotional issue that made an impact on her was meeting and speaking with public housing residents.[7]

Even at the local level, a distinction is made between emotionless officials and emotional residents: a Lexington, KY government official told me, "the people in the local government are bringing a professional, um, eye to [the HOPE VI project] that is

[7] In general discussions of public housing residents are viewed as emotional while outsiders are understood to be rational, with one exception: people who live near or next to a public housing project. These local folk, armed with NIMBY arguments, often appear at public or community meetings with anger and hatred and their emotion is well-documented (Vale 2002; Friedman 1968; Danielson 1976). I experienced this phenomenon first-hand at a neighborhood association meeting in Lexington, KY. On the agenda was a presentation by the Lexington Housing Authority regarding an apartment complex they planned to renovate and convert to public housing. Anger and fear circulated in that meeting, with cries of 'move somewhere else' and 'you're flooding us with more people!' (September 12th Gainesway 2006).

emotionally disconnected from it. The people from the neighborhood level are bringing their perception and a gut-feel and an emotional connection to it" (Dohoney 2006). These comments show how scale plays a role in the rationalized understanding of outsiders. In all three cases, emotions are separated from a discussion of policy by placing and containing them at the local scale. This process also has fractal properties (see Gal 2002): it can be reproduced repeatedly, recurring inside itself. In other words, individuals at the national level can slough off emotion to the local level while those at the local level make a finer distinction between city-wide government and local neighborhoods.

1.3 Analyzing HOPE VI: An Emotional and Landscape Understanding

This dissertation is grounded in a critical humanist perspective which focuses on everyday life and approaches everyday interactions as a "world of meaning" instead of "an abstract framework of geometric spatial relationships" (Adams, Till, and Hoelscher 2001, xxi). (For a discussion of critical humanism in geography, see Chapter 2). The dissertation demonstrates that the process of HOPE VI involves "individuals acting within varied institutional and geographical contexts" (Mountz 2003, 625) producing varied discourses, defined as 'talk and texts' (Rose 2001). Simply put, the process of HOPE VI is the result of individuals living out their everyday lives in Washington D.C. and cities and towns across the country – talking with colleagues, reading newspapers, and writing reports. I reject, therefore, the notion that officials somehow do not engage in lived experience or everyday life.

Second, the dissertation demonstrates that specific emotions – disgust, fear, shame, and enjoyment – permeate, direct, and shape public housing policy and appearance. As numerous psychologists, sociologists, and geographers argue "no action can occur in a society without emotional involvement" (Barbalet 2002, 2). And as Anderson and Smith comment, the "silencing of emotion in both social research and public life...produces an incomplete understanding of the world's workings...to neglect the emotions is to exclude a key set of relations through which lives are lived and societies made" (2001, 7). To use a framework where outsiders are assumed to operate beyond the reach of emotion produces a skewed understanding of HOPE VI – how and why it works.

Third, this dissertation demonstrates that the public housing landscape is critical to how emotions work in HOPE VI. It is clear that landscape is important to HOPE VI. The program is predicated upon the dramatic transformation of public housing: before and after pictures are prominently featured in most HUD publications and framed pictures of the new landscape are on display at the HUD offices in DC (see Figure 1.12). But I draw on landscape studies in geography to understand how emotion and public housing, as a cultural landscape, work together in HOPE VI. The cultural landscape is a material reality, what Lewis defines as everything we see when we walk outside, the "tangible, visible scene" (Lewis 1979). But these 'things-in-the-world' are also a "material moment in a recurring flow of information/ideals/actions/power" (Schein 1997, 676). The cultural landscape is the product of people's minds and their interaction with others, a material moment in an ongoing social process. From my critical humanist perspective, however, these social processes are shaped and directed by emotion. Public housing, then, is the physical manifestation of emotion, the materialization of how people feel about a whole host of topics such as the deserving and undeserving poor, welfare programs, race, and the inner-city. The public housing landscape is also critical to how emotions work in HOPE VI: it is through emotional descriptions of and reactions to the public housing landscape – its aesthetic and social context – that decisions about national policy are made. Analyzing the visuality of public housing as a symbolic landscape is, therefore, critical to an understanding of HOPE VI.

Figure 1.12: Before and after pictures of Hayes Valley in San Francisco. From *HOPE VI: Building Communities Transforming Lives* (HOPE VI December 1999).

For this project I wanted to know *which* emotions entered into and impacted HOPE VI, *how*, and *why* and so approached my research with two main questions in mind:

- Which emotions entered the policy process, which were filtered out, and which gained prominence?
- How did these emotions shape the process of HOPE VI?

My exploration of these questions involved archival analysis, semi-structured interviews, and participant observation because I view HOPE VI as the accumulation of 'talk and texts'. Archival analysis dealt with the reams of reports, laws, letters, notices, publicity materials, and applications that make up the housing policy process. Semi-structured interviews and participant observation collected stories from people involved in writing the HOPE VI legislation and working on HOPE VI grants and involved interacting with the landscapes of public housing and HOPE VI. All three methods were used in Washington DC, Lexington, KY, and Charlotte, NC, which gave me access to different aspects of the process of HOPE VI. I analyzed these discourses using psychology, sociology, and philosophy literatures on specific emotions.

1.4 Contributions, Main Points, Chapter Outline

The dissertation makes two main contributions through the answers to the research questions and methods:

1. The dissertation challenges the binaries that structure both academic and governmental literatures on public housing: outsiders-residents, rational-emotional, creation-implementation, and national-local. In place of these binaries is an analysis organized around specific emotions and places: the disgust, fear, shame, and enjoyment that circulates in Washington DC, Lexington, and Charlotte through texts and talk.

   The dissertation shows that an understanding of specific emotions is central to an understanding of American public housing by approaching the project's empirical material through a critical humanist framework. More specifically, the dissertation shows that:

   a. Disgust, fear, shame, and enjoyment constitute both the political and economic logic that is part of the HOPE VI process.

b. There are moments of emotional divergence *and* convergence between outsider and resident perspectives on public housing.

c. Disgust, fear, and enjoyment receive widespread circulation amongst the text and talk of HOPE VI while shame faces obstacles to its circulation.

d. The visuality of landscape is key to how HOPE VI works: disgust, fear, shame, and enjoyment are articulated through and crystallized in reactions to the aesthetics and social context of the public housing landscape.

e. The permeation of disgust, fear, shame, and enjoyment is not unique to HOPE VI; these specific emotions have permeated the history of U.S. public housing.

2. The dissertation makes two methodological contributions:

a. The project adds to an understanding of discourse analysis as used in geography by attending to the characteristics of specific emotions. Understanding the emotive content of discourse tells us more about how and why discourse works.

b. I include a frank discussion of a distinct methodological quandary: speaking to people about emotion, especially people who do not view their work as emotional. This specific topic is missing from methodological reflections in the geography literature.

These contributions and main points are woven through the chapters of the dissertation. After a Chapter 2 literature review, Chapter 3 explains my methodology. I first outline my discursive approach to HOPE VI, which breaks down the rational-emotional, creation-implementation, and national-local binaries. I then explain my modified version of discourse analysis which uses psychology, sociology, and philosophy literatures on emotion. Finally I deal with each method - archival analysis, semi-structured interviews, and participant observation - and outline issues of absence in and access to the archive, asking people about emotions, and issues of access to and 'fitting-in' during participant-observation events.

Chapter 4 lays out the emotional context for HOPE VI through an analysis of the emotive discourses that constituted discussions about public housing in the late 1980s. The chapter is organized around how outsiders and residents relate to three key emotions – disgust, fear, and shame. The chapter breaks down the typical view of outsiders presented in analyses of HOPE VI by placing emotions at the forefront. Outsiders

involved in HOPE VI are hardly removed from emotional understandings of public housing – they are, in fact, keenly aware of and moved by disgust, fear, and shame. Outlining the emotions expressed by residents also changes our view of the relationship between outsiders and residents. Thought to be at odds, these two groups share some of the same emotive perspectives on public housing.

Chapter 5 establishes which emotive discourses entered the HOPE VI process in Washington DC, Lexington, and Charlotte and which emotive discourses gained prominence. Stories from each city show that shame, disgust, and fear moved the HOPE VI process, constituting both political and economic logic. But the stories also show that disgust-fear becomes the predominant guiding discourse of the program. The chapter also shows how shame, disgust, and fear move the HOPE VI process in particular ways. Shame focuses attention on the government's role in creating distressed conditions for public housing residents and lays the foundation for broad policy recommendations that address physical and social needs. Disgust and fear focus attention on the physical and aesthetic attributes of the public housing landscape and the 'pathologies' of public housing residents, making the end goal of policy to 'clean-up' the landscape.

Chapter 6 explores why shame is the exception and disgust-fear the rule, highlighting how emotive discourses circulate through the structures of government and the characteristics of the emotions themselves. The shame discourse was translated as it was disseminated in Congress, a structural obstacle to its circulation. But the characteristics of shame also made it problematic as a political emotion. Disgust and fear, however, was pushed to the forefront by the neoliberal context of HOPE VI. The push to engage the private market required that the disgust and fear surrounding the public housing landscape be transformed. The transformation of disgust and fear is also a visible, photogenic, and seemingly objective process, making it politically useful. The chapter ends by examining the material consequences of the dominance of disgust and fear discourses.

Chapter 7 outlines the similarities between HOPE VI and the original public housing program. The chapter focuses on three areas of overlap: discourses of disgust-fear surrounding immigrant slums at the turn of the 20th century and public housing in the 1960s, the design of public housing and HOPE VI landscapes, and the success of disgust-

fear as a political argument for both the original 1937 public housing program and HOPE VI. The chapter ends with the evolution of the public housing program. This chapter shows that emotions permeate, direct, and shape the history of public housing; emotions are consistent not only between different places, but across time as well. The chapter also highlights two components of this emotive process that are critical to an understanding of public housing policy: society's ongoing revulsion and fear of poor minorities and the articulation and crystallization of these emotions through aesthetic reactions to the public housing landscape.

Chapter 8 brings the importance of the public housing landscape to the forefront, a theme which runs throughout the previous chapters. A discussion of the landscape is crucial because it is key to how HOPE VI, and public housing policy in general, works. The circulation of disgust, fear, shame, and enjoyment happens through the aesthetics of public housing. In other words, emotive reactions to landscape aesthetics moves public housing policy. The chapter explores how this process works by first, outlining the conventional view of aesthetics as a universal reaction – landscapes are typically considered inherently ugly or beautiful. Second, I draw on the geography literature and stories from Washington DC and Charlotte to show how this understanding of aesthetics obscures the connection between race, class, and emotion and allows the landscape to become shorthand for both. And third, I consider the positive potential for these connections. Aesthetic reactions are emotional reactions and by changing the aesthetic of public housing to something deemed pleasing and attractive, HOPE VI has the potential to change the negative emotions surrounding public housing and the people who live there.

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Chapter 2: Literature Review

This chapter offers extended ruminations on the theoretical points from Chapter 1 for those readers who are interested in a broader discussion of emotion, critical humanism, and the cultural landscape. Each section fleshes out my main theoretical points, placing them within wider geography, psychology, sociology, and philosophy literatures on emotion, and geographic literatures on critical humanism and the cultural landscape. Each section outlines how I draw on existing literatures, combine them and shape new conversations and provides a more general and extended discussion of the main theoretical points made about HOPE VI and public housing.

2.1 Emotion

A large question looms over this dissertation: just what are emotions? This is difficult to answer, for there is no definitive, agreed-upon definition. In fact, huge debates rage in psychology and sociology over the relative importance of the biological and social components of emotion and whether emotions are innate or socially constructed or some combination of the two. (See Box 2.1: The Emotions Debate in Sociology). I mediate between these two extremes and believe that emotions are a hard-wired, innate capability of human beings that are profoundly shaped and molded by social interaction. Emotions are a mental-physical, individual-social process that is the basis for how we understand and relate to the physical and social environment.

Box 2.1: The Emotions Debate in Sociology

Sociologists do not all agree on how to define or understand emotion. Like psychologists, anthropologists, and geographers, they have difficulties integrating an understanding of emotions as both physiological and socially constructed. Most sociologists agree that there is a physical, embodied component of emotion, treating emotions as some state of physiological arousal (Denzin 1984, 1990). Hochschild, for example, notes that emotion "always involves some biological component: trembling, weeping, breathing hard" (1998, 6) and Kemper contends that "particular emotions are physiologically specific" (Barbalet 2002, 3). But there are disagreements over the link between the physical and social which has divided sociology into two camps: 'positivists' and 'social constructionists' (Kemper 1987, 1990; Williams 2001; Thoits 1989). The positivists view the primary emotions as inherent, patterned responses to specific social situations (Thoits 1989). Kemper, for example, argues that power and status, as fundamental components of social relations, are "tied to certain basic emotions through specific physiological reactions" (Thoits 1989, 325; see also Kemper 1987; Barbalet 2002). In other words, power and status automatically trigger specific emotions with signature bodily patterns. The social constructionists argue that there are no universal links between physiology and social situations: "All emotions are socioculturally constructed concepts" (Thoits 1989, 320). The symbolic interactionists have a 'lighter' version of this view, arguing that the physiological side of emotions is a general physical arousal elicited by the surrounding context. This undifferentiated physical state is then interpreted to be a specific emotion based on "definitions of

the situation, emotion vocabularies, and emotional beliefs" (Thoits 1989, 319).

These competing views share a cognitive/social model of emotions despite their varying emphasis on and understanding of the physiological, (Denzin 1984). Physical, bodily arousal is typically conceived of as subordinate to cognition and the social. For these sociologists, the important point is that social relations and interactions produce emotion (Kemper 1990); any physical component of emotion is the result of a perception set in a social situation and structure. As Harre contends, emotions are "bodily enactments of mainly *moral* judgments and attitudes" (Williams 2001, 46) and Burkitt argues that "our emotions are an active response to a relational context" (2002, 152). This cognitive/social perspective focuses sociological inquiry on the "sociocultural *determinants* of feeling, and the sociocultural bases for defining, appraising and managing human emotion and feeling" (Hochschild 1998, 5), making an understanding of the physiological secondary in importance.

There are those sociologists, however, who manage to keep the physiological and social in tension and who even take seriously how the physiological can affect the social. Ian Burkitt, for example, states that "Emotions are complexes because they are products of both the body and discourse and yet are reducible to neither…emotion is composed of *both* the material and the ideal - of both matter and meaning within the context of cultural relations" (2002, 153). Hochschild does not take a fully socially constructionist perspective which would say that feeling is "entirely constituted by social influences" (1990, 120). She prefers an 'interactive model' where "biological factors emerge as 'ingredients,' which are socially shaped" (1990, 120). But Margot Lyon takes this a step further, seeing the need to "address the relevance of the physical body for the social order and, therefore, the search for a better understanding of the agency of the body in the social world" (1998, 51). Williams, drawing on Elias, also argues that "biological and social factors *interlock* in the human communication and experience of emotions" (2001, 52). For Lyon and Williams, the body has an influence on the social, much as the social 'constructs' and shapes the bodily.

This dissertation, however, is not concerned with proving to what extent emotions are biological or socially constructed. Rather, the starting point for my dissertation is the notion that emotions are the foundation for our interactions with others. A wide range of psychologists and sociologists hold this view. Psychologist Silvan S. Tomkins, for example, argues that emotions are our primary motivating system; emotions are what motivate us to act (Tomkins 1962; Nathanson 1992) and are expressed through our language, body and behavior. Lazarus contends that "Much of what we do and how we do it is influenced by emotions and the conditions that generate them" (1991, 3). Sociologists make similar claims. As Jack Barbalet comments, "A well-developed appreciation of emotions is absolutely essential for sociology because no action can occur in a society without emotional involvement" (2002, 2) and "No matter what the social phenomenon, its processes and outcome can always be better understood when its emotional dimensions are identified. That is because the emotional dimensions of a thing determine its social significance and course" (2002, 6).

This dissertation is also concerned with specific emotions – disgust, fear, shame, and enjoyment. Much like the debate over emotions in general, there is disagreement over whether specific emotions are innate or learned. Psychologists, for example, debate which emotions belong on a list of primary emotions, emotions that we are thought to be born with, and which emotions belong on a list of secondary emotions, emotions that are derived from primary emotions via social interaction. Some even question the assumptions that go into the division of emotions into primary and secondary. For me, whether the specific characteristics of fear and shame are hard-wired in our brain or are 'cultural products' (Mehta and Bondi 1999) is secondary to my larger concern: the specific characteristics of these emotions as they operate in society.

My approach towards individual emotions starts with the assumption that specific emotions have specific characteristics; that is, when we speak about fear we are referring to a specific state of mind that has identifiable thoughts, meanings, bodily feelings, actions, and words associated with it. The experience of fear can be very different for different people – the objects or situations that trigger fear, how one reacts to fear – but general themes can be found. I rely on psychologists, sociologists, and philosophers for an understanding of these general themes (for more details, see Chapter 3).

This is not to say that all of these individuals agree on the specific qualities of shame, disgust, fear, and enjoyment; it is to say that overlapping themes emerge from this wide range of commentary. While I rely on these overlapping areas, I view alternative understandings of individual emotions as valuable and creative frameworks for understanding the dynamics of HOPE VI. It is in the body of the dissertation that I present the varying viewpoints for each emotion, making it clear how I mediate between the similarities and differences.

The dissertation's focus on individual emotions is a contribution to the geographic literature. Many geographers interested in emotion focus their attention on how emotions are part of social relations or structures such as inequality, difference, and power relations (Adams, Till, and Hoelscher 2001); sexuality and family dynamics (Gabb 2004; Robinson, Hockey, and Meah 2004; Rose 2004); domestic labor (Pratt 1997; Stiell and England 1997); and public space and gender norms (Bondi and Rose 2003; Day 2001; Mehta and Bondi 1999; Koskela 1997; Panelli, Little, and Kraack 2004). Their emphasis

is not necessarily on the specific qualities of individual emotions (See Davidson, Bondi, and Smith 2005 for a discussion of this phenomenon).[8] Many sociologists are similar; they are more interested in exploring the social structures that produce emotional responses (Kemper 1990, 1990; Berezin 2002) rather than the emotions themselves.

The qualities of individual emotions are important for this project. The differences between specific emotions are crucial for an understanding of how emotions impact the HOPE VI process and how they are used to build consensus and make decisions. There is a big difference, for example, between saying 'public housing is revolting' and saying 'public housing is a disgrace'. As Lazarus summarizes, "[n]o other concept in psychology is as richly revealing of the way an individual relates to life and to the specifics of the physical and social environment" (1991, 7). Each emotion has distinct qualities which translate into a distinct stance and relationship with public housing. Each statement communicates a distinct message about public housing that comes from the specific qualities of each emotion (See Hochschild 1990 for a similar argument with regards to ideology).

2.2 Humanistic Geography, Critical Humanism, Emotion

This project is set within a larger context: human geography's engagement with emotions and the current 'emotional turn' in geographic scholarship.

2.2.1 Humanistic Geography

Humanistic geography has been characterized as a reaction to the abstraction endemic to the quantitative revolution that swept geography in the 1950s and 1960s (Ley 1981). The quantitative revolution was interested in theory building – specifying the laws of spatial organization – and assumed people were rational and largely one-dimensional (Cloke, Philo, and Sadler 1991). Behavioral geography emerged as a partial corrective to this view, with an emphasis on the need to look at the thoughts and actions

[8] There are exceptions to this rule. Geographers who engage psychoanalysis, for example, tend to be interested in the qualities of specific emotions. Sibley, for example, discusses repulsion, fear, desire, attraction and nervousness (Sibley 1995). I do not use a psychoanalytic framework, however, because I am uncomfortable with many of the core assumptions of psychoanalysis, such as the subordination of women to men (see Benjamin 1988; Brenkman 1993). Psychoanalytic theory also tends to focus on childhood development and the unconscious, which does not push the main concern of this dissertation forward: an understanding of emotion in everyday life. Outside of psychoanalytic geography, there are surprise engagements with the characteristics of specific emotions, such as Sparks, Girling, and Loader's contribution to the Fear and the City issue of *Urban Studies* (2001).

of people. But behavioral geography tended to deal with cognition and, ironically, appeared more and more like spatial science. Pocock and Hudson, for example, devised a mathematical formula for behavior, viewing behavior as a "function of the relationship between the person and the environment…B = *f* (P,E)" (Pile 1996). People were likened to information processing systems, operating according to fixed rules (Pile 1996).

Humanistic geographers, in reaction to the quantitative revolution and behavioral geography, sought to "put man back together again with all the pieces in place, including a heart and even a soul, with feelings as well as thoughts, and with some semblance of secular and perhaps transcendental meaning" (Ley and Samuels 1978). Geographers such as Relph, Buttimer, Tuan, and Ley took seriously people's everyday life and their motivations, personal experiences, perceptions, values, and beliefs (Johnston 1991; Peet 1998).

Within this general framework, humanistic geographers were explicit about their concern for emotion; as Yi-Fu Tuan asks, "What is the role of emotion and thought in the attachment to place?" (1976, 269). Tuan figured prominently in the geographical study of emotions, introducing concepts such as topophilia – humans' emotional connections to place. Another example is Edward Gibson, who in the 1978 *Humanistic Geography* wrote, "the more susceptible we make ourselves to the human emotions of anger, ambition, envy, love, pride, loyalty, and all other manifestations of our human condition, the more we can understand the actions growing out of them" (1978, 144). Emotions were seen as fundamental to an understanding of everyday life.

Despite the much-needed contributions of early humanistic geography to the critique of positivism, it had weaknesses. The sub-discipline tended to emphasize the *description* of people's emotional states and, as a result, produced reports of phenomena without any understanding or scrutiny of those phenomena. As Tuan himself stated, the purpose of humanistic geography was "describing the quality of the emotion experienced in specific settings" (1976, 269-270). There was little probing of the productive (or destructive) aspects of emotion. Topophilia, or "attachment to place and aestheticization of landscape were rarely seen as anything but benign, qualities to be encouraged by planners and landscape designers" (Duncan and Duncan 2001). Humanistic geographers

were also criticized for emphasizing individual, inner experiences, reducing "values and perceptions to private feelings and experiences" (Daniels 1985).

The twin emphasis on description and inner experience feeds into another critique of humanistic geography: their lack of engagement with social and structural issues (Cloke, Philo, and Sadler 1991; Peet 1998; Walker and Greenberg 1982). Humanistic geographers all too often described attachment to or experience of place without a wider sense of context or history, which led to the neglect of social processes such as economics and politics and the material conditions of people. By neglecting social processes, humanistic geographers ironically supported the assumptions of positivism that viewed such topics as economics as devoid of meaning, subjectivity, or human agency. Humanistic geographers also did not attend to issues such as power and inequality that Marxist-oriented geographers tackled with their emphasis on structural issues. The humanistic emphasis on dwelling and people's attachment to home, for example, ignored the work that went into keeping a home and the often unequal power relationships found in homes (Peet 1998).[9]

But all of humanistic geography should not be characterized as unconcerned with context, history, and social processes and structures. Some humanistic geographers, such as Ley, had a "stronger sense of the social dimension of human life" (Daniels 1985). Ley's exploration of Philadelphia's inner city, for example, in *Black Inner City as Frontier Outpost* recognizes that everyday life and individual feelings cannot be understood outside of social context (Ley 1974). This can be seen in Ley's understanding of place as "the contact zone between physical reality, the social context, shared meanings and the self" (Pile 1996). Ley pointed to the ways humanistic geography could contribute to an understanding of the social by putting the intent of the subject front and center while simultaneously recognizing the "inherently social nature of experience" (Ley 1978) and the interchange between subjects and their environment. For Ley, human emotion and attachment to place could not be separated from social interaction and the restrictions of social structures. This humanistic view of the social

[9] Edward Relph's understanding of Tintern Abbey as an 'authentic' place is another example of this problem. Relph simply displays a photograph of the Abbey and labels it an expression of an "'I-thou relationship between man and god'" (Daniels 1985) without taking into account the historical context of the Abbey or the history of his own representation of the Abbey (which, as Daniels notes, is informed by tourists and artists).

was appropriately used to critique structural Marxism in geography (Cloke, Philo, and Sadler 1991). Just as humanistic geographers were critiqued for ignoring social structure, structural Marxists were critiqued for portraying the structures of society as "organismic or machine-like entities having self-direction and power over women and men" (Duncan and Ley 1982, 36) which obscured human agency: people's beliefs and intentions cannot be so neatly divorced from structural conditions.

2.2.2 Critical Humanism

Today, Ley might be considered part of a 'critical humanistic' trend in geography. Over the past twenty years, humanistic geography as a coherent sub-discipline has become subsumed by cultural geography, a point highlighted by the book *Textures of Place* (Adams, Till, and Hoelscher 2001). But contemporary interest in the concerns of 1970s humanistic geography is strong enough for the editors of *Textures of Place* to gather together geographers whose work might be considered 'critically humanistic'.[10] Paul C. Adams, Steven Hoelscher, and Karen Till define 'critically humanistic' geographers as those geographers who are interested in (1) the everyday, a person's understanding and experience of place, meaning and interpretation and (2) those who are committed to current social theory such as feminism and post-structuralism. This combination leads to a critical humanist perspective that

> emphasizes the tensions and contradictions of place to a degree that was little described twenty years ago. Instead of the 'essence of place,' most scholars today interpret its 'multiplicity'; rather than focusing on 'human existence,' they try to unearth the many ways that place impinges on identities surrounding race, ethnicity, class, gender, and sexuality; and more than simply focusing on 'unselfconscious intentionality,' a critical humanist interpretation of place is equally concerned with how human creativity is hemmed in by large-scale social, political, and economic structures. 'Tophophobia' as much as 'topophilia' has captured geographical imaginations" (Adams, Till, and Hoelscher 2001, xix).

Despite their interest in humanistic geography from the 1970s, Adams, Hoelscher, and Till do not explicitly include emotions in their definition or discussion of critical humanism. Recently, however, there has been an 'emotional turn' in geographic scholarship amongst a wide range of cultural, social, feminist, urban, and psychoanalytic geographers that has revived a focus on humanism and emotions in particular (Davidson

[10] It should be noted, however, that the authors in this edited volume would not necessarily label themselves as such, preferring instead the broader label of cultural geographers

and Milligan 2004). This move in geography coincides with and is influenced by a more general 'emotional turn' in the social sciences, especially sociology and anthropology (Barbalet 2002; Bendelow and Williams 1998; Denzin 1984, 1990; Kemper 1990; Thoits 1989; Williams 2001). Fueling this turn is the recognition that emotions are an integral part of everyday life, influencing our relationship with and experience of the physical and social environment. Anderson and Smith, for example, recognize the "extent to which the human world is constructed and lived through the emotions" (2001, 7) while Davidson and Milligan argue, "[w]ithout a doubt, our emotions *matter*. They have tangible effects on our surroundings and can shape the very nature and experience of our being-in-the-world" (2004, 524). An understanding of emotion is critical to the social scientist interested in how society works.

Contemporary geographic work on emotions can be considered part of the critical humanism described in *Textures of Place* that has answered the critiques of 1970s humanist geography by paying particular attention to emotion's role in constructing and reproducing inequality, difference, and power relations. Geographers, for example, who explore the emotions of home, including sexuality and family dynamics (Gabb 2004; Robinson, Hockey, and Meah 2004; Rose 2004), and domestic labor (Pratt 1997; Stiell and England 1997) take on issues of gender inequality. Those who look at fear and public space, especially women's experiences of the public realm (Bondi and Rose 2003; Day 2001; Mehta and Bondi 1999; Koskela 1997; Panelli, Little, and Kraack 2004) show how emotions are an integral part of power dynamics and the generation of gender norms.

Of particular interest for this project are geographers who focus on emotions as a crucial (yet overlooked) component of processes and institutions typically understood through an economic or political lens. Academics often assume that public policy, government officials, bureaucracies, and the workings of the economy are emotionless. Scheff argues that "[m]ost formal theories of human behavior are biased toward rational or material models of causation, because emotion and mood do not seem real in our civilization" (1990, 294). He goes on to say, "[l]aypersons, researchers, and governments deny the importance of emotions, seeking more dignified kinds of motives" (1990, 295). Geographers, for example, often draw on the French Marxist philosopher Henri Lefebvre

and his concept of abstract space to describe the workings of government and bureaucracies. In an article on Irish public housing, Boyle neatly summarizes the common interpretation of abstract space:

> Abstract space...is analytically conceived rather than sensuously lived and experienced. Abstract space is the product of instrumental logic and acts of cognition rather than human creativity, festivity, and acts of affection; it is the craft of professionalized spatial architects, investors, bureaucrats, planners, and engineers and is most often manufactured, governed, and regulated to serve hegemonic social, political, and economic interests (2005, 182).

Even when not using Lefebvre, many geographers take a structural Marxist approach to social life that views macro-structures such as capitalism, capital, the state, and the market as "active subjects…while individuals, the parts, are acted upon" (Duncan and Ley 1982, 34). In this vision of social life, then, individuals act mechanically according to an economic and political 'calculus' (Weber 2002). We are left "with sets of interlocking abstractions, a world seen as a set of abstract categories filled by roles" (Duncan and Ley 1982, 39). This is particularly prevalent in recent analyses of the contemporary city where processes such as gentrification are examined. In these studies it is the circulation of capital, in relation to state policies, that makes some pieces of property valuable and devalues others (Knox 1991; Weber 2002; Harvey 1989; Brenner and Theodore 2002). (See Box 2.2 for an example of this framework used in cultural geography and an alternative, emotional framing).

Box 2.2: Recent Analysis of the Contemporary City

In "What cannot be seen will not be heard: the production of landscape in Moline, Illinois" Jeff Crump analyzes the revitalization campaign of downtown Moline. He argues that this campaign was shaped by business interests that erased alternative visions of Moline's history and identity from the landscape. These business interests are characterized as acting in response to economic considerations: "As factories closed, local urban elites came together to prevent further closures, redevelop abandoned sites and prepare the ground for continued or resumed capital accumulation…locally dependent actors, faced with the crisis of economic restructuring, developed close links with business interests in an effort to maintain local economies" (Crump 1999, 298). Here we have the business interests as agents of capital accumulation. He also draws on Don Mitchell to explain how business interests imposed their vision of Moline in the rational, crushingly logical manner associated with abstract space: "landscapes are often used to limit, if not eliminate, social conflict as those with the political and economic power stamp their vision into the landscape. Once the dominant class succeeds in producing a particular landscape in which to embed its version of social relations, that materialization becomes a reality to be transcended by any opposing forces" (1999, 299).

Crump's conclusion, however, attends to emotion and complicates this standard framework. Despite the manipulation of history and landscape by elite interests, most residents of Moline

celebrated the revitalization efforts. He speculates that "It is possible that economic crisis is so disturbing and the resulting change so significant that people need to create landscapes that not only commemorate the past but rewrite a reassuring history of it and a celebration of future potential" (1999, 314-315). First, his conclusion implies how people manage distress is inseparable from the economic and political dimensions of the production of landscape. And second, by recognizing the emotional investment in landscape, Crump offers a richer understanding of how landscape works: while a product of powerful business interests, the landscape is *simultaneously* a collective emotional investment meant to act as a psychological salve.

There are, of course, exceptions to this rule. Neil Smith speaks forcefully about right wing politics in the 1990s, which he labels revanchist, or an act of revenge. The term revanchist implies anger and aggression and Smith recognizes the emotive content of their political strategies where "deep-seated fears and insecurities are enlisted to fuse and conflate physical and psychic safety; the symptoms *are* the cause. Sanitizing the landscape will reverse the city's decline, opening up the possibility of a glorious new urban destiny" (1999, 188). Typically, however, emotions are not the central focus of these papers and a sustained discussion of emotion is lacking. Goonewardena, for example, explicitly recognizes the importance of emotion in any study of ideology: "[i]deas without sensations – feelings, affections, passions and all the rest of it – do not work too well *as* ideology" (2005, 47), but then uses this statement to emphasize the importance of aesthetics for contemporary urban processes.

Applying this framework to HOPE VI means that HUD officials, Congressmen, and housing authority officials are units in a bureaucratic machine driven by economics and politics. The only people 'allowed' to have emotions are the people affected by government actions such as public housing residents and community groups. These people inhabit the "concrete spaces of everyday life" (Boyle 2005, 182) that is lived directly and has meaning (Smith 2000). Such a framework creates two opposing categories of people who struggle against each other, "those with emotional attachments to place and those without such attachments" (Weber 2002, 519) – outsiders and insiders. This framework is very similar to the binaries critiqued by feminists, such as male/female, rational/irrational, society/nature, mind/body, and space/place (Rose 1993). All of these binaries function to remove emotion from one category – male, rational, society, mind, space, outsiders – and contain it in another – female, irrational, nature, body, place, insiders. Power is gained for those who can deny their emotion and project

it onto another group. Geographers reproduce these binaries and power differentials by using frameworks such as abstract space.

Denying the emotions of officials and focusing on the emotions of insiders results in a skewed understanding of social life. As Anderson and Smith argue, the "silencing of emotion in both social research and public life...produces an incomplete understanding of the world's workings...to neglect the emotions is to exclude a key set of relations through which lives are lived and societies made" (2001, 7). The complexity of a social situation, therefore, is overlooked. Analyses of social life become repetitive, where outsiders are always at odds with insiders: that the cold, calculating officials are out to oppress insiders becomes a baseline assumption.

Recent work in the critical humanist vein, however, shows that pushing emotions into areas typically understood through an economic and political lens *can* and *should* be done. Geographers, for example, have looked at emotion's role in labor in the workplace (McDowell 2001), consumption practices (Colls 2004; Williams et al. 2001), prison life and regulations (Dirsuweit 1999), racial exclusion in the city (Pile 1996; Sibley 1995) and urban regeneration and marketing strategies (Ellin 2001; Neill 2001). By focusing on emotion, these studies contribute to an understanding of how these processes and institutions work. They also tell us more about well-established concepts, such as the economics of inequality (Pile 1996) and the notion of 'access' in retail geography (Williams et al. 2001). People do not, for example, simply choose where to shop based on 'rational' factors such as proximity and transportation. Desire and disgust for shopping destinations, as well as feelings of belonging, are inseparable from peoples' retail choices.

This project is part of this conversation. I believe that the productive work already conducted in the area of emotions and geography shows that emotions-focused research *can* and *should* be applied to the study of policy, another arena of social life typically considered to be an economic or political concern. Anderson and Smith have sounded this call, but emphasize the importance of studying the emotional impacts policy decisions have on those affected (2001; see also Haylett 2003). This project, however, contributes to this literature by seeking a detailed understanding of emotions involved in the policy process itself.

2.3 The Cultural Landscape

I draw on cultural geographers' understanding of the cultural landscape for an understanding of public housing. Geographers have long argued that landscapes – the built environment – are symbolic. They are the physical expression of our culture, "reflecting our tastes, our values, our aspirations, and even our fears, in tangible, visible form" (Lewis 1979). Certain cultural landscapes, such as the New England village, Main Street, and the suburb become *national* symbols, "part of the iconography of nationhood" (Meinig 1979, 164) that say something about what Americans as a whole value, such as community and stability. Public housing is a national, symbolic landscape in that a description or photograph of public housing is "understood as being a particular kind of place rather than a precise building or locality" (Meinig 1979, 165). But this is a decidedly dystopic symbol, one that represents for Americans all that is wrong with society.

Viewing landscapes as texts extends this understanding of the cultural landscape as symbolic (Duncan and Duncan 1988; Duncan 1990). As a text, the cultural landscape "is a medium to be read for the ideas, practices, interests, and contexts constituting the society which created it" (Ley 1988, 100-101). It is, in other words, a discourse materialized (Schein 1997) and as such can be read for traces of these discourses. But cultural landscapes should also be "seen as signifying practices that are…rewritten as they are read" (Barnes and Duncan 1992, 5; see also Schein 1997). The cultural landscape, therefore, is not simply a static expression of culture; its meaning is constantly being rewritten as people interact with the landscape, react to it, and represent it. This is true of public housing landscapes: they were typically greeted with optimism and architectural awards when they were first built, but over time they were 'rewritten' as symbols of failure, crime, poverty, and the inner-city, black ghetto.

The landscape also plays an active role in the social realm; it "is an important, even constitutive, part of social and cultural processes" (Schein 2003, 202). Cultural geographers since the 1980s have been keen to understand how landscapes work in social life and their research has made a number of claims. Cultural landscapes such as a planned suburb can capture and mediate different discourses, meanings, and identities (Schein 1997). The cultural landscape can work in narrowly ideological ways to make

concrete and naturalize a specific group's view of the world (Cosgrove 1984; Duncan and Duncan 1988) and it is normative, "suggesting what *ought* to be" (Schein 2003, 201). Landscapes can act as a mask "eras[ing] the very facts of its (quite social) production" (Mitchell 1996); they can discipline (Schein 1997; Schein 2003), telling "us what we can do and what we may…do" (Smith 1993, 89); and they can exclude (Duncan & Duncan 2001).[11]

Geographers, for example, have shown how idyllic rural landscapes mask the labor that went into creating and maintaining them (Mitchell 1996), how the renewal of a downtown landscape selectively represents a certain class's understanding of history (Crump 1999), and how a public monument can erase marginalized voices (Till 1999). Cultural geographers have become adroit at uncovering landscape's role in constructing, maintaining, and reinforcing unequal and hierarchical social relations (Groth and Wilson 2003; Henderson 2003; Schein 1997). As Harner notes, landscapes "operate to naturalize an unjust world" (2001, 663). Public housing can be seen as 'doing' the work of racial and class segregation in urban America. In this way, public housing is a racialized landscape, defined by Schein as "American cultural landscapes that are particularly implicated in racist practice and the perpetuation of (or challenge to) racist social relations" (2003, 203).

But *how* does the cultural landscape do all of this work?[12] In order to answer this question, I argue we need to fuse current geographic work on emotion with landscape studies' attention to the visual, aesthetic aspects of landscape. Current work in cultural geography has increasingly shown an interest in emotions, a key (yet neglected) component of social relations, and has begun to explore the cultural landscape in terms of

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[11] I am interested in these understandings of the cultural landscape because they have a humanistic tone, dealing as they do with human interaction, identity, and people's perceptions and understandings about landscape (see Appendix II for a discussion of humanistic geography). In fact, Duncan's work on culture, which is seen as a starting point for the 'new cultural geography' work outlined above (Johnston 1991), was "born of humanistic geography" (Schein 2004, 16). Duncan's "The Superorganic in American Cultural Geography" critiques a Sauerian understanding of culture as "an entity above man, not reducible to actions by the individuals who are associated with it, mysteriously responding to laws of its own" (1980, 181). Duncan seeks a definition of culture as the interaction between people and encouraged research that "focused on individuals and groups as they interact with their physical environment in various social and institutional contexts at a variety of scales" (1980, 198). His humanistic emphasis on human interactions opened a space for cultural landscape geographers to attend to the ideological, discursive, and power-laden interactions between people as they produce, live in, and are affected by landscape.

[12] This question is of increasing interest for geographers (see Mitchell 2002, 2003).

emotion.[13] Geographers have shown how emotions work through a variety of material landscapes such as the rural countryside (Duncan and Duncan 2001; Panelli, Little, and Kraack 2004), a New Urbanist subdivision (Aitken 2000), the inner city (Pile 1996; Sibley 1995), urban architecture (Neill 2001; Ellin 2001), an 'authentic' ghost town (DeLyser 1999) and the U.S.-Mexico border wall (Till 2004), a process that has tangible consequences such as the passing of exclusionary zoning ordinances (Duncan and Duncan 2001), the popularity of a New Urbanist community (Aitken 2000), and the formulation of city marketing schemes (Neill 2001). I take a more direct critical humanist stance on the cultural landscape. I argue that social and cultural processes are shaped and directed – given force, meaning, and color – by emotion. The cultural landscape, therefore, is the physical manifestation of emotion and representations of the cultural landscape are shaped by emotion. Public housing, then, is the product of how society negotiates feelings about a wide variety of topics such as race, class, and government involvement in the private market.

This emotion-focused work has also shown *how* landscape does ideological and power work such as exclusion (Duncan and Duncan 2001), segregation (Sibley 1995; Pile 1996) and political manipulation (Till 2004): landscape works by engendering emotional reactions. The visual, aesthetic aspect of the cultural landscape is a critical part of this

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[13] There were relatively few explicit or sustained engagements with emotion in landscape studies during Carl Saeur's time, through Peirce Lewis and the 'new cultural geographers'. Lewis, for example, famously defined the cultural landscape as the materialization of our tastes, values, aspirations, and even fears, opening up the potential to seriously engage in an understanding of the connections between landscape and emotion. In other work, however, Lewis downplays emotion as a concept worth studying. In his essay "Learning from Looking", Lewis acknowledges that "what we think about landscape very materially determines what we are likely to do to it" (1983, 247), but views an attempt to understand these thoughts as "arcane", an "abstruse excursion" (1983, 247) into the realm of psychology.

Stephen Daniels' concept of the duplicity of landscape is one exception. Drawing on Williams and Berger, Daniels says that landscape is "an ambiguous synthesis whose redemptive and manipulative aspects cannot finally be disentangled, which can neither be completely reified as an authentic object in the world nor thoroughly dissolved as an ideological mirage" (1989, 206). Landscape is not only involved in capitalist social structures that oppress and manipulate by obscuring the "brute force of economic reality" (Daniels 1989, 197) but also is involved in lived experience linked to powerful feelings and imagination. Daniels manages to show that joy and hope work through landscape as much as power and ideology and that emotion is not so easily separated from structural forces: describing Williams, Daniels writes

> He can feel the 'sensory pull' of some monumental buildings like cathedrals and yet be aware of the way they inscribe social dominion in their physical fabric, in their reproduction as 'heritage', and in precisely the kind of powerful feelings which they were designed to induce (1989, 212).

process. Feelings about how a landscape looks – whether it is ugly or beautiful, scary or safe – are connected to feelings about social life.

A review of aesthetic work in cultural geography can be found in Chapter 8, but I offer one example here to make my point. Stuart Aitken in "Fear, Loathing and Space for Children" studies the popularity of neo-traditional developments in California. To understand the popularity of this spatial phenomenon, he looks at how "the fears and anxieties of young parents are contextualized in the built environment" (2000, 49). For these parents, fears about crime, a loathing of difference, and a desire for safety work through different landscapes in the city. Aitken's interviews reveal how the little fears and disgusts that make up everyday life – such as perceptions of crime that attach to certain places/landscapes and an aesthetic revulsion to concrete block and ugly buildings – have everything to do with class and race and combine to produce a specific New Urbanist defensive landscape. As Sibley summarizes, "[r]epulsion and desire, fear and attraction, attach both to people and to places in complex ways" (1995, 3-4) and these connections can be direct, slippery, or hidden so that one might not necessarily know why they reacted to a landscape in a certain way. Landscape, then, not only mediates emotions and social relations, it becomes shorthand for both.

This last theoretical point was evident in my research. In talking with people in Washington DC, Lexington, and Charlotte, race in particular was rarely mentioned. Michael Kelly, the Executive Director of the Washington DC Housing Authority, was the only person to hint at race. We were talking about how fear and repulsion are attached to aesthetics of public housing when Kelly said:

> I think the, one of the things that for me, personally, the stigma or the image is uh, young men, bunches of young men hanging out at night in very scary ways…However, and so there's nothing criminal about them being out there, but there's, for perception purposes. Um, you know, young men gathering at night in these public housing areas suggests crime (2006).

'Bunches of young men' is the closest I got to a discussion of race. This might have been a product of a politically correct environment where people are hesitant to mention race. Speaking about class is much more acceptable and has become a proxy for race. But I also believe that race was an unspoken concept because we were discussing severely distressed public housing. There are strong associations between landscape, emotion, and

social life; in mentioning public housing, therefore, there is no need to mention race. The way we talk about landscape says it all.

NOTE: I do not address race in Chapter 5 because of this silence from the people I interviewed.

2.4 Conclusion

This chapter offered a broad discussion of emotion, critical humanism, and the cultural landscape, key concepts for this dissertation. I understand emotions to be a bodily-social process that is the basis for how we understand and relate to people and places. My contribution to the growing geographic literature on emotions is attending to the characteristics of specific emotions and examining how emotions affect social life and institutions. This project, with its focus on emotion, can be considered part of the current 'emotional turn' in the social sciences and contemporary critical humanist geography. The 'emotional turn' in geography has been productive, pushing into realms typically viewed through an exclusive economic or political lens. This geographic literature has contributed to an understanding of how processes work and complicate the neat binaries used in most economic or political analyses. My project enhances this literature by providing a detailed understanding of the specific emotions involved in the policy process itself.

This dissertation is also part of a larger geographical conversation about the cultural landscape. Geographers have argued that cultural landscapes are symbolic and do ideological and power work in social life. To understand how cultural landscapes do this work I argue that the current work on emotions needs to be fused with landscape studies' attention to the visual and aesthetic aspects of landscape, my contribution to the cultural landscape literature. My dissertation shows how landscape works in political and ideological ways by engendering emotional reactions; landscape becomes shorthand for emotion and social relations.

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Chapter 3: Methods

The central focus of this project – the relationship between emotions, the public housing landscape, and the HOPE VI process – poses distinct methodological challenges. The first part of this relationship deals with emotions – how people feel about the public housing landscape – and emotions have been described as enigmatic phenomena that are notoriously vexing to study (Katz 1999). The second part of this relationship deals with public housing policy – the documents and conversations that produce bureaucracy and programs – an area of social life typically seen as unemotional and dry. How, then, does one ask about something that is hard to pin down in a setting where it is assumed not to exist?

A review of these challenges and how I dealt with them is important because the reader needs to know both the successes and limitations of the research process in order to understand the research findings that follow. I begin by explaining my discursive approach to and understanding of HOPE VI which has a direct impact on my methods. Second, I outline how I went about 'finding' emotion in the discourses gathered from archival analysis, semi-structured interviews, and participant observation. Third, I deal with methodological issues specific to archival analysis, semi-structured interviews, and participant observation.

3.1 Approach

In order to understand why I chose the methods I did, I need to explain how I approach and understand HOPE VI. I view HOPE VI discursively. I draw on an expansive literature for two different definitions of discourse that apply to HOPE VI. First, the word discourse can be used to refer to "all forms of talk and texts" (Rose 2001, 140; Hastings 1999). In this sense, the public housing program HOPE VI is composed of many different discourses: it is the result of accumulated 'talk and texts' – office conversations, newspaper articles, media images, government reports, public housing policies, and discussions on the floor of Congress. The policy process referred to in my research questions, therefore, is the coming together of all of these discourses and what we call HOPE VI is a coagulation of these discourses.

Discourse is also conceived of as "a group of statements which provide a language for talking about – a way of representing the knowledge about – a particular

topic at a particular historical moment" (Hall 1992, 291; 1997; Rose 2001). Once a particular set of policies and guidelines labeled HOPE VI was put into practice (through more 'talk and texts'), HOPE VI itself became a way to talk about and understand public housing. With each new grant cycle, new stories and meanings associated with HOPE VI accumulate as the process of HOPE VI unfolds in different places: discourse, therefore, is never finished.

Because I view HOPE VI discursively archival analysis, semi-structured interviews, and participant observation were fitting methods for the project. HOPE VI is a series of interconnected discourses and archives, interviews, and participant observation provide access to different 'talk and texts'. In fact, I viewed the research process – the documents I gathered, the people I spoke to, the events I attended, and the pictures I took – as a discourse gathering exercise. The triangulation of these three qualitative methods meant I was able to trace the discourses and understand how these different discourses were connected. Stories told by the individuals I spoke with, for example, were compared to policy documents and the individuals I spoke with pointed me to other documents and people.[14]

Viewing HOPE VI discursively also aligns with my critical-humanist perspective because it keeps the research process focused on everyday life. Gathering the texts and talk that make up HOPE VI and that HOPE VI makes possible required me to deal with the 'mundane' aspects of everyday life such as the writing of a report, a conversation over lunch, or reading the newspaper. A discursive approach also makes it difficult to divide HOPE VI in terms of binary processes, as most HOPE VI studies have done: the creation of HOPE VI – a political-economic affair that takes place at the abstract national scale – and the implementation of HOPE VI – an emotional affair that takes place at the local scale, in specific places.

These rational-emotional and creation-implementation binaries rest on an assumption about scale that geographers have critiqued and discourse analysis resists. In

[14] Some discourse analysts might refer to this as 'intertextuality': "the way that the meanings of any one discursive image or text depend not only on that text or image, but also on the meanings carried by other images and texts" (Rose 2001, 136). In other words, the way that images and texts are connected. Researchers using qualitative methods might refer to this as academic 'rigor': using a variety of methods allows the researcher to gather multiple perspectives and gives the researcher the opportunity to cross-reference assumptions and interpretations from documents with participants' experiences and understandings (Baxter and Eyles 1997).

most studies of HOPE VI, the national and local are seen as "distinct spatial systems" (Taylor 1984), "relatively self-enclosed…territorial containers" (Brenner 2001) that either have minimal interaction or are uni-directional, with the national impacting the local. Geographers have criticized this conception, noting that different scales are intertwined. Swyngedouw, for example, shows how the local and global *shape each other*, how they are mutually constituted (Swyngedouw 1997). And many geographers have engaged a more processual, relational understanding of scale: scale is the product of social processes and relations which cannot be understood in static terms and simple unidirectional flow charts. Brenner, for example, talks of the "intrinsic relationality of all geographical scales" (2001; see also Cox 1998; Swyngedouw 2004).

Discourse analysis is compatible with these relational conceptions of scale. First, as a method, discourse analysis is interested in understanding not only how discourses are connected to each other, but how discourses circulate between people and places (Fairclough 1995). Tracing the circulation of texts quickly begins to complicate neat divisions between national and local. Take, for example, the Final Report of the National Commission on Severely Distressed Public Housing, a report that was an important part of the HOPE VI policy process. The Final Report was technically produced at the national scale by a federal commission, but its policy recommendations came from input and visits to the local scale – various public housing authorities across the country – complicating a notion of scales as isolated containers. Second, discourse analysis requires attention to not just different texts and images, but "the social context of those statements: who is saying them, in what circumstances" (Rose 2001, 149). In other words, discourses are produced by someone, somewhere. HOPE VI, then, was not created at a monolithic, abstract, national scale which is nowhere in particular. The actual writing of HOPE VI was a process that took place in the offices, meeting rooms, and restaurants in and near Capitol Hill, Washington DC, a process connected to other places as well, through phone conversations, email, and documents and reports.

This understanding of scale through the geography literature and discourse analysis affected how I understood the organization of the project. Instead of dividing my project into an analysis of the creation of HOPE VI at the national scale and its implementation in specific case studies, I divided my project into three specific yet

interconnected places: Washington DC, Charlotte, NC, and Lexington KY. I approached each city as unique, with its own place in the process of HOPE VI. Washington DC is where Congressmen and Congressional staffers spend a large part of every year talking about, debating, and writing policy and legislation. It was in this city that HOPE VI became 'official', entered into public law with the writing of Senate Report 102-389 and Public Law 102-389. Washington DC was also one of the first cities to receive a HOPE VI grant for Ellen Wilson in 1993, and was awarded a 1997 grant for Valley Green and Skytower, a 1999 grant for Frederick Douglas and Stanton Dwellings, a 2000 grant for East Capitol Dwellings and Capitol View Plaza, a 2001 grant for Arthur Capper/Carrollsburg, and a 2004 grant for Eastgate Gardens. Charlotte and Lexington have their own unique place in the HOPE VI process. Charlotte received one of the first HOPE VI grants in 1993 for Earle Village, a 1996 HOPE VI grant for Dalton Village, a 1998 grant for Fairview Homes, and a 2003 grant for Piedmont Courts. Lexington recently completed work on its first 1998 HOPE VI grant for Charlotte Courts and just received approval for the demolition and revitalization of Bluegrass-Aspendale on October 27, 2005 after being rejected on three previous attempts. The development has been demolished and construction is commencing.[15]

But I also approached each city as interconnected and it was the archives I examined, interviews I conducted, and participant observation I engaged in that highlighted these connections. The people I spoke with in Washington DC, for example, who were directly involved in writing the language of HOPE VI – Gordon Cavanaugh, Kevin Kelly, and Jeffrey Lines – also had stories to tell about the HOPE VI grants in their hometown and connected me to others involved in DC's HOPE VI grants. Two individuals in particular – Don Ball and Joe Schiff – connected Washington DC with Lexington. Don Ball owns Ball Homes in Lexington, KY and has helped the Lexington Housing Authority with its HOPE VI applications, but he was also on the National Commission for Severely Distressed Public Housing that made policy recommendations

[15] I also chose Charlotte and Lexington for personal reasons. I lived in Charlotte, North Carolina from the summer of 2000 to the summer of 2002 while I was an AmeriCorps member working for Habitat for Humanity. I moved to Lexington in the fall of 2002 to attend graduate school at the University of Kentucky and spent four and a half years there. When I conceptualized this project I immediately thought of these two cities not just because they have HOPE VI grants, but because I am familiar with their neighborhoods, their history, and everyday dynamics. My personal connection to the sites illustrates my belief that discourse analysis comes out of attention to and concern for everyday life.

to Congress in Washington DC. Joe Schiff is a former Assistant Secretary of HUD and now assists cities across the country in writing HOPE VI applications, including Lexington. Applying for and receiving a HOPE VI grant also involves the exchange of 'talk and texts' between city officials in Charlotte, Lexington, and Washington DC and HUD employees in Washington DC in the form of grant applications and conversations. And these exchanges are often visits, as at a December 19, 2005 media event in Lexington where Washington DC officials were in attendance. And connections are not confined to these three cities: Barry Long from Charlotte, Kathleen O'Neil from Lexington, and Marilyn Melkonian from Washington DC are also involved in other cities' HOPE VI grants such as Louisville, Kentucky, and Bradenton, Florida. It is these connections that collapse the distinction between creation and implementation, national and local.

3.2 Finding Emotion in the Archive, Interviews, and Participant Observation

In order to answer my research questions, I needed to find the emotive content in the 'talk and texts' I gathered from Washington, DC, Charlotte, and Lexington. This required modifying the traditional procedures of discourse analysis. Discourse analysis is an accepted and well-established method in the field of geography (Crang 2002) and is recognized as an important way to analyze a number of topics integral to this dissertation: the policy process, particularly housing policy (Batten 1999; Darcy 1999; Hastings 1999; Haworth and Manzi 1999; Jacobs 1999; Jacobs and Manzi 1996; Laws 1994; Lees 2004; Marston 2002; Murdoch 2004; Richardson and Jensen 2003), public housing (Henderson 1995; Jackson 1999; Marston 2000), urban revitalization and restructuring (Harvey 2000; Mele 2000) and government documents (Dixon and Hapke 2003; Stenson and Watt 1999). Researchers have embraced discourse analysis because it helps explain how government and the policy process works. As Nikolas Rose summarizes, "[l]anguage is not secondary to government; it is constitutive of it. Language not only makes acts of government describable; it also makes them possible" (1999, 28). Mele offers a similar insight: "the circulation of prevailing discourses about the city is intrinsic to political economic processes of sociospatial change" (2000, 629). (See Box 3.1: A Note on Material-Immaterial, however, for academic unease with discourse analysis).

Box 3.1: A Note on Material-Immaterial

Discourse analysis is a well-established method, but for some geographers it is a source of

anxiety. These geographers worry that attention to discourse leads to a preoccupation with the 'immaterial' – language, text, representation, images – and an obscuring of 'material' conditions such as poverty and the materiality of the built environment. Philo offers one summary of this concern:

> what I wish to signpost now are some concerns that I (and others) have about this *dematerializing* of human geography; this preoccupation with immaterial cultural processes, with the constitution of intersubjective meaning systems, with the play of identity politics through the less-than-tangible, often-fleeting spaces of texts, signs, symbols, psyches, desires, fears and imaginings. I am concerned that, in the rush to elevate such spaces in our human geographical studies, we have ended up being less attentive to the more 'thingy', bump-into-able, stubbornly there-in-the-world kinds of 'matter' (the material) with which earlier geographers tended to be more familiar (2000, 33)

Philo's distinction between the material and immaterial concerns me because it splits my project in two. On the one hand, I am interested in emotion, which is typically considered thoroughly immaterial. My focus on the emotive content of discourse probes deep into the immaterial "shadowy recesses" (Philo 2000, 32) of the human mind. On the other hand, I am interested in the radical transformation of the public housing landscape through HOPE VI. My project is in large part about how and why we are demolishing buildings identifiable as public housing and constructing buildings that look like middle-class America.

The distinction between material and immaterial, however, only works under a binary framework that constructs crisp boundaries between categories. When you think about how social life works this binary blurs and the concepts of material and immaterial bleed together. Take, for example, the cultural landscape. Landscapes are a material reality – the bump-into-able kinds of matter to which Philo refers – but as argued by Cosgrove and Daniels:

> [a] landscape park is more palpable but not more real, or less imaginary, than a landscape painting or poem. Indeed the meanings of verbal, visual and built landscapes have a complex interwoven history. To understand a built landscape…it is usually necessary to understand written and verbal representations of it, not as 'illustrations', images standing outside it, but as constituent images of its meaning or meanings (1988, 1).

The cultural landscape exists because of ideas and ideals, discourse and discussion, all of which, I argue, are fueled by emotion (see Latham and McCormack 2004; Lees 2002 for alternative critiques of this binary).

There is no set procedure for conducting a discourse analysis, but some scholars have tried to provide guidance (Fairclough 1995; Hall 1997; Rose 2001). Rose describes the first step in a discourse analysis as looking at the structure of the discursive statement (whether this is text or an image) and identifying key themes – recurring or significant words, phrases, or images (2001, 150). Fairclough also emphasizes analyzing the "*texture* of texts, their form and organization" (1995, 4 italics in original). Most discourse analyses do a wonderful job of highlighting key phrases and words, uncovering "deep layer[s] of tacit cultural meaning" (Healey 1999, 28), and showing that discourses 1) convey meaning, values, morals, and/or ideologies, and 2) frame or shape policy discussions and solutions in particular ways.

Discourse analyses of policy and government in urban studies and urban geography, however, slip into the binary of rational-emotional and have not had a sustained focus on emotions or emotive content. Emotions are occasionally recognized, as in the mention of a discourse's "affective value" (Darcy 1999, 15) or "the affects and passions that [a word or book] mobilizes and through which it mobilizes" (Rose 1999, 29), but a rigorous analysis of emotion is lacking. Even the discourse on discourse, or the way discourse is talked about in these studies reflects the rational-emotional binary: discourses are often described as 'tools', 'deployed' and 'manipulated' by a variety of 'actors'. These words have a mechanistic tone that implies a 'rational' individual behind the discourse.

The omission of emotion is significant since "[m]uch of what we do and how do it is influenced by emotions" (Lazarus 1991, 3), which *includes* politics (Berezin 2002; Robin 2004), economics (Pixley 2002) and the formation of housing policy. Ideology, values, and morals all have an emotive component (Tomkins 1962, 1963) and it is my contention that emotions play an unrecognized role in creating "'regimes of truth' and determine[ing] the acceptable formulation of problems and solutions to these problems" (Jacobs 1999, 205). As sociologist Ian Burkitt comments with regards to Foucault's work on power where social actions are said to incite, induce, or seduce: "[h]owever, incitement, induction, or seduction would not be possible without the fact that human relations are always charged with emotion" (2002, 165)

And it is *specific* emotions that are of interest in this modified form of discourse analysis. Arlie Hochschild makes a similar point with regards to ideology. In studying gender ideology and asking individuals to describe what they felt were 'proper' roles for men and women, she became interested in the ways "individuals *hold* ideology…This led me to explore the feelings that infused people's ideologies, and to ask how actors care about their beliefs. Passionately? Nonchalantly? Angrily? Hopelessly? Fearfully?" (Hochschild 1990, 127). These differences matter because *each emotion* has *specific* characteristics (see Scheff 1990 for a similar argument). That is, when we speak about specific emotions such as disgust, fear, and shame, we are referring to a specific state of mind that has identifiable thoughts, meanings, bodily feelings, actions, and words

associated with it. Discourses, then, are given a particular color, meaning, or shape depending on the specific emotive content.

I rely on psychologists, sociologists, and philosophers for an understanding of these general characteristics. Psychologists explicitly explore the meaning, expression, and associated actions of individual emotions (Lazarus 1991; Lewis and Haviland 1993; Nathanson 1992; Tomkins 1962). They argue that individual emotions are 'rule-based phenomena' (Lazarus 1991) with different physiological underpinnings that affect their expression. But psychologists also recognize that social and cultural contexts are critical to the expression of individual emotions and attend to these contexts as well, as do select sociologists such as Goffman (1963), Hochschild (1990) and Scheff (1990). Other scholars of law, philosophy, and literature take on specific emotions in their work (Menninghaus 2003; Miller 1997; Nussbaum 2004), providing a historical and social account of individual emotions in a Western context. [16]

This is a familiar move in sociology, where researchers offer detailed examples of this form of discourse analysis (Scheff 1990; Clark 1990; Denzin 1990; Scheff and Retzinger 1991; Prendergast and Forrest 1998). Sociologists readily turn to psychology, philosophers, and other sociologists for a detailed understanding of specific emotions and 'emotional vocabularies' (Burkitt 2002). Using these works as a model, my discourse analysis relies on the psychology, sociology, and philosophy literatures to attend to the words and phrases people use to express emotion. These literatures, therefore, comprise my 'code book' and are what I referred to when conducting the discourse analysis.

To be more specific, this discourse analysis took two different forms. The first form is a type of content analysis where I looked for words and phrases that have a direct connection to the expression of emotion. These were instances where people explicitly used words such as disgrace, fear, disgusting, and shame. The second form is interpretative, where I looked for words, phrases, and content that are emotive, which means having the 'character of emotion' and evoke emotion. For these interpretive

[16] This is not to say that all of these individuals agree on the specific qualities of shame, disgust, fear, and enjoyment; it is to say that overlapping themes emerge from this wide range of commentary While I rely on these overlapping areas, I view alternative understandings of individual emotions as valuable and creative frameworks for understanding the dynamics of HOPE VI. It is in the body of the dissertation that I present the varying viewpoints for each emotion, making it clear how I mediate between the similarities and differences.

moves I relied on detailed explanations of an emotion's characteristics. Disgust, for example, is an emotion that deals with issues of contamination and, therefore, discourses of dirt, pollution, and filth are associated with disgust. This form of discourse analysis raises issues of accuracy. Since I am making an interpretation it is impossible to 'prove' my assertion. The strength of the interpretation lies in its ability to connect the literature on emotion with words, phrases, and content found in the talk and text of HOPE VI. Throughout the dissertation I tack between these two forms of discourse analysis.

I also considered the full breadth of emotion when conducting my discourse analysis. There is no definitive, agreed-upon list of emotions, but the following are common emotions cited in the psychology literature: fear, anxiety, anger, shame, disgust, happiness, enjoyment, pride, love, sadness, and envy/jealousy. The dissertation mainly focuses on disgust, fear, and shame because, after analyzing many documents associated with HOPE VI, these are the emotions that I understood to be the most prevalent and significant. Enjoyment and pride also proved to be integral to HOPE VI and are brought into the dissertation in Chapter 5.

The goal of these different forms of discourse analysis, and making the connection between collected texts and emotions to begin with, is to tell us more about how and why discourses work. Descriptions of filthy slums are powerful not just because they are negative, but because they tap into a culturally understood notion of disgust. Once this discourse is in circulation, its material effects will have everything to do with the characteristics of disgust.

3.3 Archives

The archives I examined at each place – Washington DC, Lexington, and Charlotte – gave me access to the many texts that are an integral part of the HOPE VI process. These texts include newspaper articles, press releases, speech transcripts, HUD documents, Congressional documents which include laws and reports as well as transcripts of debate and hearings, Notices of Funding Availability (NOFAs), HOPE VI applications, public housing resident surveys, power point presentations, and individual housing authority reports (see Table 3.1 for a list of texts organized by city). Examining an archive, however, is not a straightforward task; it raises questions and concerns ranging from what note-taking system to use to the issue of silences and absences in the

archive (Harris 2001; Schein 2001). I found that the most pressing quandary for my Washington DC archive was how to make sense of the vast materials I encountered and deciding which documents were crucial to an understanding of HOPE VI. The sorting out of this quandary forced me to consider the importance of using multiple methods and raised the issue of absence in archives. The most pressing quandary for my Charlotte and Lexington archives was issues of absence in and access to the archive.

Table 3.1: Archives

WASHINGTON DC	
General Texts	
Newspaper articles related to HOPE VI and public housing from *The New York Times, The Wall Street Journal,* and *The Washington Post, The Hill, Roll Call*	
Specific Texts	
Source/Place	**Title/Years/Description**
The Congressional Record	Searched for keywords public housing and HOPE VI for the years 1989-2006
Congressional Hearings	Veterans Affairs, Department of Housing and Urban Development, and Independent Agencies Senate Appropriations Hearings – 1993-2006
	Distressed Public Housing – March 25, 1992
	Public Housing, Public Disgrace – May 28 and July 21, 1992
	Techniques for Revitalizing Severely Distressed Public Housing – May 11, 1993
	Strengthening and Rejuvenating our Nation's Communities and the HOPE VI Program – April 29, 2003
	Oversight of the Department of Housing and Urban Development – May 20, 2004
U.S. Department of Urban and Housing Development	HOPE VI Notices of Funding Availability, 1993-2006 published in the *Federal Register*
	News Releases regarding HOPE VI grants, published online under HUD Archives
	Speeches of HUD Secretaries, published online under HUD Archives
	Building Communities and Transforming Lives, HUD Report
	Clinton Administration's National Urban Policy Report, HUD Report
	Community Building Makes a Difference, HUD Report
	Creating Defensible Space, HUD Report
	HOPE VI Program Authorization and Funding History, HUD report
	HUD Reinvention: From Blueprint to Action, HUD report
	Principles for Inner City Neighborhood Design, HUD report
	Public Housing that Works: The Transformation of America's Public Housing, HUD report
	Reinventing HUD, HUD report
	Transforming Public Housing: Building Community Pride, HUD report
National Commission on Severely Distressed Public Housing	Final Report
Congressional Information Service	Public Law 102-389 – Departments of Veterans Affairs and Housing and Urban Development, and Independent Agencies Appropriations Act, 1993
	Report 102-356 – Departments of Veterans Affairs and Housing and Urban Development, and Independent Agencies Appropriation Bill, 1993
CHARLOTTE	
General Texts	
Newspaper articles related to HOPE VI and public housing from *The Charlotte Observer, Uptown, Charlotte Business Journal*	
Specific Texts	
Source/Place	**Title/Years/Description**
Charlotte Housing Authority	1998 HOPE VI Grant application for Park at Oaklawn, partial.
	Summaries of all four of Charlotte's HOPE VI grants
Robinson-Spangler Carolina	Annual Reports for the years 1940, 1945, 1947, 1954, 1957, and 1964

Room, The Public Library of Charlotte and Mecklenburg County: Main Library	Newspaper clippings for Piedmont Courts
	Newspaper clippings for Earle Village
	Newspaper clippings for Brooklyn
Urban Design Associates	Power Point Presentation, Charlotte's Piedmont Courts HOPE VI grant
LEXINGTON	
General Texts	
Newspaper articles related to HOPE VI and public housing from *The Lexington Herald-Leader*	
Specific Texts	
Source/Place	**Title/Years/Description**
Lexington Housing Authority	2005 HOPE VI grant application for Bluegrass-Aspendale
	2001 HOPE VI grant application for Bluegrass-Aspendale
	2000 HOPE VI grant application for Bluegrass-Aspendale
	1998 HOPE VI grant application for Charlotte Court
	1997 HOPE VI grant application for Charlotte Court
	2004 Resident Survey prepared for the Bluegrass-Aspendale HOPE VI application

I began my research by tackling the large and daunting Washington DC archive of Congress, which includes Senate and House reports, public laws, bills, *The Congressional Record* (transcripts of the discussion and debate on the floor of Congress), and transcripts of Congressional hearings. I was first drawn to *The Congressional Record* because these transcripts record conversations between Congressmen, a place where 1) I thought emotion was likely to arise, and 2) I thought I could glimpse the inner, 'behind-the-scenes' workings of Congress. I started with 1989, three years before HOPE VI became an official HUD program for context and worked my way through 2006. Transcripts were found by searching a Congressional database online, using the terms 'public housing' and 'HOPE VI' for each year. Frustration ensued when I found only a small percentage of the hundreds of transcripts to be useful in that they contained what I viewed as emotive content: actual conversations about public housing policy, Congressmen's statements in favor of or in opposition to an amendment associated with public housing legislation, and Congressmen bringing newspaper articles to their colleagues attention, submitting them for the record. The majority of transcripts were filled with technical procedures such as votes on amendments, calling roll, and submitting budget numbers. And not all of the conversations between and statements made by Congressmen were rich sources of emotive content; many tended to focus on minute details of policy such as changing rent formulas for public housing residents. I also became 'lost' or 'taken over' by the archive (Harris 2001, 331), mired in the mountain of transcripts from the floor of Congress.

My interviews shifted and clarified my archival focus, pointing to the importance of using multiple methods. One of my first interviews was with Joe Schiff, former Assistant Secretary of HUD. I mentioned that I had been reading through *The Congressional Record* and he immediately reacted: what gets said on the floor of Congress, he commented, is staged, noting that "I don't recall during my four years...at any time was there serious debate about public housing among members of Congress" (Schiff 2006). Schiff, and many of the other people I interviewed, pointed to the Final Report of the National Commission on Severely Distressed Public Housing as being a critical document for HOPE VI, as well as Congressional Hearings on public housing from the early 1990s, Notices of Funding Availability, yearly Veterans Affairs, Department of Housing and Urban Development, and Independent Agencies Senate Appropriations Hearings, Public Law 102-389, and Senate Report 102-356.[17] In fact, the author of the last two documents, Kevin Kelly, searched his office for his copy of the law and report and had them photocopied for me.

One could view this as a flaw in my approach to the archive as it allowed other people to steer my focus. Part of my goal, however, was to approach the everyday life of officials seriously. The people I interviewed were intimately involved in the HOPE VI process and these were the documents that were important to them. These documents, as well as my interviews, therefore, receive the most attention in the dissertation, comprising the bulk of 'evidence' in the Washington DC section of Chapter 5. I reconceived the texts culled from *The Congressional Record*, viewing them not as unimportant, but as a way to understand general trends, moods, opinions, and events in Congress, just as newspaper articles are a way to understand the general public mood. The main discussion of *The Congressional Record* appears in 1) Chapter 4, which introduces the context for HOPE VI – the emotive discourses that constituted discussions about public housing in the late 1980s – and 2) Chapter 5, which traces the evolution of HOPE VI.

This shift in focus also highlighted issues of absence. In addition to referring to *The Congressional Record* as staged, Schiff noted that public housing is "very much a staff driven program" (Schiff 2006). This was reiterated in other interviews: I asked

[17] Their relevance and significance are explained in detail in Chapter 5.

Gordon Cavanaugh, for example, about his interactions with Congressmen and he replied "what I've dealt with mainly were staff people" (Cavanaugh 2006). These comments revealed a gap in the archive: *The Congressional Record* does not include comments or reports made by staff members who played a large role in the HOPE VI process. This is a common critique of archives where certain voices and perspectives are often absent. But this critique usually applies to the absence of 'subaltern' voices and perspectives such as poor minorities because they are deemed unimportant and insignificant (Hanlon 2001). These absences can usually be tied to the "technical-rational processes for the collection and management of historical records" (2001, 28); the rules and procedures whereby certain materials are considered important enough to record and save.

The gap in *The Congressional Record*, however, is slightly different. The 'technical-rational' rules that guide *The Congressional Record* archive revolve around what is considered 'official': the proceedings and debates of the United States Congress when it is in session in the United States Capitol building. The conversations between staffers and Congressmen, as well as hallway and 'water-cooler' discussions are not recorded. These conversations are not considered 'official', but they are crucial to how Congress works. My access to these conversations was indirect, relayed to me via interviews.

In Charlotte and Lexington I mainly dealt with housing authorities' archives, which are not nearly as large and daunting as Congressional archives. I did, however, have similar issues with absence in Charlotte and Lexington. I mainly received HOPE VI applications from the housing authorities, which are the product of many different conversations and debates between housing authority staff, members of the community, and HUD officials. Like *The Congressional Record*, however, they are not transcriptions of these conversations and debates and so an absence exists in these archives.

I also encountered issues of access in Charlotte and Lexington. The Lexington Housing Authority (LHA) was forthcoming in providing me with all of their HOPE VI applications (successful and unsuccessful), as well as allowing me to photocopy a resident survey they conducted in Bluegrass-Aspendale. This was largely due to a key contact in the LHA, Debbie Hoskins, who was generous with her time and resources. The Charlotte Housing Authority (CHA), however, told me they did not have the time to

gather all the application materials for each one of their HOPE VI grants (see the following section for more on my interactions with the CHA staff). As in Washington DC I relied on interviews in Charlotte and Lexington to fill gaps in the archive.

3.4 Semi-Structured Interviews

Semi-structured interviews, as just mentioned, were a key part of this dissertation because they got me 'closer' to the everyday workings of HOPE VI (see Table 3.2 for a full list of interviews). I did, however, find myself in a methodological quandary as I struggled with one fundamental question: how to speak about emotions in a situation where a) the people involved are not used to thinking about or discussing emotion in relation to their work and b) the topic at hand, public housing policy, is not typically considered an emotional process. This section is an account of my search through the methods literature in trying to sort out this dilemma followed by stories from my field experience in Lexington, Washington DC and Charlotte. I also address issues of access at the end.

Table 3.2: Interviews

WASHINGTON DC	
Name	**Role**
Don Ball	Former member of the National Commission on Severely Distressed Public Housing. Also, President of Ball Homes in Lexington, Kentucky. Assisted the Lexington Housing Authority in applying for HOPE VI grants and acted as a developer for the city's HOPE VI grants.
Dominique Blom	Deputy Assistant Secretary, Office of Public Housing Investments. Oversees all HOPE VI grants.
Gordon Cavanaugh	Former Legal Counsel for the Council of Large Public Housing Authorities. In this capacity he lobbied Congress on behalf of CLPHA and was part of Senate dining room conversations with Senator Mikulski and Kevin Kelly as they crafted the HOPE VI legislation. Cavanaugh is also co-founder of the law firm Reno & Cavanaugh which helps housing authorities negotiate the legalities of HOPE VI. Currently on the D.C. Housing Authority Board of Commissioners
Caroline Clayton	Director of Urban Revitalization – HOPE VI Division, Office of Public Housing Investments. Works under Dominique Blom.
CLPHA Member 1	Research Analyst for the Council of Large Public Housing Authorities which lobbies Congress to support HOPE VI.
CLPHA Member 2	Official for the Council of Large Public Housing Authorities, which lobbies Congress to support HOPE VI.
Cynthia Demitros	Former HOPE VI Grant Manager and Team Leader in the Office of Public Housing Investments. Reviewed HOPE VI grant applications while at HUD. Currently, member of the Schiff Group, a consulting firm that helps cities compose HOPE VI grant applications.
Sharon Wilson Geno	Former member of the law firm Reno & Cavanaugh which was involved with the Council of Large Public Housing Authorities and helps housing authorities negotiate the legalities of HOPE VI. Geno worked closely with Gordon Cavanaugh, lobbying Congress on behalf of CLPHA. Currently a lawyer with Ballard Spahr Andrews & Ingersoll, LLP.
Tony Hebert	Public Housing Revitalization Specialist, Office of Public Housing Investments at HUD. Works under Dominique Blom. Former community activist who organized *against* HOPE VI.
Chris Hornig	The first Deputy Assistant Secretary for Public Housing Investments, the HUD office in

	charge of administering HOPE VI. Wrote the 1995 and 1996 HOPE VI NOFA and worked directly under HUD Secretary Henry Cisneros. Currently a law partner at Klein Hornig.
Michael Kelly	Executive Director of the D.C. Housing Authority. Former Executive Director of the New Orleans Housing Authority, 1995-2000, and held positions at the San Francisco Housing Authority. He is also a registered architect.
Kevin Kelly	Former Chief Clerk and Majority Staff Director for the Veterans Administration, Housing and Urban Development, and Independent Agencies Subcommittee and former appropriations counsel and legislative assistant for Senator Barbara Mikulski of Maryland. Kelly wrote the HOPE VI legislation with Senator Mikulski. Currently Vice President at Van Scoyoc Associates and Chief Operating Officer of the law firm Van Scoyoc Kelly.
Jeffrey Lines	Former Lead Technical Consultant on the National Commission on Severely Distressed Public Housing and lead author of the Commission's Final Report. Currently President of TAG Associates which provides services to public and subsidized housing providers.
Marilyn Melkonian	President and founder of Telesis Corporation, a developer of affordable housing. Involved in the development of Washington D.C.'s first HOPE VI grant at Ellen Wilson Homes. Also involved in HOPE VI grants in Chicago, IL, Far Rockaway, NY, Bradenton, FL, Oakland, CA, Richmond, CA, St. Petersburg, FL, Winston-Salem, NC, Denver, CO, Los Angeles, CA, Charlotte, NC, Cleveland, OH, Peoria, IL, Wilmington, ND, and Hartford, CT. Former Deputy Assistant Secretary for Housing at HUD under President Carter
Sue Popkin	Researcher for the Urban Institute. Has produced numerous, in-depth studies of HOPE VI
Lee Reno	Partner in the law firm Reno & Cavanaugh, which was involved with the Council of Large Public Housing Authorities and helps housing authorities negotiate the legalities of HOPE VI.
Joe Schiff	Former Assistant Secretary to HUD for Public and Indian Housing, 1988-1992. Currently President of the Schiff Group, a consulting firm that helps cities compose HOPE VI grant applications. Worked on the successful HOPE VI grant for Lexington, KY.
CHARLOTTE	
Name	**Role**
Ben Collins	Director of the HOPE VI Project for Grubb Properties, the local development partner of Charlotte's Piedmont Courts HOPE VI grant. The President of Grubb Properties, Clay Grubb, is an active volunteer with Habitat for Humanity of Charlotte. I worked with his wife during my time at Habitat.
Kathleen Foster	Vice-President of Real Estate Development, Charlotte Housing Authority. Involved in all four of Charlotte's HOPE VI grants.
David Furman	President of David Furman Architecture. Involved in Charlotte's Earle Village HOPE VI grant. Has two downtown mixed-use condominium projects in Lexington, KY, unrelated to HOPE VI. When I interviewed Harold Tate, the Executive Director of the Lexington Downtown Development Authority he was discussing the new condominium projects being built in downtown Lexington and mentioned Furman: "We sold the parcel [on Martin Luther King Avenue] to a firm out of Charlotte NC and he came up with 54 one bedroom condominiums. And the reason why he did that – David does stuff all over the country and he thinks the way you should think today…But what David does, he does 10 foot high ceilings. He does glass from floor to ceiling. He doesn't do walls, he does partitions. So it feels very open air. He does bamboo floors, granite countertops. Very contemporary" (Tate 2006).
Barry Long	Chief Executive Officer and Managing Principal of Urban Design Associates, an architectural, planning, and design firm involved in Charlotte's HOPE VI grants for Earle Village and Piedmont Courts. UDA is also involved in HOPE VI grants in Portsmouth, VA, Norfolk, VA, Louisville, KY, and Knoxville, TN, and was commissioned by Disney Development Company to design Celebration, FL a famous example of New Urbanist architecture.
Allen McGuire	Architect with Fishero-McGuire-Krueger Architects and former colleague of David Furman. Involved in the design of Charlotte's Earle Village HOPE VI grant.
LEXINGTON	
Name	**Role**
Don Ball	President of Ball Homes in Lexington, KY. Assisted the Lexington Housing Authority in applying for HOPE VI grants and involved in developing Lexington's HOPE VI grants. Also, former member of the National Commission on Severely Distressed Public Housing.
George Brown	Lexington-Fayette Urban County Council District Member, representing the 1st District which includes Bluegrass-Aspendale

Milton Dohoney	Chief Administrative Officer, Lexington-Fayette Urban County Government
Debbie Hoskins	Director of Modernization/Development and HOPE VI Coordinator for the Lexington Housing Authority
Kathleen O'Neil	Member of the Schiff Group, a consulting firm that helps cities compose HOPE VI grant applications. Worked on successful HOPE VI grants for both Louisville, KY and Lexington, KY
Joe Schiff	President of the Schiff Group, a consulting firm that helps cities compose HOPE VI grant applications. Worked on the successful HOPE VI grant for Lexington, KY. Also, former Assistant Secretary to HUD
Austin Simms	Executive Director of the Lexington Housing Authority
Harold Tate	Executive Director of the Lexington Downtown Development Authority
Jeanette Tate	Resident of Bluegrass-Aspendale. I had not planned on speaking to any residents as part of my project. I consciously wanted to focus the research on the various outsiders involved with HOPE VI. These are the individuals typically seen as rational, separated from everyday life by being placed in abstract space. This characterization creates a false dichotomy which obscures the way emotions work in everyday life, even government life. My focus, therefore, was on these individuals. There were also numerous studies already published on residents' reactions to and experience with HOPE VI. My interview with Jeanette Tate was serendipitous: Debbie Hoskins, HOPE VI Coordinator for the Lexington Housing Authority, had mentioned my project to Tate and gave me her cell phone number. I could not turn down the opportunity. I found the interview to be fascinating, portions of which can be found in Chapter 7. Speaking with residents of public housing who have gone through the HOPE VI process will be an important extension of this dissertation.

3.4.1 Literature

The past decade has seen an 'emotional turn' in geographic scholarship amongst a wide range of cultural, social, feminist, urban, psychoanalytic, and affect geographers. Accompanying this 'emotional' turn is an increasing concern with methods that are able to deal with the complex dynamics of emotions. In their 2001 editorial, Anderson and Smith call for an inclusion of emotion in the study of policy. They admit, however, that "difficult questions remain, not least concerning how actually to grasp the emotional, and what to do with 'it' when we have…Tackling this requires us to confront a methodological as well as a conceptual challenge" (2001, 9) In pondering the question of methods and emotions, Anderson and Smith suggest exploring 'non-constructivist' approaches used by geographers interested in affect, performativity, and non-representational theory. These geographers explore the unfolding of everyday life (Nash 2000; Thrift 1997); they want to take geography beyond representation and meaning and into the lived and felt aspects of 'becoming' and direct experience (Anderson and Smith 2001). With these concerns, 'non-constructivist' geographers are drawn to the body and emotions (Thrift and Dewsbury 2000, 425).

Anderson and Smith admit, however, that in terms of methods these studies "offer encouragement, if not as yet clear strategies, for accessing the world as mediated by

feeling (cf. Smith forthcoming)" (2001). The large majority of articles dedicated to 'non-constructivist' approaches are theoretical, not applied. When they do tackle an 'example' or 'object of study', they tend to rely on intense participant observation – personal experience and engagement – to 'get at' sensed and lived experience. Take, for example, Wylie's personal account of ascending Glastonbury Tor in which he seeks to take his abstract thoughts on Merleau-Ponty and "engage them more directly – or, if you will, enact them" (2002, 446). What follows is a composite narrative of Wylie's walks up and down Glastonbury Tor. McCormack also draws on personal experience as a participant in Dance Movement Therapy (2003). It is difficult to translate these methods to a study of a public housing policy created in 1992 – a process from which I as a researcher am spatially, temporally, and physically removed. Even the 'non-constructivist' studies that use more 'conventional' methods such as interview and analysis of texts (Latham and McCormack 2004; Rose 2002) are not explicit about their methodological approach nor is it clear how they are 'doing' these techniques differently.

These studies also tend to be hostile to the study of *emotion* and prefer to speak of affect defined as a pre-cognitive realm of experience. By being pre-cognitive, pre-conscious, affect, for them, is untainted by representation and is attuned to direct experience. Emotion, on the other hand, "works in an already established field of discursively constituted categories in relation to which the felt intensity of experience is articulated. Invoking emotion therefore conceives of experience as always already meaningful even if this meaning is not immediately available. It refuses to grant sensibility and sensation the freedom of movement and force that exists prior to such economies of meaning" (McCormack 2003, 495). Even those who do not discard the concept of emotion prefer to dwell on the "moment of prediscursive experience" (Dewsbury 2003, 1910). This interest in affect as opposed to emotion helps account for their tendency to study the performance arts and other physical acts – dance, video art, walking – which might take them closer to that preconscious realm.

While I am interested in the 'unfolding' of policy, my project is concerned with specific emotions that are understood and circulate in social and cultural life, a concern that is not furthered by attending to affect as defined by 'non-constructivist' geographers. In fact, 'non-constructivist' geographers have been said to take us further away from a

critical humanistic geography: "This move to get after or beyond humanity…pushes us past the emotional landscapes of daily life" (Thien 2005, 453). The dismissal of emotion as too 'soft and cuddly' (Thrift 2004) also reinforces an all-too familiar (masculine) rejection of emotion as worthy of academic scholarship (Thien 2005).

But this critique of 'non-constructivist' theory and approaches still leaves the need to "push further into the felt, touched and embodied constitution of knowledge" (Crang 2003, 501). Alan Latham is one geographer who has taken this need, along with the theories of non-constructivist work, and woven them into 'traditional' social science methods. He uses participant diaries and time-space graphs to make his methods "dance a little" (1993, 2000). In the participant diaries, Latham had people record the mundane goings-on of their everyday life. The diaries provided an opportunity to tap into participants' narratives and emotions. Latham also describes using time-space graphs of Torsten Hagerstrand to present the participant diaries. The structure of Hagerstrand's graphs is retained, but Latham creates a collage by incorporating photographs and hand-written texts.

I did not directly use these methods for my dissertation, but drew some small bits of inspiration from his attention to materials – handwritten diaries, photographs, sketches. As large swaths of social scientists argue, emotions are not simply a verbal phenomenon – they are felt and expressed through all of our bodily senses. I decided, therefore, to include texts and photographs as part of the interview process, bringing along key quotes from HOPE VI applications or NOFAs and before and after photographs of HOPE VI projects. The simple act of having something to look at, touch, and read might trigger a thought or description that would remain dormant if we simply conversed, part of the logic that lay behind Latham's participant diaries and time-space graphs. This is indeed an 'official' method termed photo elicitation. As described by Harper, "[p]hoto elicitation is based on the simple idea of inserting a photograph into a research interview….I believe photo elicitation mines deeper shafts into a different part of human consciousness than do words-alone interviews" (2002, 14, 22-23)

Smith and Anderson pointed to 'non-constructivist' approaches for assistance in studying emotion, but there are a wide range of cultural, social, feminist, urban and psychoanalytic geographers who engage emotions in their work. Unfortunately, the vast

majority of these studies do not provide methodological guidance. They repeat the pattern of many academic articles, leaving their methodological procedures and struggles unexplained and unexplored. They also could not address my specific methodological concerns. Many of the emotion-centered studies deal with situations and topics that are already considered emotional, such as family dynamics and domestic labor (Gabb 2004; Robinson, Hockey, and Meah 2004; Pratt 1997; Stiell and England 1997; Rose 2004); fear and public space, especially women's experiences of the public realm (Panelli, Little, and Kraack 2004; Mehta and Bondi 1999; Bondi and Rose 2003; Day 2001; Koskela 1997); health and mental disorders (Collis 2005; Segrott and Does 2004; MacKian 2004); and death and dying (Morris and Thomas 2005; Hockey, Penhale, and Sibley 2005). It is not odd or strange for the people in these studies to talk about emotions since the research is focused on an event or situation already deemed emotional.

There is, however, a growing body of work that considers the emotions involved in processes and institutions typically understood through an economic or political lens such as labor in the workplace (McDowell 2001), consumption practices (Colls 2004; Williams et al. 2001), prison life and regulations (Dirsuweit 1999), racial exclusion in the city (Pile 1996; Sibley 1995) and urban regeneration and marketing strategies (Ellin 2001; Neill 2001). These works, however, either involve interactions with 'everyday people' or straight discourse analysis of texts such as Ellin, Neil, Pile, and Sibley. The sensitive nature of approaching elites with an unconventional topic is not addressed.

There are a few geographers, however, who talk explicitly about emotions and interviews. But again, the focus of these works did not address the meat of my methodological quandary, how to talk about emotions. Much of the methods literature that deals with emotions focuses on the emotions of conducting research – the emotional dynamics between interviewer and interviewee (Bernard 1995) – or start with the assumption that emotions are a part of respondent's answers that need to be taken seriously (Bennett 2004; Emerson, Fretz, and Shaw 1995; see Davies and Dwyer 2007 for a review of this literature). Pile, for example, contends that "[t]he analysis of the (emotional, power) relationship between the interviewer and interviewed has not been brought within the limits of the geographical imagination" (1991, 464) and he draws on psychoanalytic therapy to push geographers to think of the interview as an 'inter-

subjective process'. Laurier and Parr look at the emotional aspects of interviewing those with illness and disabilities and they "urge researchers to include emotions as empirical material to reflect upon during their analysis and indeed as a (sometimes misleading) guide in orientating themselves during interviewing" (2000). The purpose of Bennett's "Emotionally Intelligent Research" is to "emphasize that emotion affects all research…[and] to bring the researched (and their emotional intelligence) sharply into focus too" (2004, 415). The second part of her purpose is something this dissertation is interested in as well, but her discussion centers on taking seriously the emotions expressed by the researched, not prompting the researched to talk about their emotions.

In a recent review of emotions and methodology, Davies and Dwyer state that recent research has explored "different methods for invoking the emotional" (2007, 258) yet provide no citations. I only found one explicit discussion of how to speak to people about emotions or emotional situations: *How Emotions Work* by the sociologist Jack Katz. Katz suggests asking the 'who what, where, and why/what' of an event in order to elicit emotional reactions. His questions focus on asking "How, as in, how did this happen? What's the process? How did it begin? What happened next? What happened after that? What did you do when he/she did that? What stages did the event go through?" (Katz 1999). None of these questions directly ask 'how did you feel' – it is through the details of the event that an understanding of emotion emerged. This resonated with me because it speaks to my understanding of emotion in everyday life. Emotions are our primary motivators and "[n]o matter what we do…[emotions] are with us, every moment of every day" (Nathanson 2003). Emotions are necessary for the movement of everyday life and, therefore, should be elicited simply by asking detailed questions about an event or situation. I also hoped this strategy would lessen the potential awkwardness of approaching interviewees with the subject of emotion. I could avoid asking direct questions about shame and disgust, which might elicit nothing more than confused expressions. I decided to structure my interview questions around this logic. I crafted an introductory statement about my research that focused on my interest in the process of HOPE VI – how and why it was created and how and why it is being implemented. I also mentioned my interest in how people feel about public housing, but was not direct about my interest in emotion.

The last major block of literature I consulted was work concerned with interviewing 'elites', typically defined as "persons in power" (Kezar 2003, 395; see also Woods 1998) in either professional, business, or political realms. This body of work stems from economic geography and recognizes the importance of speaking with managers and other highly positioned employees (Cormode and Hughes 1999; Schoenberger 1991). As I hoped to speak with government officials and professionals in Washington DC, Lexington, and Charlotte, this literature seemed pertinent. Many of the articles I found engaged questions of gaining access to 'elites' (Cochrane 1998; England 2002; Hertz and Imber 1995; McDowell 1998; Ostrander 1995; Sabot 1999), identifying elites (Cochrane 1998), and power dynamics within the research relationship, where often the elites are seen to hold more power than the researcher (Sabot 1999; England 2002; Oinas 1999; Desmond 2004; Cormode and Hughes 1999; Ward and Jones 1999; McDowell 1998). I found only one article regarding how to talk to and ask difficult questions of elites, but once again there was no discussion of emotions (Ostrander 1995).

My connection to this literature comes more from their general goal rather than any specific 'tip' for conducting interviews in 'elite' circles. Much of this work has a humanistic tone – it is an attempt to understand elites as people in everyday life. As Schoenberger says, "the qualitative corporate interview has the merit of recognizing that firms are institutional agents embedded in a complex network of internal and external relationships. They are populated by individuals faced with a myriad of constraints and possibilities that are difficult, if not impossible, to disentangle" (1991, 181; see also Oinas 1999). This interest has expanded to include bureaucrats and politicians and aligned with this research is Mountz's work on the state. She argues that academics "often theorize 'the state' as an abstract concept" (2003, 625) and "underestimate the role that people play in its enactment" (2003, 625). Mountz advocates methods such as institutional ethnography, participant observation, and interviews, that can help us understand the social practices of 'the state' (2004; Mountz 2003). I take from this literature their desire to understand various 'elite' spaces such as a corporation or government as everyday spaces and link it with my own desire to recognize the circulation of emotion amongst bureaucrats and policymakers.

3.4.2 Stories from the Field: Lexington

On February 10, 2006, I walked towards downtown Lexington for my first interview. I was on my way to speak with Kathleen O'Neil, consultant with the Schiff Group and author of Lexington's successful HOPE VI grant. I had with me before and after pictures of a HOPE VI project in Louisville (which O'Neil had worked on as well), and quotations from two of Lexington's HOPE VI grants. Besides these Latham-inspired texts I also had a series of hand-written questions organized around specific topics, beginning with the words how, why, and what (see Figure 3.1). I was determined to view this consultant, this cog in the bureaucratic machine, as an individual with a story to tell.

Figure 3.1: Interview materials. Interview questions for Kathleen O'Neil. The structure of the questions – boxed themes with radiating questions – is an adaptation of the 'domain-factor-variable' model (Schensul, Schensul, and LeCompte 1999).

Was this approach successful? It was with O'Neil, especially the introduction of the photographs. I showed her the before and after pictures from Louisville and asked "what language would [people] use to describe this (pointing to the before picture) as opposed to this (pointing to the after picture)" (O'Neil 2006)? O'Neil responded by saying:

> Kathleen O'Neil (KO): And, yeah, the the first, the top part I think looks like the sites vacant.
> Ellen Hostetter (EH): yeah

KO: people were probably gone for a while and there's some litter and debris that's accumulating
EH: right
KO: and you know, that's a very, that was done to evoke emotion (2006)

O'Neil brought up the subject of emotion in relation to the photographs, which opened the door for including questions on specific emotions.

The interview went well, but as I moved onto the next interview and the next I quickly realized an important point raised by McDowell: in interviewing, the ideal "is to try and ask the same questions in the same way so as to produce comparable data. But…in practice this seems impossible. The attitudes and reaction of 'subjects' to the questioner affect their interaction" (1998, 2138). McDowell found herself quickly assessing the atmosphere of each interview and shifting her tone and demeanor accordingly.

In my case, I found that using the textual and visual cues would not work with everyone I was interviewing in Lexington. Sometimes I was just not comfortable presenting the materials because the interviewee seemed rushed and hurried, or because I thought they would perceive me as 'silly'. Milton Dohoney, for example, answered a cell phone call in the middle of the interview and it was apparent from his end of the phone call that the person on the other end of the line was waiting for him. And with Austin Simms, I was intimidated. Our interactions prior to the interview were pleasant, but I got the sense that he did not enjoy my 'hanging around' – requesting information and questioning staff. I wanted to conduct a 'straightforward' interview with him and, therefore, did not bring my photographs.

I did continue, however, to frame my questions around who, what, where, when, how, and why; the closest I came to the word emotion was 'feel'. The results were satisfying. These questions allowed people to tell me their stories which inevitably included emotive discourses. My biggest limitation using this strategy was my own interviewing abilities. Prior to my dissertation research, I had conducted a total of three interviews through an advanced methods course. When I shook hands with Kathleen O'Neil I was, therefore, in the classic position of having read a lot about interviewing without having experienced the process to any great degree. All of the hints and helpful suggestions embedded in tomes on qualitative methods, such as "[t]he interviewer should

be curious, sensitive to what is said – as well as to what is not said – and critical of his or her own presuppositions and hypotheses during the interview" (Kvale 1996, 33), did not bubble to the surface in the midst of an interview .

3.4.3 Stories from the Field: Washington D.C.

My thoughts shifted as I prepared a research trip to Washington D.C.. I had created a hierarchy in my mind with the D.C. interviews accorded a higher position of prestige than my Lexington interviews. The people in D.C. had walked the 'halls of power' – the committee rooms in the Cannon Office Building, the Senate dining room – and were important players in national policy (see Figures 3.2-3.5). I was intimidated: I boxed them together as 'elites' in every sense of the word – powerful, different, special, unique.

Figures 3.2 and 3.3: The 'halls of power'. To the left, outside the Cannon House Office Building in Washington D.C. where members of Congress have offices and committee meetings are held. To the right, inside the Cannon House Office Building – literally inside the halls of power – picturing the door of the Subcommittee Room for the Committee on Veterans Affairs. Photographs taken by Ellen Hostetter

Figures 3.4 and 3.5: Other 'halls of power'. To the left is the HUD building in Washington D.C.. Solidifying its status as a 'hall of power', I was not allowed to take interior photographs nor was I allowed to take a close-up exterior shot of the entrance. Diminishing its status as a 'hall of power', however, was Clayton's description of the building in giving me directions: you'll come out of the subway and see a building that looks like a waffle. To the right is a D.C. office building where I interviewed Kevin Kelly. This building's status as a 'hall of power' was evident in the heavy security protecting the elevator doors and the view of Capitol Hill from Kelly's office. Photographs taken by Ellen Hostetter

This is exactly the mentality critiqued by Smith and Woods: "[t]he idea that 'elites' can be neatly defined and treated as consistently powerful is a view which relies on the rather simplistic idea that there is a dichotomy between 'powerful elites' and 'powerless others'" (Smith 2006, 645) that casts both groups as homogenous entities (Woods 1998). Smith is making a larger point regarding the theorization of power when applied to elites by academics, but for me, this simplistic division altered my methodological approach. I saw my D.C. interviewees as uniformly powerful people, with a unique set of personality traits. These people, I assumed, were used to getting things done and conversing in direct, bold, no-nonsense tones. Based on this assumption, I decided to be more direct with my interest in emotion. I was paranoid they would sense I was nibbling at the edges of my dissertation and would respond negatively to a 'squishy' word such as feelings. Be specific, I thought, and speak directly about shame, fear, and revulsion. I also felt intense pressure to make these interviews 'work', which only encouraged this direct style. I had been granted access to these powerful places and people and could not afford to walk away empty handed. In Taussig's words, "I so badly want that wink of recognition" (1993, xvii)

I decided to open my interview with the following introduction, which I never read directly off the page but used as a guide:

> I'm interested in two things
>
> 1. The nitty gritty details of how and why HOPE VI was created and is being implemented.
> Whenever I read about the creation and implementation of HOPE VI, its always presented as a nice, neat story. (HOPE VI magically sprung from the National Commission)
> I want to understand the details behind the scenes.
>
> 2. I'm interested in how emotions such as fear, revulsion, shame, and enjoyment drive and shape the HOPE VI program.
> When I read analyses of HOPE VI, it's presented as a cold rational political and economic calculation.
> As if people in government were devoid of emotion and as if emotions had nothing to do with politics and economics.

As I mulled over this introduction I became increasingly comfortable with the idea of being direct about my interest in emotion for two reasons. First, it seemed more 'truthful'. Even though during the Lexington interviews, it was clear I was interested in feelings, I never mentioned my interest in specific emotions. I did not want to regard 'elites' as outside the bounds of ethics as some researchers have done (Routledge 2002; Spencer 1982). I did not want them to read something I wrote and be shocked at finding an analysis of disgust.

I also decided to utilize a 'member-check' strategy during the interview. 'Member-check' refers to a researcher presenting one's findings to the people he/she interviewed and asking for their feedback (Baxter and Eyles 1997). This had the potential to lead to a more 'collaborative' interview, one where the interviewee was given space to comment on my ideas and thesis. This practice is typically done *after* the interview, with the researcher submitting their analysis to the interviewee for comment. But why not, I thought, be bold and share my thesis with them during the interview and ask for their thoughts?[18] I included the following in my interview notes, to be summarized during the conversation:

[18] This is similar to a strategy described by Kezar as mutuality where the interviewer challenges the interviewee with concepts and vocabulary that are unfamiliar to the interviewee (Kezar 2003).

There is a cultural fear and revulsion of public housing in this country.
This fear and revulsion are attached to the way public housing looks. The mere sight of public housing evokes fear and revulsion.
This fear and revulsion for public housing is a shared, culturally understood starting point for forming new policy.
Played a large role in shaping HOPE VI – emphasis on physical change.
Because – a resident getting a job and improving his/her income or a housing authority being more efficiently run doesn't get rid of the public's and policymakers fear and revulsion.
Besides, fear and revulsion play well politically. By calling public housing a national disgrace, you evoke shame, which doesn't work well politically – selling a program.

Why not, indeed. I would not repeat this strategy for a number of reasons. By introducing the concept of emotion up front I immediately alienated the first two people I spoke with in D.C., Cynthia Demitros and Dominque Blom. They instantly rejected the notion that emotions could be a part of their work. Dominique Blom, head of the HOPE VI office at HUD told me: "We're somewhat removed from the emotional side of projects because we're here in Washington and the projects are happening all over the country. So, you may want to talk to people who are working on them on the local level to try and get that perspective, but we'll try and answer your questions as best we can" (2006). Cynthia Demitros, former HUD official and current HOPE VI consultant with the Schiff Group, said: "Yeah, I'm not sure how that affects public policy per se, but it does affect individual implementations. Local implementations" (2006).[19]

[19] A different process of alienation occurred with a Charlotte Housing Authority employee where I received a hostile reaction to my discussion of emotion. I had called Kathleen Foster, the Vice President of Real Estate Development for the Charlotte Housing Authority, to follow-up on a letter I had sent requesting an interview. She agreed to do the interview and then asked me what types of questions I would be asking. She wanted to know so she could gather any appropriate data and documents before I arrived. I was not expecting this direct question and fumbled an answer, explaining how I was interested in people's emotional reactions to public housing. She became very curt with me, saying 'I get the sense that you have not done your research – you sound disorganized. I need you to come prepared for this interview so it will be beneficial.' I was stunned – my only response was 'yes ma'm.

It is possible her response was based solely on my inarticulate explanation. But I do not think it is a stretch to speculate that the focus on emotions had something to do with her reaction. To someone used to dealing with the numbers side of HOPE VI – numbers and cost of units, land values, etc. – and gathering this type of information for researchers like myself, my request probably sounded fluffy and fuzzy. Foster's masculine reaction made me feel stereotypically feminine – flighty and silly – and denigrated my interest. After the phone call, I emailed her a note explaining the qualitative nature of my study. Instead of focusing on emotion, I explained my project as gathering individual stories about the implementation of HOPE VI, almost like an oral history project. This, however, did not satisfy. She kept her interview with me, but dictated the whole conversation, telling me what she thought I should know perhaps not trusting me to ask a pointed question.

My direct approach made too many assumptions – that they would have the same conception of emotion as me and would understand what I meant by shame, fear, and revulsion. And my direct approach was simply too direct without enough consideration of the people I was interviewing. The connection between policy and emotion was a concept I had been thinking about for a number of years and I was, in effect, asking the people I spoke with to crawl into my mind for the duration of the interview. For some of the people I interviewed, for example, emotion is something that is personal and individual and is conveyed in conversation and stories, not through bureaucratic jargon or legal texts. When I mentioned emotion to a member of CLPHA she asked, "[d]o you mean how invested people are in the HOPE VI program? How, um, because it's kind of an invested issue?" (Member 2006). Her use of the term 'invested' indicates that she understands emotion to be something personal. She then told me how some Congressmen, such as Al Green, have lived in public housing and their personal stories bring emotion to Congress. There was little sense that emotion could be found in documents or reports, something I assumed in my understanding of emotion.

A better strategy might have been to begin with my first statement and ease into the interview, judging if and how I should nudge the conversation towards a direct conversation about emotion. This 'better' strategy approximates what I did in Lexington and returned to in Charlotte. And during those first two interviews in Washington D.C., I did manage to read the situation and withdrew my plan to present them with specific points of my thesis and ask for their opinion.

For the remainder of the D.C. interviews, I assessed the situation before opening with a bold declaration of shame and disgust, but typically retained the word emotion in my opening statement. During those interviews where I felt like the person understood what I meant by emotion and was interested in the topic, I used the 'member-check' strategy. I cannot say to what extent placing my ideas and interpretations up-front influenced or guided the interviewee's responses. The following is an example from an interview with a member of CLPHA:

> Ellen Hostetter (EH): I'm just fascinated by the change between…why are we getting rid of this and building this (pointing to the before and after pictures). And just to throw a thesis out there (laughing) and see if you agree with it. I mean in part, it's because, this scene right here, this before picture does carry an emotional

> weight. I think a lot of people, again, correct me if I'm wrong, but people look at this picture and go, kind of scary.
> CLPHA Member (CM): yeah. And it's in black and white.
> EH: yup, yup. No, that's great…yeah, it just looks, it's the architectural materialization
> CM: right
> EH: of that's a scary place. Of fear, you know. And it looks kind of dirty too, you know I wouldn't want to go there
> CM: mm hmm
> EH: and so, part of my thesis is that the architecture we're building now is in part a response to how people feel about this (pointing to the before picture)
> CM: ok...
> EH: and you want to change that emotional reaction. You want people to say oh, that's really beautiful, that's a great place to live. That fear of this landscape is shaping policy in terms of what HOPE VI is, and why we're building this and not that
> CM: Well, I guess going along your theory, you could say that's why they chose to paint these very bright, very happy colors. Like this is Boston I think it's Orchard Gardens, and I wouldn't say this was controversial, but it was different – you know, people were like why are they all different colors, but, maybe that's why. You know, to kind of change the emotional perception and make people feel happy and bright and this is a nice place to be (2006).

Her comments on Orchard Gardens came directly from my statements regarding the emotional weight of before and after photographs of HOPE VI projects. Is this, however, 'leading' the interviewee or challenging her to think about a topic in a different light (Kezar 2003)? I do not have a satisfactory answer, but I would like to go back and ask *her* what she thought of the before and after pictures, as I did with Kathleen O'Neil. But I also do not want to throw out this interview material. I still find it informative that she did not reject the idea of emotion; in fact, she began to think of situations familiar to her with a different perspective. And this strategy seemed to work well when the interviewee was engaged with the idea of emotion. Marilyn Melkonian, for example, provided me with her own definition of emotion early in the interview – "emotions are the result of thoughts combined with energy" (2006) – and, in fact, asked me about my thesis.

My perception of these D.C. 'elites' as serious, efficient, and intimidating also made me rethink my use of textual examples. I decided against using bits of text from primary documents and photographs because I thought they would be perceived as a silly

game[20]. I switched to citing quotes from academic writings critical of HOPE VI and asked the interviewees if they agreed or disagreed with the statements. The following are quotes and summaries I read aloud during interviews:

- "in some cases it would seem that these attempts to help residents get 'up and out' of public housing are chiefly intended to help make room for less-needy and more profitable replacement tenants" - Lawrence Vale
  Urban renewal comparisons
- "there has been a failure to implement or sustain the commitment to nonphysical aspects of change" - Lawrence Vale
  Accurate?
  What's more politically popular? Physical change or social change?
  What's popular with the public?
  Why?
- HOPE VI claims to attend to economic and social needs of residents, but their clear priority is fixing the appearance of the neighborhood - Michael Pyatok
- The new developments of townhouses and single-family homes merely hides the problem of poverty - scatters poverty around the city - Gwendolyn Wright

In concept, this was not a bad strategy. It took the focus off of my thoughts and interpretations. It was, however, too broad. The quotes I read were global critiques of the program and tended to lead to very general answers. Some of my best interview material came from asking people about their own stories and involvement with HOPE VI. And by eliminating the photographs I removed an important alternative to verbal communication, the text and talk of the interview.

3.4.4 Issues of Access

Problems surrounding access are important to any research study, but the literature on 'elites' highlights access as a particularly thorny issue. It is assumed that access to elites is exceedingly difficult because of their privileged position (see above for citations). As Smith points out, however, this is often a suspect assumption (2006). She relays her smooth experience gaining access to local government elites as an example. My experiences with access to elites defied my predictions: I had access where I expected closed doors and was barred from a few people where I expected access.

[20] The photographs mentioned in the previous paragraph were brought to the table by the CLPHA interviewee. Before we began the interview she handed me some articles and pamphlets produced by CLPHA and they were on the table during the interview. I took advantage of their presence by referencing the before and after photographs on the cover of a recent lobbying pamphlet.

In Lexington and Charlotte, I had no problem netting interviews with officials at the respective housing authorities, city government officials, or developers and architects. My status as a 'local' and my affiliation with the University of Kentucky, an important Lexington institution, most likely opened doors in Lexington. For all of my Charlotte contacts, I emphasized that I used to work for Habitat for Humanity in Charlotte, which also gave me 'local' status.

Out of all the people I contacted in both cities, only one organization was inaccessible: Sherman Carter & Barnhart, the architects involved with Lexington's Bluegrass-Aspendale HOPE VI project. I was not expecting resistance from them because I had met Sherman and Barnhart at the mid-November design charrette where they seemed cordial. When I called Barnhart to ask for an interview, he passed me off to Sherman. Sherman, however, never returned my six messages – some left on his voice mail and others with the receptionist. I tried to use my connection with Debbi Hoskins at the Housing Authority to gain access. She did not offer to speak with Sherman directly, but did provide another contact: Kevin Matthews, a member of the firm who worked on the HOPE VI plan. He granted me an interview and I thought I had finally broken through.

This meeting, however, could not be termed an interview. First, Matthews occupied half the meeting asking me questions about my dissertation: the topic, what I was going to write about, what I was going to say. It appeared as if he wanted to know my motives, if I was planning on casting the firm in a negative light. Second, many of the questions that I was able to ask he refused to answer, even basic ones such as 'is this a New Urbanist firm?' He preferred, he told me, to let the individual architects speak for themselves. The questions that he did answer were eyed with suspicion. I asked 'what is your favorite HOPE VI project that you've worked on?' He squinted his eyes and replied 'is this one of those if you were an animal, which animal would you be kind of questions?' He was also the only person I interviewed to refuse to be taped. I have no strong hypothesis as to why this architectural firm did not want to speak with me.

Perhaps they were paranoid about what I might say or perhaps Sherman was simply sick of talking about HOPE VI.[21]

I had a naïve impression of who would grant me access in Washington D.C. I assumed public officials, specifically Senator Mikulski and Senator Bond would be fairly accessible given that they were public servants. This proved to be an idealistic vision of how government works. I was denied interviews with both Senators. Bond's office did not respond to my letter and never returned my phone calls. Mikulski's office never returned my phone calls and turned down two separate requests for an interview via email. The first rejection came on April 24, 2006:

> Dear Ellen,
>
> I am writing on behalf of Senator Barbara Mikulski regarding your request to schedule a meeting to interview her for your dissertation.
> Unfortunately, due to the Senator's schedule, she regrets that she is unable to meet. However, she asked me to thank you for thinking of her and wishes you the best in your studies (Leonard 2006).

The second rejection came on February 17, 2007 with a consolation prize:

> Ellen,
>
> I am writing on behalf of Senator Barbara Mikulski regarding your request to interview her for your research. Unfortunately, she regrets that she is unable to participate. However, we are tentatively planning to introduce the Senator's HOPE VI reauthorization (http://mikulski.senate.gov/record.cfm?id=268568) at a press conference the week you mentioned below, and I would invite you to come and watch the proceedings. I will keep you in the loop as the details develop (Schwartz 2007).

The easiest public official to schedule an interview with was Michael Kelly, Executive Director of the D.C. Housing Authority. The ease with which I was granted an interview with Kelly was largely due to his kind and helpful assistant who negotiated the appointment for me. This type of interaction proved to be important for the majority of my interviews: most of these 'elites' are surrounded by a thick layer of staff and

[21] This hypothesis comes from an observation at the November design charrette. At lunch, I was chatting with one of the partners, who voiced his desire to be finished the process as soon as possible, commenting on the large number of previous conversations and charrettes. He appeared to be sick of talking and negotiating.

assistants. Success or failure often depends on the personality of these individuals and their willingness to help you navigate the system.

The biggest bureaucratic challenge was scheduling an interview with Dominique Blom, Deputy Assistant Secretary for Public Housing Investments. All discussions flowed through Caroline Clayton, Director of Urban Revitalization, HOPE VI division. I had to provide Clayton with specific questions I would ask Blom, which Clayton submitted to a 'higher authority' for official approval. The HUD office building also had the tightest security. The security guard at the front desk called up to Clayton who met me in the lobby. Appropriately signed in by Clayton and given a visitors badge, I had to pass through metal detectors before heading up to the HOPE VI office. But once I was finally in the office, I realized that I suddenly had too much access. Instead of a one-on-one interview with Blom, I found myself sitting in a room with Blom, Clayton, Tony Herbert, Public Housing Revitalization Specialist, and Susan Wilson, Director of Urban Revitalization – HOPE VI Division. I was unprepared for a group interview, which rattled my nerves and made the interview less effective.

I expected it would be difficult to meet with the people who had been government officials but were now in the private sector. I expected busy work schedules and a 'private sector' mentality where they have no obligation or responsibility to speak with me. But it was these folks, specifically Kevin Kelly and Chris Hornig, who responded instantaneously to my letter. This was also true of Sharon Geno, Gordon Cavanaugh, Marilyn Melkonian, and the members of CLPHA. Many of these individuals made time for me because they care about HOPE VI and enjoy talking about the program. And some simply like to relive the 'glory days', as was the case with Kevin Kelly who opened our conversation with "You're coming to the archivist on this thing" and then later commented, "I tell you it was one of the best things we did…it was an amazing. I loved that, I loved that time, I tell you I had the most, one of the most fun doing that" (2006).

3.5 Participant Observation

During the proposal phase I imagined participant observation would be a large part of the project. I envisioned sitting in housing authority meetings regarding the implementation of HOPE VI, as well as going to meetings held by the Housing Authorities for community stakeholders and/or residents, planning board and city council

meetings with the HOPE VI grant on the agenda and media events in both Lexington and Charlotte. Participant observation is an attractive method for a critical-humanist project because it allows for the observation of everyday experience and interaction (Crang 2002; DeLyser 1999) and has been used to 'humanize' what are typically seen as monolithic, abstract agencies (Crang 2002; Mountz 2004, 2003; Oinas 1999). But participant observation in Charlotte was constrained because of logistical reasons having to do with my inability to move to Charlotte for an extended amount of time. I only engaged in the 'observation' side of participant observation: interacting with various HOPE VI landscapes.[22] My vision was partially realized in Lexington: I was allowed access to 'semi-public' events, but was not allowed to sit in on housing authority meetings. While the folks at the LHA were very nice and cordial, there was a distinct limit to how much access Austin Simms was prepared to allow; the inner-workings of the housing authority was out of bounds (see Table 3.3 for a full list of participant observation activities).

Table 3.3: Participant Observation

WASHINGTON DC	
Event/Interaction	**Description**
HOPE VI Press Conference	March 8, 2007 – Press conference held by Senator Mikulski to announce a bill seeking reauthorization of HOPE VI
District of Columbia Housing Authority, Board of Commission Tour	March 9, 2007 – A tour of public housing developments in Washington D.C. for the Board of the DC Housing Authority. Tour conducted by Michael Kelly, Executive Director of the DC Housing Authority and a number of staff members.
Capitol Hill Townhomes	Formerly Ellen Wilson Homes, this was Washington DC's first HOPE VI grant won in the first round of funding in 1993. Located in the Capitol Hill neighborhood.
Capitol Gateway	Formerly East Capitol Dwellings and Capitol View Plaza. A 2000 HOPE VI grant. Located in East DC, in a predominantly African-American part of town.
CHARLOTTE	
Event/Interaction	**Description**
First Ward	Formerly Earle Village, this was Charlotte's first HOPE VI grant awarded in 1993
Piedmont Courts	The Charlotte Housing Authority received a HOPE VI grant for Piedmont Courts in 2003. I lived in Charlotte when Piedmont Courts was still occupied and, on visits to Charlotte, saw it boarded up and demolished.
LEXINGTON	
Event/Interaction	**Description**
Urban County Council Meetings	Four meetings of the Urban County Council where HOPE VI was on the agenda
HOPE VI Charrette	November 11, 2005 & November 12, 2005. Design Charrette organized by the Urban County Council to discuss the implementation of the Bluegrass-Aspendale HOPE VI grant
Resident Meeting, Lexington Housing Authority	A HOPE VI question-answer session for residents of Bluegrass-Aspendale with Housing Authority staff.
Media Event	December 19, 2005. The public announcement of Lexington's Bluegrass-Aspendale HOPE VI grant
Gainesway Neighborhood	September 12, 2006. Meeting to discuss the conversion of apartments in the

[22] I did this in all three cities. This landscape observation entailed walking through and being in the landscape as well as taking pictures. I hoped to run into people in my wanderings, but surprisingly only encountered a handful of people.

Association Meeting	neighborhood to subsidized units for public housing families. Part of the scattered site replacement housing for the HOPE VI project
Bluegrass-Aspendale	Lexington's most recent HOPE VI project. After I moved from Lexington the development was demolished.
Arbor Glen	Formerly Charlotte Court, Lexington's first HOPE VI grant awarded in 1998.

I was pleasantly surprised to find participant observation opportunities in Washington D.C. The first was the unexpected invitation to Senator Mikulski's press conference. The second was a bus tour with the Board of Commissioners for the Washington D.C. Housing Authority. When I went to Washington D.C. for the press conference I arranged to have lunch with Gordon Cavanaugh who had been very kind and inviting during my first trip to D.C.. During lunch he invited me on this bus tour, which he had organized, and I extended my trip another day.

My level of access during the events I attended was limited by my own feelings of comfort. Indeed, 'fitting-in' is an important issue for those involved in participant observation (Laurier 2003). My level of comfort during my participant observation opportunities depended on whether or not the event was public and whether or not I felt I 'belonged'. At the city council meetings and the media event, I was not self-conscious. The only awkward moment at the city council meetings was deciding how much I should interact with Austin Simms and Debbi Hoskins: should I go sit with them, go over and chat, or simply wave? I chose the 'chat and wave' strategy; sitting with them felt like an invasion of their personal space.

The design charrette, however, while technically public, was a smaller and more intimate event. I felt conspicuous because I was the only one there who was not personally impacted by the design of the roads. I was the classic academic, capitalizing on other peoples' everyday lives and struggles. This feeling was intense at the resident meeting held by the LHA. I was surrounded by people whose lives were directly impacted by HOPE VI and was stunned by the simple thought that all of these people were going to have to move. I felt privileged and ugly for being there. After the meeting, they adjourned to the church basement for pizza and the LHA staff invited me to join. A great opportunity to speak with some residents, yes, but not a comfortable or, I felt, appropriate opportunity. Who was I to interrupt conversations, introduce myself as an academic, and probe for material? Besides, the people I stood in line with were not interested in striking up a conversation with a stranger: I was studiously ignored.

I felt similarly uncomfortable at Senator Mikulski's press conference, but this time I was surrounded by Congressional staffers, reporters, and members of the public housing community. I repeated my behavior at the resident meeting: hanging back, not wanting to interrupt. Looking back, I should have been more aggressive in both situations, or at least realized I 'belonged' at both events.

3.6 Conclusion

I began with my understanding of HOPE VI as a coagulation of discourses that come together in specific places such as Washington DC, Lexington, and Charlotte. Archival analysis, semi-structured interviews, and participant observation in each city allowed me to gather a wide variety of discourses that comprise HOPE VI. Finding emotion in these various discourses entailed a modified form of discourse analysis where textual analysis was paired with psychology, sociology, and philosophy literatures on emotion and both coding and interpretation were used. I ended with my struggles and successes with my three main 'discourse-gathering tools': archival analysis, semi-structured interviews, and participant observation. Issues of access were important for all three, with organization and the issue of absence particular to the archive and with asking about emotion particular to the semi-structured interviews. I found it was the people I interviewed who helped clarify the archive, pointing to what were key documents for them. I also found interviews useful for filling in the gaps of the archive, specifically the Congressional archive that records 'official' proceedings and talk but leaves out important 'behind-the-scenes' discussions. In terms of interviews, I found the most successful strategies for asking about emotion include asking who-what-when-where-why questions and photo-elicitation.

In reading the following chapters, the successes and foibles outlined here should be kept in mind. This dissertation is not a true or complete account of HOPE VI – indeed, there is no such thing. The following represents *one* account of HOPE VI that is accurate only in so far as it makes sense to the people who read this dissertation and to the people I interviewed.

I have only begun to check the 'accuracy' my work by employing the 'member-check' strategy. I recently gave portions of Chapter 5 to Gordon Cavanaugh who commented in an email:

> I found it engrossing, well-researched, and clearly written and organized. The "shame and disgust-fear" was an absolutely new way for me to look at things with which I am familiar and quickened my mind. It was a pleasure for me to see such a searching policy analysis through the review of the NOFAs and the substance reminded me of many issues I carried for CLPHA (2007)

I take this to be a positive sign of 'accuracy'; the reader, however, needs to come to their own conclusion.

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Chapter 4: Disgust, Fear, and Shame

This chapter is an introduction to the emotive discourses that constituted discussions about public housing in the late 1980s. More specifically, it is an introduction to the ways in which the media, Congressmen, local housing authority officials, HUD officials, architects, developers, and public housing residents describe and represent public housing in emotive ways. This is not the typical model for a study of HOPE VI. As described in the introduction, most analyses single out public housing residents as emotional; the other groups are singled out for their calculating rationality, economic and political savvy. This framework produces a skewed understanding of HOPE VI, denying the emotions of outsiders and overlooking points of emotional convergence and agreement between outsiders and residents.

To conduct a critical-humanist analysis of HOPE VI the chapter is organized around how outsiders and residents relate to three key emotions – disgust, fear, and shame. These relationships are explored through various discourses that are part of the policy process. For outsiders, emotive discourses found in newspaper articles, *Congressional Record* transcripts of discussions on the floor of Congress, Congressional hearings, and individual stories from government officials and professionals are used; these are discourses that provide the emotional context for the formulation of HOPE VI in Washington DC. Resident emotive discourses are found in newspaper articles, reports on HOPE VI, resident testimony at Congressional hearings, and resident surveys from public housing authorities. The outsider-resident binary dissolves as the chapter moves from one emotion to the next and two main points are articulated:

- First, the original HOPE VI legislation was not written in emotionless abstract space – formal, quantitative, bureaucratic – but in the emotion-laden context of everyday life in Washington DC.

- Second, residents share some of the disgust and fear articulated by outsiders, emotional perspectives not typically associated with residents, and both groups also share feelings of shame, an emotion that is only ever applied to residents.[23]

[23] As explained in footnote 4, I use the terms outsiders and residents to emphasize a simple fact: residents live in public housing while outsiders do not. This is an important spatial distinction that affects emotive understandings of public housing.

4.1 Disgust

Public housing had an intensely negative image at the end of the 1980s in both national public discourse and D.C. political circles. This negative image consisted of a specific description of the public housing landscape that was organized around the emotion of disgust, a description that found widespread circulation in the media. Newspaper accounts of public housing described the landscape in a very distinct and repetitive pattern as exemplified in a 1989 *Washington Post* article.[24] The article covers maintenance problems at Valley Green, a housing project in Washington DC:

> Of the 50 or more new complaints that come in each week – about leaky faucets, crumbling plaster or broken doors -- Mobley and his four-member crew are lucky to fix half. Seventy-two of 312 apartments at the 22-acre orange brick complex are empty and awaiting major repairs; nonetheless, Mobley tries each day to clean the complex's grounds, which are often littered with junk food wrappers, broken glass and needles and syringes from the previous night's drug trade. Every few days, Mobley and his squad must drop everything to stanch a gush of raw sewage from the project's corroded and misaligned pipes. The sewage floods ground-floor apartments (Atkinson and Spolar 1989, A1).

Specific aspects of Valley Green are highlighted in this article: garbage, syringes, and bodily fluids in the form of raw sewage. But this representation is not confined to Valley Green and Washington D.C. newspapers; it could be found in cities across the country, a concern for individuals in DC working on the HOPE VI legislation who were worried about public housing's *national* image. Newspaper coverage of public housing in Charlotte, North Carolina, and Lexington, Kentucky, for example, is strikingly similar to coverage in D.C. In Charlotte, articles on Piedmont Courts "one of Charlotte's oldest, most notorious public housing projects" (DeAdwyler 1985, A1) include a very particular description of the landscape:

> Broken swings and seesaws sit in the middle of shattered wine bottles and scattered trash. Traffic whizzes above on Brookshire Freeway. At last count, 530 children under 17 lived here. They grow up in the midst of drug sales, cursing and fighting, beside open dumpsters filled with reeking garbage. Sometimes they play with syringes thrown to the ground by heroin users. On the northern edge of the complex, where litter-strewn Sugar Creek snakes by, a day care center stands surrounded by a 6-foot chain-link fence (DeAdwyler 1985, A1).

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[24] I consider newspaper articles representative of an 'outsider' perspective on public housing because newspaper articles are typically written by people who do not live in public housing. I do not mean to imply that public housing residents do not also read the newspaper.

A similar description is provided for Bluegrass-Aspendale, a public housing development in Lexington, Kentucky:

> The red brick buildings of Bluegrass-Aspendale, near Havely and McVey drives, are divided by tiny, splotched lawns and sagging laundry lines. Many who live there, like Sandra Conley, are single women with children... Drunks and addicts often used a small outside storage space to relieve themselves (Johns 1988, B1).

Residents go on to describe everyday life at the project, where "you can see addicts in the street and find needles in the backyard" (Johns 1988, B1).

These images and descriptions are organized by the emotion of disgust. At the core of disgust is the idea of contamination and pollution, directly processed through the five bodily senses. Most psychologists emphasize the oral component of disgust, identifying taste as its primary elicitor (Tomkins 1963). At the most basic level disgust is a defense reaction tied to the hunger drive; it ensures we do not ingest harmful or noxious food. Other psychologists, however, note that with development, "we observe a spread of the focus of threat from just the mouth to contact with the body in general, and even offensive sights" (Rozin, Haidt, and McCauley 1993, 584), bringing touch and sight into the realm of disgust reactions. Psychoanalysts go further, arguing that "any modality that represents a means of entry into the self or body – the mouth, the nose, the skin, the eyes – seems to play a part in the disgust experience" (Miller 1986, 300). Scholars of literature also summarize the multi-sensory foundation of disgust: disgust "is about what it feels like to touch, see, taste, smell, even on occasion hear, certain things. Disgust cannot dispense with direct references to the sensory processing of its elicitors" (Miller 1997, 36). (See also philosopher Aurel Kolnai.) The vivid descriptions of public housing play on the expansive sensory nature of disgust: they paint a picture of what it would be like to physically experience a public housing development - the disorderly and unsettling sights, the repulsive smells.

The specific objects focused on in media accounts also indicate disgust is at work. The objects that qualify as disgusting vary from society to society. Many psychologists, anthropologists and sociologists, however, have tried to pin down the Western

construction of disgusting objects.[25] Angyal, for example, argues that disgusting objects are related to animals or animal products (1941). Rozin and Fallon confirmed this view via interviews and questionnaires, concluding that "[a]lmost all objects that qualify as disgusting by our criteria are animals or parts of animals, animal body products, or objects that have had contact with any of the above or that resemble them" (1987, 26).[26] In a later article, Rozin expands these categories with Haidt and McCauley, identifiying seven categories of disgust elicitors: "certain foods or potential foods; body products; certain animals; certain sexual behaviors; contact with dead or dead bodies; violations of the exterior envelope of the body, including gore and deformity; and poor hygiene" (1993, 575). These seven categories are also related to animals; each category reminds us of our animality in some way, a disgusting proposition because of our desire to view ourselves as "quite distinct from (and superior to) other animals" (Rozin and Fallon 1987, 28). As they summarize:

> An examination of the seven domains of disgust elicitors we have identified suggest that disgust serves to 'humanize' our animal bodies. Humans must eat, excrete, and have sex, just like other animals. Each culture prescribes the proper way to perform these actions – by, for example, placing most animals off limits as potential foods, and most people off limits as potential sex partners. People who ignore these prescriptions are reviled as disgusting and animal-like. Furthermore, humans are like animals in having fragile body envelopes…Envelope violations and death are disgusting because they are uncomfortable reminders of our animal vulnerability. Finally, hygienic rules govern the proper use and maintenance of the human body, and the failure to met these culturally defined standards places a person below the level of humans (1993, 584)

Philosophers, however, have expanded this animal-centered categorization of disgust objects to include anything that reminds us of the bodily processes of life and death. Aurel Kolnai concluded that disgust is elicited when life becomes rampant, overabundant, simply 'too much' and disgust is elicited when one is confronted with the decay, contamination, and defilement of death (Menninghaus 2003). Miller offers a similar understanding of what disgusts people: "[w]hat disgusts, startlingly, is a capacity for life, and not just because life implies its correlative death and decay; for it is decay

[25] Most psychologists would argue for a universal category of disgusting objects, but since most of the studies I read do not engage in cross-cultural study, I use the term 'Western'.
[26] They do, however, note the difficulty in defining what objects will elicit disgust because in many cases it is the context that is disgusting, not the object itself.

that seems to engender life….The having lived and the living unite to make up the organic world of generative rot" (1997, 40). This resonates with Rozin, et. al.: animals present us with the constant reminder that we are mortal, caught up in the cycles of life and death. The categories that remind us of our animality are tied to the messy aspects of life and death with its attendant odors, decay, secretions, bodily fluids, fecundity, and dirt.

When newspaper depictions of the public housing landscape, therefore, incessantly focus on trash, raw sewage, reeking garbage, and urine, they enter public housing into the realm of disgusting objects.[27] That three different newspapers in three different cities in three different years emphasize these same landscape features is a testament to the pervasiveness and organizing force of disgust. Even the subtler points of description are connected to disgust. In the *Charlotte Observer* article above, for example, the reference to the 530 children under the age of 17 suggests fecundity – an overabundance of fertility typically associated with the stereotypical inhabitant of public housing, single black women. The syringe that appears in all three articles, singled out as a component of the trash littering the landscape, is associated with the quintessentially disgusting – bodily fluids, blood, disease, and possible contamination. A lawyer quoted in the *Washington Post* puts it plainly: public housing developments are "disgusting...abominable places" (Atkinson and Spolar 1989, A1).

The negative stereotype of public housing, given force and coherence by disgust, also circulated on Capitol Hill. Senators and Representatives on the floor of Congress used language that mimics the newspaper articles quoted above, with such disgust-infused descriptions of specific projects as:

> Let me give you this example of the unit right here in our Nation's Capital, Kenilworth-Parkside public housing project, which for nearly 25 years has been similar to many big city public housing projects, many of its residents had failed to pay their rent regularly, the property was run down, overflowing trash dumpsters housed rats, and vacant apartments became the play places of drug dealers and drug addicts (U.S. House June 11, 1986).

[27] This is not to say that people reading a newspaper article on public housing are consciously (or even subconsciously) thinking about life and death. It is to say that the objects highlighted by the newspaper articles are directly related to categories of objects considered disgusting.

Objects that are repeated in newspaper descriptions of 'run-down' public housing landscapes – rats and trash – appear in Congressmen's comments on the floor of Congress (see Table 4.1 for similar comments). These descriptions appear when public housing is mentioned in passing as part of a critique of housing policy or some larger issue such as welfare or the state of crime and drugs in urban America. The disgust-fear image of public housing is reinforced on the floor of Congress by being used to symbolize dysfunction.

Table 4.1: Sample Disgust Quotes, floor of Congress

Speaker	Quote	Reference
Senator Don Nickles (R-OK)	"deplorable…drug-infested…dilapidated… an unclean environment"	(U.S. Senate September 19, 1989)
Representative Newt Gingrich (R-GA), Speaker of the House	"One thing on which both sides of the debate seem to agree is that large, public housing projects are deteriorating cesspools"	(U.S. House January 19, 1989)
Senator Connie Mack (R-FL)	"Run-down, deteriorated and substandard dwellings, infested with crime and drug traffic"	(U.S. Senate July 14, 1989)
Senator Bill Bradley (D-NJ)	"Visit a public housing project in one of our big cities. See the walls pockmarked by bullet holes. Smell the stench of garbage uncollected and basements full of decomposing rats"	(U.S. Senate July 19, 1991)

When public housing is the topic of conversation or comment, disgust as described above is rarely explicitly evoked, but it nevertheless has a presence. Representative Marge Roukema (R-NJ), for example, comments on a bill that would increase new public housing construction:

> I am disturbed that the committee has chosen to increase the number of units of public housing new construction. At over $70,000 per unit, such public housing is very expensive. We could provide more housing for more low-income people if we would use that new construction money for other types of housing assistance. For example, my preference would have been to direct more resources to modernization which is more cost-effective than new construction. As the committee report indicates, PHA's could easily use $1 billion more for modernization beyond that which is already provided in the bill. It simply makes no sense to build additional units when we cannot even afford to properly maintain the units we already have (U.S. House July 20, 1989).

There is no reference to dilapidation, trash, or rats; the focus is on the cost of construction. Disgust, however, lingers in the background as a justification for funneling money to modernization: existing units are not 'properly maintained' – a phrase I argue rests on the disgust representation of public housing. Money should go to modernization and an unspoken project of 'cleaning-up' public housing.

Congressmen also re-circulated media depictions of public housing from around the country by entering specific newspaper articles into the public record. Christopher Bond, for example, brought a *New York Times* article to his colleagues' attention that begins with a description of a public housing development as "a squalid den for narcotics dealers. There were bullet holes in the walls and pools of urine in the hallways" (U.S. Senate October 26, 1989). This was paired with a *Washington Post* article that starts with the label "crime-ridden rot hole" (U.S. Senate October 26, 1989).

The disgust discourse also circulated in two 1992 Congressional hearings on public housing. Verbal descriptions of public housing rehashed disgust imagery – "deplorable, unsafe, and unsanitary dwellings…with leaking pipes, without heat, with roaches, mice and rats" (U.S. House May 28, 1992), with some Senators commenting on the ubiquitous circulation of disgust within the media: "These distressed developments capture constant attention as newspapers, books, magazines, and movies cite glaring examples of how some public housing developments have become indecent, unsafe, and unsanitary" (U.S. Senate March 25, 1992). Disgust also circulated through documents that were produced as part of the Congressional hearings. For a May 28, 1992 hearing, for example, Audit Reports were submitted that detailed inspections of specific public housing developments. Units inspected in Jacksonville, Florida, were found to have ceilings with "large holes, severe mildew, and water damage from leaking roofs and faulty plumbing...unsanitary walls that needed painting" (U.S. House May 28, 1992) and "In unit 81 at 1607 Brookforest, roaches were crawling on the walls, ceilings, floors, and in the kitchen and bathroom cabinets" (U.S. House May 28, 1992). The reports were accompanied by photographs which illustrate the disgust descriptions and were compelling and moving for the hearing participants. As Representative Ronald Machtley (R-RI) commented:

> You have pictures in your report of some of the houses, this being one of the pictures, which is very, I think graphic, this showing the ceiling being completely rotted out (U.S. House May 28, 1992).

These reports document very serious and dangerous living conditions in public housing, but they simultaneously contribute to the discourse of disgust, reinforcing the depiction of public housing as a revolting place.

The disgust discourse affected framings of public housing beyond newspaper articles and Congressional discussion. It also affected framings of social science research on inner-city poverty used in public housing policy discussions during the 1980s. The most pertinent example is the work of William Julius Wilson and his 1987 book *The Truly Disadvantaged* which became popular amongst housing professionals (Crump 2002; Wexler 2001; Wyly and Hammel 2000; Zhang and Weismann 2006). Wilson's aim was to understand how larger economic and demographic changes in America, paired with historic structural inequality, produced an 'urban underclass' in the 1960s: inner-city blacks experiencing high rates of joblessness, crime, teenage pregnancy, welfare dependency, and female-headed households. Two concepts from his work became popular: 1) 'concentrations of poverty', a unique characteristic of the 1970s underclass ghetto where the majority of residents are the most disadvantaged members of the black community (Wilson 1987, 143), and 2) 'social pathologies', behaviors that sharply contrast with the behavior of mainstream Americans (Wilson 1987).

'Concentrations of poverty', 'social pathologies', and the associated phrase 'warehousing of poverty' have become stock phrases in the popular discussion of public housing. These terms appear in Congress where Senator Alfonse D'Amato (R-NY), for example, described the "heavy concentration of very poor people" (U.S. Senate March 15, 1989) as a negative effect of public housing policy and where a newspaper article was submitted for the record that reads, "[p]ublic housing, particularly in high-rise configurations, usually is a concentration of pathologies" (U.S. Senate May 10, 1989). These concepts were taken out of the social-structural context of Wilson's work and folded into the disgust-fear discourse surrounding public housing.[28] As stand-alone phrases, 'concentrations of poverty' and 'social pathology' evoke first, the disgusting aspects of a large number of objects concentrated together. As Miller explains, there is a "difference in affect raised by one cockroach and a thousand, one social inferior and a convocation of them" (1997, 42). And second, the phrases focus attention on the

[28] This simplified and distilled usage of the term 'social pathology' is very similar to the usage of the term 'underclass'. Wilson notes that the term underclass "has become a code word for inner-city blacks...Gans (1990) offers the most important, powerful, and representative critique of the use of the concept. He argues that while the term 'underclass' can be 'used as a graphic technical term for the growing number of persistently poor and jobless Americans, it is also a value-laden, increasingly pejorative term that seems to be becoming the newest buzzword for the *undeserving* poor'" (Wilson 1991, 4; Marks 1991).

morally aberrant nature of poor, urban blacks (Crump 2002). As Crump notes, "Such images helped to stigmatize the poor... [and are] coupled with the public's predilection to view the poor as undeserving and 'dependent'"(2002, 584).

Disgust also infuses residents' perspective on public housing as a number of surveys and studies of public housing indicate. A study of five HOPE VI sites conducted in 2001 by the Urban Institute, for example, reports that 25 percent of respondents had mold and roach problems, and about 18 percent had rat infestations (Popkin et al. 2002, 3-2), objects that typically evoke a disgust reaction. In-depth interviews provide more details:

> with respondents describing problems such as overflowing toilets, water damage from leaks in neighborhood units, stopped-up (3-3) plumbing, and backed-up sewer systems. One resident from Wells described the effect of water damage from an upstairs neighbor's leaking toilet:
>
> *Like there's a person upstairs, the toilet leaks...and this infects the walls. Water was coming all up the side of the wall, see how the wall is broke all off? It's dangerous to your health because there [is] an odor to it. You wake up in the morning and it smells so bad you have to open the doors.* (Popkin et al. 2002, 3-2-3-3)

This resident's description mirrors those found in newspaper articles: both residents and journalists focus on disgusting objects such as bodily fluids and waste products.

A difference between outsider and resident disgust is what part of the landscape is associated with disgust. Newspaper articles tend to focus on the public aspects of the landscape – the exterior and hallways – while residents tend to focus on the private space of individual units. This division, however, does not always hold. For residents, disgusting conditions surrounding vermin and bodily fluids are part of a long list of maintenance problems they experience both in their units and on site. Louise Carpenter, a tenant in Jacksonville, Florida summarizes her concerns at a Congressional hearing: "I also have a problem with roaches, my shower, and my oven" (U.S. House July 21, 1992). The disgusting object of roaches is merely one item in a number of maintenance concerns. At the same hearing, Dorothea Farrell underscores that resident disgust is part of overall conditions which includes interior and exterior spaces of the landscape:

> In the bathrooms we have a problem with the commodes because the wax rings are missing. Because of that, we have leakage in the kitchens… Front and back doors

> are too short and large bugs and snakes are coming under the doors...Department of public housing trash trucks need to be fixed in order for the 3-month-old furniture, bedding to be picked up. It is causing us to have rat nests and snakes inside of it (U.S. House July 21, 1992).

Residents of Bluegrass-Aspendale in Lexington, Kentucky also expressed disgust for the exterior landscape. In a survey of 180 Bluegrass Aspendale residents, when asked 'What do you dislike most about the surrounding neighborhood', nine percent mentioned the way the site looked, using descriptions of disgust that appear in newspaper articles again and again: "Dirty, rundown"; "Garbage around"; "I don't like the fact that management don't do anything about the dirty yards and the trash and filth"; trash and filth"; "Dirtiness of neighbors causing roaches"; "Trashy" (Bluegrass-Aspendale 2004).

When talking about the patterned disgust-descriptions of public housing found in newspaper articles, one should be aware that residents offer similar descriptions. Residents offer these descriptions because in many cases, public housing developments have disgusting aspects. That is, they have often deteriorated to the point where disgusting objects are prevalent and create hazardous living conditions for tenants. One should also keep in mind, however, the big difference between the newspaper articles and residents' depiction of disgust: outsiders read these descriptions in newspapers, residents live in them.

For outsiders it is easy for this emotive description of landscape to color and influence how they view public housing residents. This is the slippery nature of disgust. Despite being tied to and experienced through the body's senses, disgust is a moral and social emotion. The disgust reaction is not elicited solely by the categories described by Rozin or Kolnai. In social contexts disgust is "recruited to defend the self against psychic incorporation or any increase in intimacy" (Tomkins 1963, 233) with a person deemed socially or morally inferior and unacceptable. The characteristics of disgusting objects, such as foul-smelling and unclean, are projected onto people. Disgust is the emotion of interpersonal rejection (Nathanson 1992) and it can become a social weapon, constructing individuals as both repellent and less than human. This process helps produce and reproduce the social norms of prejudice and hierarchy through the construction of categories of high and low, pure and defiled, us and them.

It is difficult to distinguish between physical and social disgust. Miller describes this phenomenon: "We perceive what disgusts and tend to imbue it with defective moral status for that reason alone. Authors have frequent recourse to this moralizing capacity of disgust when they direct our moral judgment against entire social orders by circumstantial descriptions of a city's sewers, the rankness of a river, or the filth and foulness of a boarding school" (1997, 180). Descriptions of the public housing landscape are intimately tied to understandings of public housing residents. Residents are placed outside the norms of American society through their environment. Residents shown living in filth and excreting in public spaces violate what is deemed proper and constructs public housing residents as animals. The description of the public housing landscape, therefore, acts as an 'interpretive filter' where any information in the rest of the newspaper article and any understanding of the people who live there is considered in the context of the disgusting landscape (see Hancock 2004). Residents fight these associations by emphasizing their humanity. Irene Johnson, for example, at a Congressional hearing, insisted that "We were humans, we had feelings, we were unemployed, but we wanted to work, we wanted to control our families" (U.S. Senate May 11, 1993).

4.2 Fear

Outsider perspectives also converge around the emotion of fear, which is closely associated with the disgust discourse just described. Fear is "the concrete and sudden danger of *imminent physical harm*" (Lazarus 1991, 235) from an identifiable source (Ohman 1993; Lazarus 1991). The media cultivated an atmosphere of fear less through descriptions of the landscape and more through widespread coverage of specific acts of violence and crime. Public housing is the backdrop for stories about drugs, shootings, assaults, and other nefarious activities. "Shootings, Drugs Make Street in Southeast a Hostage to Violence" says *The Washington Post* (Sanchez and Wheeler 1989), "Gunfight, Drug Deal Linked: Uzi Gun Confiscated at Piedmont Courts", says *The Charlotte Observer* (Hidlay and DeAdwyler 1985), and "Two Charged in Disturbance near Charlotte Court Last Week", says *The Lexington Herald Leader* (Gregory and Mayhan 1993) – all three are typical headlines from newspapers across the country. These are undoubtedly very serious and very real crimes, but an image of fear is

cultivated when the majority of coverage surrounding public housing focuses on negative incidents.

In Lexington, for example, 45 percent of newspaper coverage of the public housing project Charlotte Court from 1983 until 1998 when they received their HOPE VI grant could be labeled fear-evoking. Articles ranged from drug arrests and raids, increased police patrols, beatings, to murders. The most serious incident in Lexington's public housing, however, was the shooting of an African-American teenager, Tony Sullivan, in a Bluegrass-Aspendale apartment by a white police officer. This incident sparked a mass protest by Lexington's black community; hundreds marched from Bluegrass-Aspendale into downtown, a breach that highlighted the normative emotional mapping of the city - downtown as safe (and white) and Bluegrass-Aspendale as dangerous (and African-American) (see McCann 1999). With constant repetition, readers would have two guesses as to where the events in a 1996 article occurred – "At Least 51 Seized in City's Third Crack Cocaine Raid" (Trimble and Mount 1996) – Bluegrass-Aspendale or Charlotte Court.[29]

Newspaper articles also created an atmosphere of anxiety. Anxiety is an ambiguous fear. The danger that evokes anxiety is not concrete and knowable; the threat, rather, is symbolic and unknown (Lazarus 1991; Ohman 1993). Newspaper articles cultivated anxiety through depictions of public housing as lawless places, where the unhinged and violent elements of society congregate. Take, for example, *Washington Post* coverage of Potomac Gardens, a project in downtown Washington DC:

> At the Potomac Gardens public housing complex 12 blocks from the U.S. Capitol, a woman stuffs towels beneath her door to keep out the vapors from people smoking crack in the stairwell...A heroin addict shoots dope into a vein in her groin, moments after telling reporters that she wants nothing more than to kick her addiction. A crack dealer with cold eyes twists the diamond ring on his pinkie finger and says he would not hesitate to kill to protect what is his...The lives of these people revolve around one of the city's most notorious, longstanding drug markets, where minor insults easily escalate to death (Duke and Price 1989, A1).

Instead of a list of disgusting objects in the landscape, this article provides a cast of disturbing and dangerous characters who inhabit public housing. The newspaper sends

[29] The raid occurred in Charlotte Court.

an anxious message: who knows what will happen to you if you venture into Potomac Gardens?

Anxiety-evoking articles could also be found in news magazines with nationwide circulation. Magazines such as *Time* and *Newsweek*, for example, selected specific developments such as Cabrini-Green in Chicago and Pruitt-Igoe in St. Louis and wrapped them in a discourse of anxiety. Cabrini-Green was "likened to a 'maximum security prison' with 'dungeon-dim lighting,' while Pruitt-Igoe was said to resemble 'a country under siege,' where 'only punks, hoodlums, drug addicts and unfortunates too weak or terrified to move were left'" (Henderson 1995, 42). These housing developments – and the stories told about them – became symbolic of public housing as a whole.

Statistics also contribute to an aura of anxiety. A *Lexington Herald-Leader* article offers the following description of Bluegrass-Aspendale:

> Police made 12,863 service calls to the area from September 1987 through September 1989, Chief Larry Walsh said. During that time, police responded to 252 assaults, 225 residential burglaries, 44 auto thefts and 1,324 cases of disorderly conduct. They made 89 arrests involving the possession or sale of narcotics, Walsh said. There were 422 complaints of domestic violence, 261 of vandalism, 362 of public drunkenness and 240 of property damage. At least two people have been shot this year, one fatally (Kaiser 1990, A1).

These are 'hard' and 'objective' numbers, but their listing is intended to evoke anxiety and alarm (see Woodward 1999 for a similar argument). As the police chief summarizes, "That's just a tremendous number of calls to one small geographical area" despite the fact that "[c]omparable figures for other areas of the city have not been compiled" (Kaiser 1990, A1). Vague warnings also generate anxiety. A special interest piece on Piedmont Courts in Charlotte quotes a police officer as saying "'I wouldn't advise anyone to go down there unless they have to'" (DeAdwyler 1985, 8A). "It's out of control" (Kaiser 1990, A1) says Lexington police chief Larry Walsh, referring to Bluegrass-Aspendale, leaving the threat of public housing ambiguous and diffuse. Even in a reflective moment, newspaper coverage of Bluegrass-Aspendale reinforces an image of the development as vaguely threatening: "Images linger around Lexington's Bluegrass-Aspendale housing complex. Idle men. Stick-up artists. Welfare mothers. Drug users" (Johns 1989, B1).

The only concrete aspect of these diffuse statements is place: anxiety is identified with specific public housing projects. So while descriptions of fear and anxiety mainly

work through the social aspects of public housing, the landscape as an identifiable part of the city serves to fix these emotions. In an article on the East End community, for example, of which Bluegrass-Aspendale is a part, neighborhood residents are described as living "in the shadow of the Bluegrass-Aspendale public housing complex and all the crime associated with the area. But many residents of the small frame houses that fill the neighborhood won't allow that shadow to block out the sunshine" (Rios and Mead 1995, D1). Crime, and anxiety and fear, are firmly placed within the geographical limits of Bluegrass-Aspendale.

Psychologists identify this as a specific factor of fear and anxiety they label agoraphobia. Agoraphobic fears "center on the lack of security inherent in separation from safe bases and kin" (Ohman 1993, 575), when one moves, in other words, from the known to the unknown. Descriptions of the landscape also serve to heighten this agoraphobia. References to graffiti, broken windows, and glass-strewn lawns stand as silent indicators of specific acts of violence and/or crime. As symbols of disorder they also have the power to generate a general sense of dread; they are cultural cues that tell us this place is not a 'safe base' and leads to "the avoidance of places associated with panic and feelings of discomfort" (Ohman 1993, 575).

Similar images, once again, circulated in Congress in the late 1980s and early 1990s, where public housing was described as a frightening place, a killing zone (see Table 4.2). Congressmen repeatedly brought newspaper accounts of specific shootings and crimes to the attention of their colleagues. Representative John Kasich (R-OH), for example, makes a vivid presentation on the floor of Congress:

> This comes from the July 26 Columbus Dispatch, a story that appeared there datelined Chicago. You will forget her name. You will forget her face. And the last mark she left – a blood stain on the pavement in front of her apartment building at Cabrini-Green –was washed away Friday. Late Thursday, Laquanda Edwards lost her dream to flee the random violence she so feared. Her mother will never be able to answer the plea her 15-year-old daughter made just Monday: Momma, please, get me out of here. Laquanda Edwards was shot once in the back of the head by a sniper in the heart of the Chicago Housing Authority's Cabrini-Green housing complex. She was on her way to a store to pick up a bottle of milk (U.S. House August 5, 1992).

This is a fear discourse constructed around a child who, as a symbol of innocence – as pure as the bottle of milk she was on her way to buy – was murdered in the random violence of Cabrini-Green.

Table 4.2: Sample Fear and Anxiety Quotes, the floor of Congress

Speaker	Quote	Reference
Representative James Florio (D-NJ)	"Recently, I walked through a public housing unit in Camden, NJ, and I was shocked to witness drug deals going on before our eyes, without any concern about the danger of arrest"	(U.S. House October 8, 1986)
Representative Julian Dixon (D-CA)	"The mention of public housing typically generates the thought of impoverished, crime-ridden developments"	(U.S. Senate October 1, 1986)
Senator Frank Lautenberg (D-NJ)	"Drug-related crime is a growing problem that plagues public housing projects around the country. In recent years, its reached crisis proportions. Many public housing projects are virtual war zones. Murders and muggings are routines, everyday events. Tenants live like prisoners of war, afraid to leave their apartments. Tenants aren't the only ones frightened. All too often, so are local law enforcement authorities. And who could blame them? Drug dealers control their territory with automatic machine guns and other weapons of war. In some areas, local police can enter public housing projects only in multimanned [sic], heavily armed platoons"	(U.S. Senate June 28, 1988)
Representative Charles Rangel (D-NY)	"By now, everyone knows of the damage drugs are doing to America – a murder a day in the District of Columbia, public housing projects made uninhabitable because of violence associated with drug dealing"	(U.S. House February 21, 1989)
Representative John Porter (R-IL)	"Mr. Speaker, when most people think of public housing, they think of drugs, rape, and murder"	(U.S. House May 9, 1989)
Senator Daniel Moynihan (D-NY)	"Public housing projects have become war zones. Reaching into them to offer the availability of treatment, a helping hand, is nearly impossible given the levels of violence there"	(U.S. Senate July 19, 1989)
Senator Henry Heinz (R-PA)	I have had a number of personal experiences visiting public housing communities in my home State of Pennsylvania. One occasion involved Secretary Kemp, who came up to Pennsylvania and visited the Richard Alan Homes community. When he was there, he noticed four men seated around a barrel in which there was a fire. He asked the tenant management leader who those people were. It was explained to him that the four men were crack dealers and that their presence was as common as cold in February, which it then was. I wish I could say that is an uncommon occurrence, but to the contrary, it is daily – daily, not just at Richard Alan Homes but virtually every public housing community across this Nation.	(U.S. Senate October 3, 1989)
Representative Robert Wise (D-WV)	Less than a year ago, crack cocaine dealers flooded into Orchard Manor every day and night. Gunfire was a nightly event and adults feared to go outside and kept their children indoors as well. Drug dealing and violence was out of control and Orchard Manor was wallowing in an atmosphere of lawlessness and despair	(U.S. House February 5, 1992)

Fear discourses, however, were not always so dramatic and, in fact, could be subtle. Representative Bob Edgar (D-PA), for example, submitted a newspaper article on

an urban mission in Erie, PA. The article is not about public housing, but it uses public housing's association with fear to paint a negative depiction of a particular neighborhood in Erie: "Eastside Erie is not a pretty area. On nearby Buffalo Road, many businesses are boarded up. The area contains the city's highest concentration of public housing projects. Crime and drug-related problems are increasing" (U.S. House February 4, 1986). The article implies there is a connection between the presence of concentrated public housing and an increase in crime and drugs. There was also the occasional admission of the public's or officials' fear, with descriptions of public housing as "places that you and I would fear to visit" (U.S. House May 3, 1989).

Fear and disgust often mingle in the same statement and in fact, it is hard to separate the two as a disgusting object poses a specific threat of contamination and those who commit crimes in public housing are viewed with disgust. The mingling of fear and disgust can be seen in visceral statements such as "run-down, drug-infested urban wastelands" (U.S. House May 3, 1989) and stories filled with images of danger, dirt, and bodily processes, such as "her children open the door and face dirty needles, people shooting up, drug wars, people having sex in the halls, people fighting" (U.S. Senate March 25, 1992) at a Congressional hearing. Dirt and the bodily fluids implied by the needle and reference to sex are part of the violent, threatening world of public housing. Sometimes fear and disgust imagery are used in a playful way, to provide a colorful description of a scene, as in the following editorial submitted for the record: "The police cruiser crawls like a cockroach across worn linoleum through the concrete and grassless dirt of an urban lunarscape called Cabrini-Green. It is a public-housing project on the near North Side" (U.S. Senate May 10, 1989). Here the police cruiser is compared to a cockroach, a familiar disgusting object of the public housing landscape, and the police cruiser implies the threat of crime.

Problems of crime and drugs are also ascribed the powers of contamination. As Senator William Roth (R-DE) commented, "a small number of residents involved in drug-related activity can infect an entire neighborhood with drug-related violence, theft, and vandalism" (U.S. Senate September 28, 1989) and Senator Charles Schumer (D-NY) notes, "We have hard-working people and honest people in public housing, and there can be 300 of them in a highrise, but if we get one family or one person in there that is

dealing with drugs, they can ruin the whole highrise" (U.S. House April 26, 1989). In both cases, drug-dealers are framed in terms of disgust – their mere presence infects, pollutes, an entire high-rise building.[30]

For residents, the fear that is most often highlighted in the HOPE VI literature is residents' fear of relocation and displacement. Mentioned less often, however, is residents' fear of the existing public housing site; the same fear of crime, drug activity, and violence that underlies outsiders' perspective. As one HUD official summarized:

> Well, you know, people that live inside public housing are afraid of public housing too. And a lot of the families we talk to say you need to get this crime out of here. We want a different, we want a different neighborhood. So I don't think it's just the folks looking inside, it's also the people there recognize that there are issues that need to be addressed (Hebert 2006).

One indication of residents' fear comes from newspaper articles that focus on the social disorder of public housing. These articles often include the disgust descriptions described above, working to reinforce public housing's image as a revolting and frightening place for the outsiders reading the daily newspaper. These same articles, however, also discuss residents' fear of their living environment. A Charlotte newspaper article, for example quotes a resident of Piedmont Courts as saying "'I don't go out at night, not even on my own front porch…Somebody, some kid, is going to get hurt real bad from all this shooting'" (DeAdwyler 1985, 8A).

Another indication of residents' fear comes from the work done by the National Commission on Severely Distressed Public Housing. The Commission spent 18 months visiting and speaking with residents and officials in 25 cities across the U.S. In a list of their research findings, "Residents afraid to move about in their own homes and communities because of the high incidence of crime" (U.S. Congress 1992, xiii) was at the top. Jeff Lines, Lead Technical Consultant for the Commission, told me a key concern of residents was public safety, a concern that emanates from their fear of crime. From his discussions with residents, he described public housing as an environment where children are afraid to go out their front door, an environment where fear and dread pervade (Lines 2006). Statistics culled by Abt Associates in 1996 bear this out. While

[30] The narratives of disgust and fear are so intertwined that for subsequent chapters I will only refer to disgust-fear. The two feed off of and reinforce each other. What is disgusting is also frightening, and what is frightening can be ascribed disgusting attributes.

details varied from site to site, "Nearly all of these developments have at least some problems with drug trafficking and physical disorder (trash, graffiti)" (Fosburg, Popkin, and Locke 1996, 3-22). The 2001 Urban Institute study interviewed residents at five public housing developments and found that "about three-fourths of the HOPE VI Panel Study respondents report extreme problems with drug trafficking and criminal activity in their communities" (Popkin et al. 2002, 9-2) and "The majority (two-thirds) of respondents report major problems with shootings and violence in their neighborhoods" (Popkin et al. 2002, 9-3). In Lexington, Kentucky, residents of Bluegrass Aspendale reported a high level of fear. In response to the question, 'What do you dislike most about the surrounding neighborhood', 43 percent mentioned safety concerns such as drug trafficking and violence (Bluegrass-Aspendale 2004).

Residents express fears that are similar to outsiders. Both groups view public housing as a frightening place, full of crime and violence. But like disgust, the differences between outsiders and resident fear should be taken into account. Residents live with fear in their everyday lives while outsiders read frightening tales in the newspaper. Fear, in concert with disgust, has the potential to color outsiders' understanding of public housing residents. Fear casts public housing as a dangerous place, one that should be avoided, and colors residents as a scary 'other'.

4.3 Shame

Shame is never associated with outsiders in analyses of HOPE VI, but this emotion helped frame the perspectives of some of the government officials involved in writing the HOPE VI legislation. Disgust and fear constructed public housing as a specific type of problem and for some, shame framed how this problem was approached. Many of the government officials I spoke with felt the shame of providing housing that is flawed and in some cases dangerous for residents. This perspective has its clearest articulation in the Final Report of the NCSDPH and can also be found in individual stories and Congressional discussions.

There is widespread agreement amongst psychologists and sociologists on the cause of shame: individuals feel shame when they fail to live up to some culturally defined ideal, standard, or goal that is deemed right, good, or moral (Gilbert 1998; Lazarus 1991; Lewis 1993; Nathanson 2003; Scheff 1990). Shame emerges from the gap

between the ideal and actual self (Reimer 1996). Shame is also understood to be a global emotion, focusing attention on the whole self. In shame, "it is the whole self that is experienced as flawed" (Reimer 1996, 330) as opposed to one aspect or behavior of the self. It should be noted, however, that the psychologist Silvan S. Tomkins offers a different, more expansive vision of shame. For Tomkins, shame is the incomplete reduction of interest or enjoyment (Tomkins 1963). In other words, a positive situation or relationship has been interrupted, but not severed. This definition, however, is not incompatible with the one outlined above: a personal failure can be viewed as an impediment to living up to some ideal state or as a disruption in the process of achieving some ideal state.

These characteristics are folded into the Final Report of the NCSDPH. The description of public housing found in this report is strikingly different from the disgust-fear descriptions that circulated Congress. The language of infestation and dirt are entirely absent; in its place is a discourse of shame:

> Severely distressed public housing is a national problem – a national disgrace. Such housing imposes an unacceptable, nearly unlivable environment on its residents...The Commission…believes that severely distressed public housing is a testament to the public failure to Recognize the needs of individuals and families living in distressed conditions; Prevent this valuable national resource from falling into...a state of disrepair...Invest in its own housing infrastructure; Address the problems created for the organizations that must operate this housing (U.S. Congress 1992, 2).

Public housing is framed as a national disgrace. For the Commission members, America had failed to provide all its citizens with decent, safe, and sanitary housing as promised in the Housing Act of 1949, and the nation had failed to recognize the needs of public housing residents.

There are many actions associated with shame. The most often cited actions of the shame experience are blushing, averting one's gaze, confusion in thought, and an inability to speak, all of which can be accompanied by a desire to hide or disappear, to 'sink into the ground' (Nathanson 1992; Reimer 1996; Tomkins 1963; Lewis 1993). But these actions and thoughts describe an individual who has just experienced shame. The emotion, however, lingers and informs our sense of self. Nathanson's *Shame and Pride* categorizes the many ways people deal defensively with long-term shame, labeling them

withdrawal, avoidance, attack self, and attack other. He does note, however, that occasionally we learn from the emotion: "we may decide to use this particular moment of shame as the spur to personal change – an unexpected opportunity to make ourselves different" (1992, 308). Nussbaum also comments on the positive potential of shame – "it goads us onward with regard to many different types of goals and ideals, some of them valuable" (2004, 207) – and Probyn notes that shame can move the individual to self reflection and to a reevaluation of "how we are positioned in relation to the past and…how we wish to live in proximity to others" (Probyn 2005, xiv). Using Tomkins' definition, we can view this action as an attempt to reestablish the positive connection or relationship that had been severed. Shame, after all, indicates prior involvement with someone or something. It is very different from disgust and fear which are emotions of separation; shame is an emotion of connection and "enlarges the spectrum of objects outside of himself which can engage man and concern him" (Tomkins 1963, 226).

The NCSDPH makes use of this positive potential of shame, confounding the notion that government officials and government documents always take a cold and detached stance. The Final Report declares that "[a]s a Nation, we must act now to eliminate the public failure, the national disgrace, that we almost euphemistically call severely distressed public housing" (U.S. Congress 1992, 6). They also conclude,

> that neither the human nor the physical conditions are hopeless; after all, we are a resourceful and innovative nation that understands and encourages the hopes and dreams of all of its people...The residents of public housing need to know that that they, too, are the intended beneficiaries of this '…kinder, gentler Nation' (U.S. Congress 1992, xiv-xv).

The Commission calls on the American public to act, but in a specific kind of way. We must focus our attention and action outward, to repair the severed relationship with public housing residents. We cannot reject public housing residents as somehow separate, other; a rejection that I argue has its basis in disgust. The Commission stresses the need for inclusion, for recognizing that public housing residents are American citizens who share this Nation with the rest of us.

This sense of shame also resonated in interviews with Washington DC officials and professionals. Sharon Geno, a lawyer who worked with Gordon Cavanaugh during the HOPE VI process, responded to critiques of HOPE VI with the following

commentary: "What's the answer? To continue to serve – not really serve, do disservice to more people? Is that the answer? Cuz that's what we're doing here. Um, by not providing sufficient money and not being able to deal with the social ills of a poor antiquated policy" (2006). She does not use the word shame or disgrace, but the emotion is implied – as officials with a responsibility and, therefore, a connection to public housing tenants, they have failed in providing adequate services. They are, in fact, doing a disservice. In Geno's case, the underlying shame produces a frustration with the current situation and a desire to change the system. Sue Wilson, who works in the HOPE VI office at HUD, voices a similar sentiment. I asked Wilson what she thought of the language of the National Commission. She answered

> I think we would agree with that thought, a lot of it was a national disgrace. It's very distressed, very crowded, very dilapidated units and you know, as grant managers and people who are working with this program, we've been to some of those units. Um on our site visits and we've seen how dilapidated they are, and how broken down and how depressing they are (2006).

For Wilson, shame is linked to experiencing the developments first hand. Her physical interaction with public housing does not lead to a straightforward disgust-fear reaction or conclusion; her overall impression is that public housing is depressing, a perspective that has residents at its center and underscores her connection to the situation.

The language of shame was also used by government officials in Congressional hearings. A 1992 Congressional hearing, for example, "Public Housing, Public Disgrace", reviewed "waste and mismanagement of the public housing funds" (U.S. House May 28, 1992) with a specific focus on the Philadelphia, Washington D.C. and Jacksonville, Florida Housing Authorities. Here shame was used to situate the problems of public housing within the sphere of government. Joe Schiff's opening statement articulates this point: "It is clear to me, that the Federal Government, over time, has done more to perpetuate the ghetto than remove it from the urban landscape. We are responsible for unwittingly taking our own people and banning them to a life of economic, social and cultural isolation with little effective means of repatriating them to a world of promise, hope and opportunity" (U.S. House May 28, 1992). The underlying theme of failure and connection is implicit in his words and is similar to the Final Report of the NCSDPH. Ed Austin, Mayor of Jacksonville Florida, adopts a similar stance. He

is at the hearing, however, to answer for the problems at the Jacksonville Housing Authority and uses shame to acknowledge the failures of the housing authority while highlighting corrective measures: "I am embarrassed that citizens of my city are living in substandard housing, or that no housing is available to them at all, when enough money has been spent to have a quality program in place. Yet we are hard at work in turning this program around" (U.S. House May 28, 1992). He underscores his personal involvement in fixing the housing authority through his embarrassment.

Shame, however, is also used as a weapon in political debate, as in 'you ought to be ashamed of yourself'. I would not characterize this as 'positive' shame since it is used to enhance the superiority of an individual's stance and is explicitly meant to harm. This is the most popular use of shame on the floor of Congress. At a May 9, 1996 debate over public housing rent calculations, for example, there were nine instances of 'shame as blame' on the floor of Congress. Comments included "Mr. Chairman, I say to my Republican colleagues, you should be ashamed of yourself" (U.S. House May 9, 1996), from Representative Nydia Velazquez (D-NY) and "H.R. 2406 would shamefully take from our poorer and more vulnerable citizens the basic right to sleep comfortably at night" (U.S. House May 9, 1996), from Representative Major Owens (D-NY). I characterize both statements as 'shame as blame' because they are embedded in a diatribe of accusations and critique.

Shame discourses are also articulated by residents, but these discourses do not follow the same pattern as disgust and fear. Disgust and fear discourses are to some extent shared by outsiders and residents and these emotive discourses show that the line between these two groups is not so clear. Shame discourses are articulated by both outsiders and residents, but they look very different. The shame discourse of outsiders is intriguing because it shows that outsiders do not have a uniformly detached view of public housing. The shame discourse of residents is intriguing because it highlights society's disgust that is projected onto them.

As described in the first part of this chapter, public housing residents are often associated with feelings of shame. Margie Rose, a tenant of Philadelphia public housing summarizes this emotion: "This unit is like a condemned building....The effect of all this on my family has been horrible….My children are ashamed to have friends or visitors

come to their home. We cannot live like a normal family. I want to live in a place where I will be proud to pay my rent" (U.S. House May 28, 1992). Rose and her children are unable to live like a 'normal' family; public housing is an impediment to this desired state and, therefore, a source of shame.

Why, however, is living in public housing an impediment to normality? First, the architecture and layout of public housing is often very different from that of the surrounding neighborhood. Taking Tomkins' definition of shame, public housing is a *physical* interruption; it is a disruption in the urban fabric (see Figure 1.7). For public housing residents who desire a connection with their surroundings, the public housing landscape, as a disruption, evokes shame.

But physical difference could also be a source of pride; instead of a disruption, it could be interpreted as a valued distinction. Public housing, however, is viewed by society with scorn and disgust. As Vale notes, in the hierarchy of living arrangements, American society places public housing near the bottom of desirability (1996). Public housing, therefore, is a stigma.

The concept of stigma has a direct connection to disgust. The Greeks originated the term to refer to bodily marks "designed to expose something unusual and bad about the moral status of the signifier" (Goffman 1963, 1) and today, it refers to an "attribute that is deeply discrediting" (Goffman 1963, 3) and reduces the individual with this attribute "from a whole and usual person to a tainted, discounted one" (Goffman 1963, 3). It is the projection of disgust onto an individual deemed different that creates the category of stigma. It is disgust that drops the individual's status and makes them less than human, tainted, and even immoral. It is this debasing and demeaning rejection, then, by the larger society that generates feelings of shame in public housing residents.

4.4 Disgust-Fear-Shame

Identifying and analyzing individual emotions challenges the binary framework utilized by the majority of HOPE VI studies. But one additional point needs to be made: it is difficult to separate disgust, fear, and shame discourses, for they often weave one into the other. The chapter begins with tidy categories of individual emotions for clarity, but it should be noted that they are often interconnected.

A story from Lexington, Kentucky, makes this point. Lexington received a HOPE VI grant in 1998 for Charlotte Court and one in 2005 for Bluegrass-Aspendale. I spoke with Debbi Hoskins, HOPE VI coordinator at the Lexington Housing Authority (LHA), and Austin Simms, Executive Director of the LHA, about their involvement with both grants. The full back and forth of our conversations illustrate the complex interplay between disgust, fear, and shame discourses.

> EH (Ellen Hostetter): In your personal opinion, in your general perception of HOPE VI, what would you say is the most important, some of the most important things about HOPE VI?
> DH (Debbi Hoskins): I think it, it's more of the difference it makes in peoples lives
> EH: yeah
> DH: and that's what's important in HOPE VI. Rather than the bricks and sticks
> EH: right
> DH: and, wh, oh well I think that's important too, but...I started um, at the housing authority as a social worker
> EH: that's right, that's right
> DH: and um, then after um, we had a grant, and after the money ran out on the grant, and there wasn't funding for our position, I went, took over as the housing manager when Bluegrass-Aspendale had 1000 apartments
> EH: right, ok
> DH: and that was back in 1979
> EH: ok
> DH: and it was always my dream that if I could over the years, that somehow we could make a difference over there
> EH: right, right
> DH: and because I always felt like, that people were corralled. And, and were all kind of tucked away from the rest of Lexington
> EH: yeah
> DH: you have these poor people corralled over here, I always felt it was horrible. The one way streets in and out and so, to me the most important thing about HOPE VI is trying to change people's lives and give them hope for something else
> EH: yeah
> DH: something better, an opportunity to see ways that they can, and to give them that little push, initially
> EH: right
> DH: so many of the people um, that live in Bluegrass now, are you know, have been second and third generation.
> EH: right
> DH: and I knew their mommas and their grandmothers and
> EH: wow
> DH: uh, and that's all they know is just to live there and it, you know there's no hope
> EH: yeah

DH: so that to me is the most important thing about HOPE VI
EH: that's great
DH: but then to take a crime-ridden area, that's really a stigma for this whole town. And people do need to care because it does cause lots and lots of problems
EH: right
DH: uh for the rest of Lexington. And so then to be able to wipe that slate clean
EH: right, right
DH: and cleanse that area and hopefully put in all new that no one will remember
EH: right
DH: because Charlotte Court was horrible
EH: yeah, yeah
DH: it was the uh, Dayton connection for drug dealing
EH: that's right
DH: that they would get off the interstate and come in and so, they would use that location to come in and get with the dealers and give them the drugs and there were gunshots there every single night and it was. The Westside Plaza across the street was the biggest drug-infested horrible place you've ever see...I mean the whole thing was like a living nightmare
EH: yeah
DH: and I, when I was in the maintenance department...we had um, one of the supervisors on call call me one Friday night. And he said, there's an old lady, uh, is it, she's in her bathtub at Charlotte Court, standing in her bathtub because there's so many gunshots
EH: uh!
DH: she is petrified and the only person she will talk to is you
EH: oh my goodness
DH: and I said who is it? And she ended up being on one of our advisory council, but um, I called her up and she had her portable phone and she, she said, I don't know what, I don't know what to do. I am petrified
EH: oh gosh
DH: her apartment. She was in a walkup, one bedroom, so she was on the second level, her unit was. But she said they've shot through one of my windows
EH: Oh my gosh
DH: I've called the police and called the police and called the police and they will not come
EH: uh...
DH: I do not know what to do. And I said well I'll call them, I'll call and talk with the police because I had contacts and I got the police right on over there
EH: right, right
DH: but the next night was the same story
EH: interesting, right
DH: and it's horrible. To be providing that kind of....cuz that's what it was, was we wer–. We were providing that living environment.
EH: right. Right, right…
DH: It's terrible (2006).

I could have clipped a portion of this dialogue and presented it as a prettily packaged example of disgust. The portion where Hoskins speaks of wiping the slate clean, to cleanse the area, indicates a disgust reaction. The context for her statement, however, complicates this reading. For Hoskins, the reason to wipe the slate clean is twofold. First, prefacing the disgust-fear statement, she describes how the area was a nexus for crime in Lexington, affecting both the safety and image of the city. After the disgust-fear statement, she ties the desire to cleanse the area with the fear of residents - Charlotte Court was horrible in terms of drugs and crime, illustrated through her story about the public housing resident cowering in her bathtub. Purification is necessary not because public housing in Lexington is dirty and contaminating, but because it is a fearful place for residents to live. Hoskins then ties the tenants' fear to her shame, noting that it is horrible to be providing that kind of living environment.

Austin Simms, the executive director of the Lexington Housing Authority, also provides a window into the complexity of emotive discourses. When asked about how the residents felt about the Bluegrass-Aspendale HOPE VI grant, Simms responded:

> AS (Austin Simms): Listening to them talk uh...about the dysfunctional-ness of the apartment. How obsolete the apartments, there's no air conditioning, no dishwashers, uh...mold and mildew, uh. You go in and there'd literally be enough water in the windowsill so that you could take a cloth and soak it up or a sponge. Uh and so seeing people live, you know, like that was sort of a driving force to say you can think (?) we want to manage the property properly and if in fact we could not get the funds to do the day-to-day maintenance and operations. And even if we could have, they still would have been functionally obsolete in terms of modern-ness. When the HOPE VI application came, when the process was born it was, it was a golden opportunity for us then to rid ourselves something that's undesirable
> EH (Ellen Hostetter): mm hmm
> AS: and has no promise to get better
> EH: right, right
> AS: uh, so let's take that, take those dollars and get rid of it. Uh, absolutely erase it from the face of the earth (2006).

Like Hoskins, Simms draws on the language of disgust to describe his vision for Bluegrass-Aspendale: erase an undesirable object from the face of the earth. This vision, however, is not just linked to his, outsider, disgust; rather it is linked to *resident* disgust and his shame as an official. Following the progression of his thoughts, he first mentions listening to residents talk about the problems in their units – the dysfunction, mold, and

mildew. He then isolates the disgust-associated mold and mildew, commenting on his first-hand contact with standing water in a resident's unit. Next Simms says, "seeing people live, you know, like that was sort of a driving force" (2006). 'People living like that' refers back to the disgusting condition of the units, disgusting for Simms and the residents who live there. This shared disgust is tied to his shame – "we want to manage the property properly" (Simms 2006) – which is the 'driving force' behind his desire to receive a HOPE VI grant and purge Bluegrass-Aspendale from Lexington.

4.5 Conclusion

Oftentimes research on HOPE VI draws on a binary framework of outsider-resident. Outsider officials and professionals are conceived of as emotion-less and are thought to operate in 'abstract space', where "grids and geometries [are] imprinted on the Earth's surface by capitalism and the capitalist state" (Boyle 2005, 181). Residents operate on emotions, emotions which are often imposed on them by cold and calculating outsiders. The two groups are always at cross-purposes.

Examining HOPE VI through the lens of emotion, however, questions and complicates this oft-repeated framework. This chapter outlined how outsiders and residents relate to disgust, fear, and shame. These relationships were explored through the various discourses that are part of the policy process. The chapter demonstrated that first, officials and professionals are hardly emotionless: the specific emotions of disgust, fear, and shame drive outsider perspectives on public housing. Shame in particular is an emotion never associated with outsiders in the HOPE VI literature. Second, the chapter demonstrated that there are points of emotional convergence between outsiders and residents while also recognizing points of divergence. The same types of disgust and fear are articulated by both groups and outsiders and residents both articulate shame, but in different forms. It is impossible, then, to view these two groups as thoroughly at odds. The chapter also showed that discourses of disgust, fear, and shame are often woven together and interconnected in complex ways.

Complicating the outsider-resident binary has the potential to lead to a more finely-tuned conversation regarding public housing. If HOPE VI is viewed from only one emotive perspective, important details are left out of analyses that impact what policy solutions are offered. Viewing HOPE VI from the exclusive perspective of residents'

attachment to place, for example, leads to a skewed understanding of public housing. Michael Kelly, executive director of the Washington D.C. Housing Authority, describes this particular perspective as 'romanticizing the ghetto':

> I think there's a school of thought that believes in, that refuses to see what's really going on and challenges these types of efforts by saying why are you, you know, why would you ever touch something as wonderful as this community, and this neighborhood, this village that we live and we…we understand each other we love each other and we've got everything under control. And where at night, you know, mothers are putting kids in bathtubs to avoid gunfire…or old ladies are being hassled by drug dealers on the way to their…you know there's a whole reality that a lot of folks just put blinders to (2006).

An exclusive emphasis on residents' attachment to place might lead to an argument against HOPE VI. But this emphasis ignores residents' fear and does nothing to address the realities of crime in public housing. By laying out all of the diverging and converging emotive perspectives a fuller, more encompassing conversation could be had that would deal with the complexities of public housing.

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Chapter 5: Disgust, Fear, and Shame in Washington DC, Lexington, and Charlotte

The previous chapter established the main emotive discourses of the public housing landscape involved in discussions surrounding HOPE VI: the varying disgust, fear, and shame discourses of 'outsiders' and public housing residents. This chapter establishes which emotive discourses entered the policy process in Washington DC, Lexington, and Charlotte and which emotive discourses gained prominence in these cities through a detailed examination of policy documents found in each city, accompanied by interview material. The chapter shows that in Washington DC disgust, fear, and shame discourses are part of the political process leading up to the writing of HOPE VI into law, but after HOPE VI becomes an official HUD program, disgust-fear becomes the predominant guiding discourse for HOPE VI.[31] Disgust and fear dominate Lexington's HOPE VI application, as well as discussions surrounding design in both Lexington and Charlotte. But the chapter also shows that 1) while there is a clear dominance of disgust-fear, shame has a presence as a motivating discourse and 2) shame, disgust, and fear discourses are often interconnected in complex ways.

The chapter also makes two basic points: emotions move the political process as well as economic decisions and logic. More specifically, the chapter shows that shame and disgust-fear move the HOPE VI process in particular ways. Shame focuses attention on the government's role in creating distressed conditions for public housing residents, which includes physical deterioration of public housing units, as well as social and economic isolation, and lays the foundation for broad policy recommendations that address physical and social needs. Disgust-fear focuses attention on the physical and aesthetic attributes of the public housing landscape and the 'pathologies' of public housing residents. In this storyline, the problem is defined as a landscape that needs to be cleaned-up.

Emotive discourses also move the economic decisions and logic that are central to HOPE VI. Specifically, economic calculations by HUD officials, politicians, developers and architects are calculations based on disgust-fear. Disgust-fear either moves

[31] Pride also becomes an important part of the HOPE VI narrative and will be explained the body of the chapter.

individuals to invest in the purification of public housing through landscape change or is a barrier to investment in a project no one wants to touch.

These two points are illustrated through discussions of Washington DC, Lexington, and Charlotte. The chapter is organized around Washington DC, Lexington, and Charlotte to emphasize a conceptual point. These are three very different cities in terms of geographic location, population, history, and economies. Similar emotive discourses, however, circulate in and between each city pushing and pulling the political and economic dynamics of HOPE VI in similar ways. These distinct places, then, are linked by emotion.

5.1 Washington DC, Capitol Hill

5.1.1 Writing HOPE VI – The Discourse of Shame

The Final Report of the National Commission on Severely Distressed Public Housing

Public housing was in trouble in the late 1980s. The program had physical, social, management, and funding problems wrapped up in discourses of disgust-fear which circulated in newspaper articles and images, discussions on the floor of Congress, and the housing policy community. Within this context, the National Commission on Severely Distressed Public Housing was formed in 1989 by Public Law 101-235. This Commission had eighteen members (see Table 5.1) and a Lead Technical Consultant, Jeff Lines. Members of the Commission were given the task of creating a National Action Plan that would eliminate severely distressed public housing by 2000 (U.S. Congress 1992). They traveled around the United States speaking with housing authority officials and residents collecting qualitative and quantitative data on public housing and analyzing successful public housing revitalization programs at individual housing authorities (see Table 5.2). It is often said that HOPE VI is a byproduct of the Final Report. While this claim is questioned later in Chapter 6, the Final Report is important because it circulated amongst policymakers and Lines had direct contact with the people who wrote the HOPE VI legislation.

Table 5.1: Members of the National Commission on Severely Distressed Public Housing

Name	Position
Co-Chairman Bill Green	Representative from New York
Co-Chairman Vincent Lane	Executive Director of the Chicago Public Housing Authority

Don Ball	President of Ball Homes in Lexington, KY
Richard Baron	President of McCormack Baron and Associates in St. Louis, MO
Daniel W. Blue, Jr.	Deputy Chief Operating Officer of the Chicago Housing Authority
Lila Cockrell	Mayor Emeritus of San Antonio, TX
Terrence Duvernay	Executive Director of the Georgia Residential Finance Authority in Atlanta, GA
Robert Embry	President of the Abell Foundation in Baltimore, MA
Charles E. Gardner	Director of Community Development, City of Greenville, SC
David Gilmore	Executive Director of the San Francisco Housing Authority
Mildred Hailey	President of the Bromley-Heath Tenant Management Corporation in Boston, MA
Alphonso Jackson	Executive Director of the Dallas Housing Authority, TX
Irene Johnson	President of LeClaire Courts Resident Management Corporation in Chicago, IL
Lenwood Johnson	President of Allen Parkway Village Tenant Council in Houston, TX
Emanuel Popolizio	General Counsel for the Rehabilitation Mortgage Insurance Corporation in New York, NY
Howard Rawlings	Representative from Baltimore, MA
Ron Roberts	Deputy Mayor of San Diego, CA
Anne Rudin	Mayor of Sacramento, CA

Table 5.2: Places Visited by the National Commission on Severely Distressed Public Housing

Site Tours and Public Hearings
Atlanta, GA
Baltimore, MD
Boston, MA
Chicago, IL
Cleveland, OH
Columbus, OH
Dallas, TX
Detroit, MI
East St. Louis, IL
Houston, TX
Los Angeles, CA
New Orleans, LA
Philadelphia, PA
San Antonio, TX
San Juan, Puerto Rico
Seattle, WA
St. Croix, Virgin Islands
St. John, Virgin Islands
St. Louis, MO
St. Thomas, Virgin Islands
Washington D.C.
Full Case Studies
Boston, MA
Chicago, IL
Cleveland, OH
New Orleans, LA
Modified Case Studies
Albany, NY
Charlotte, NC
Miami, FL
New York City, NY
San Francisco, CA

As described in Chapter 4, the Final Report contains a strong discourse of shame, describing severely distressed public housing as a national problem, a national disgrace.

According to Jeff Lines, the language of shame was included by those Commissioners who wanted to emphasize their outrage at the physical and social conditions they saw in public housing developments across the country; they were incensed (Lines 2006). The landscape and people of public housing were severely distressed, in their view, because we as a Nation allowed it to happen and supported the conditions that created the distress. We should be embarrassed, ashamed, and moved to correct this situation (Lines 2006).

The policy recommendations that came out of this shame discourse were wide-ranging. These recommendations represent the positive 'action' phase of shame: once shame has been registered, it moves the individual to restorative measures. For the National Commission, the only way to restore a relationship with public housing residents was to improve residents' lives. This took the form of policy recommendations with a strong resident focus and emphasis on a comprehensive approach, exemplified in the report's chapter titles: "Resident Initiatives and Support Services", "Management and Operation", "Capital Improvement Programs and Physical Condition", "Assessing Housing Viability", "Regulatory and Statutory Barriers", "Evaluation and Performance Standards", and "Nontraditional Strategies" (U.S. Congress 1992). The Commission's resident focus began with Chapter 2, "Resident Initiatives and Support Services", the first chapter dedicated to the Commission's findings and recommendations (U.S. Congress 1992). This was a deliberate choice: "the substantive chapters appropriately and logically begin here with the discussion of resident needs and resident programs. No element of the revitalization effort is more important than the people, so the Commission's focus throughout this Report is on public housing residents" (U.S. Congress 1992, 46).

The Commission retained this focus throughout. The reasoning behind policies was tied to improving both physical and social conditions for residents. The Commission articulated their comprehensive vision with statements such as

> Traditional approaches to revitalizing seriously distressed public housing have too often emphasized the physical condition of the development without addressing the human condition of the residents…The Commission unequivocally believes that a true and long-lasting solution requires equal and significant attention to both the human and the physical conditions (U.S. Congress 1992, 3).

They even emphasized residents in the chapters that dealt with physical conditions: "the Nation is concerned about the physical plant and management of public housing only

because it is concerned about the people whom these physical plants and management systems were created to serve" (U.S. Congress 1992, 36).[32]

Appropriations Report

The Final Report of the NCSDPH provides context for the genesis of HOPE VI, but the incorporation of HOPE VI into public law was the result of the political maneuverings of Senator Barbara Mikulski and Kevin Kelly, her legislative aide, in consultation with Gordon Cavanaugh, Arthur Naparstek, and Jeff Lines. Senator Mikulski, Democrat from Maryland, was the head of the Appropriations Subcommittee for VA, HUD and Independent Agencies in 1992, a position of power in Washington DC. The heads of the 13 Appropriations Subcommittees, collectively called the 'cardinals of Capitol Hill', control the distribution of funds for all government programs and, therefore, have the power to direct government policy by deciding which programs will receive money and at what level (Munson 1993). Cardinals have also been known to bypass the typical legislative process that separates policy making from spending decisions. Normally, an authorizing committee creates legislation which then is funded by an appropriation committee. Cardinals sometimes combine the two step process into one, creating legislation themselves by appropriating funds for a program they created (Munson 1993). This was the birth process for HOPE VI: it was "a piece of stealth legislation" (Reno 2006) smuggled into the Senate Committee Appropriations Report on the 1993 Department of Veterans Affairs and Housing and Urban Development, and Independent Agencies Appropriation Bill by Senator Mikulski and Kelly.[33]

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[32] A number of themes run throughout the specific policy recommendations, which also reflects the comprehensive nature of their recommendations. First, many of the Commission's proposals sought to untangle the lumbering bureaucracy of HUD. Almost every chapter includes a call for greater local flexibility in terms of spending, operational structure, design decisions, and tenant selection policies. Second, a number of the proposals dealt with ending the social, and economic isolation of public housing residents and local housing authorities: encouraging partnerships with local community organizations and non-profits as well as the private sector; resident participation in every facet of revitalization through the establishment of resident councils; and changing rent calculations and tenant selection policies to increase the mix of incomes living in public housing. Third, each chapter criticized the lack of financial support for public housing – another disgraceful act on the part of government – and stresses the need for HUD to provide adequate levels of funding to deal with all aspects of severely distressed developments.

[33] After Senator Mikulski and Kelly pushed through the Appropriations Bill, the Senate Subcommittee on Housing and Urban Affairs incorporated a new program for severely distressed public housing into Section 120 of Public Law 102-550, The Housing and Community Development Act of 1992 on October 28, 1992. This Senate Subcommittee was responsible for establishing the NCSDPH and was interested in public housing reform. Their new program was very similar to HOPE VI. Senator Mikulski and Kelly were aware of the impending passage of Section 24 and included language in their law allowing the HUD

Senator Mikulski, a former Catholic social worker, is a long time advocate of affordable and public housing.[34] As a cardinal, she was positioned to push for a new public housing program at a time when the negative news surrounding public housing was at a fever pitch and the program faced cuts from the Bush administration. Senator Mikulski wanted to save the program from elimination. She also was increasingly frustrated with allocating tax payer money to public housing that was, in her view, a physical and social failure (Cavanaugh 2006). A potent, physical example of this failure was the public housing of the Inner Harbor in Baltimore, Senator Mikulski's home district. The Senator, therefore, had a personal, political interest in creating a new public housing program that would offer large grants to deal with troubled developments (Schiff 2006).

Senator Mikulski and Kelly worked with Gordon Cavanaugh and Arthur Naparstek on the details of the initial program. Cavanaugh, representing the Council of Large Public Housing Authorities, suggested to Senator Mikulski and Kelly a number of policy directives that focused on the need to change the political and public image of the program through landscape change. This is where the disgust-fear discourse enters HOPE VI. As described in the previous chapter, disgust-fear pervaded the 'abstract space' of Washington DC, circulating in media and Congressional discourses and organizing the public and political image of public housing. Cavanaugh in particular was sensitive to the political ramifications of disgust-fear: "my view has always been if we had a better product, we could get some funding (chuckling)" (Cavanaugh 2006). A 'better product' – a better landscape – would eliminate disgust-fear, making public housing politically defensible "and even appealing" (Cavanaugh 2006).

Others involved in formulating HOPE VI were well-aware of the disgust-fear discourse attached to the public housing landscape. Kevin Kelly describes his thoughts during the genesis of HOPE VI when he, Mikulski, and Cavanaugh were generating the main working parts of the program. He felt, "it's got to be something different, right, it's

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Secretary to use provisions from both. Mikulski and Kelly decided to push ahead with their own program because housing legislation is notoriously difficult to pass in an authorizing bill and were worried that the Section 120 being crafted by the Subcommittee on Housing and Urban Affairs would not pass. They felt it was unconscionable for another year to go by without addressing the problems of public housing and so ruffled some feathers by independently legislating.

[34] Her personal definition of a politician is 'a social worker with power' (March 18th Press Conference 2007)

got to be something different...Yeah, but I mean these are the biggest eye-sore pariahs – people wouldn't send their kids within 10 blocks if they didn't have to. Uh, and I think you have to say we've got to change the model" (2006). Public housings' status as an eye-sore, as aesthetically disgusting, and as a frightening place people do not want to go is what Kelly had to work against. Lee Reno, Gordon Cavanaugh's law partner, views the formation of the NCSDPH in a similar light: "The reason for the formation of the Commission was that you know, we had this dreadful housing out there that was, as long as it persisted we were never going to make public housing look good" (Reno 2006). As a CLPHA official summarizes: "This program was driven by the negative image" (Member 2006).

Cavanaugh recommended a large block grant for housing authorities to deal with the physical needs of severely distressed properties and produce a 'better product'. He had already worked with Dick Malow, the Clerk for the House Appropriations Committee, on the formation of MROP – Major Reconstruction of Obsolete Properties. Prior to MROP, the only money a housing authority received for dealing with the physical condition of their developments was a yearly allocation of modernization funds. Housing authorities had to stockpile these annual dribbles in order to take on a large scale revitalization project, while "in the meantime, all [their] other projects were going down" (Cavanaugh 2006). MROP released more money to PHAs by allowing for allocations up to the cost of new development which enabled the reconstruction of deteriorating units. Drawing on his experience with MROP, Cavanaugh suggested an even bigger allocation of reconstruction funds.

Second, Cavanaugh advocated for a change in the 1979 one-for-one replacement rule which required a new public housing unit be built for every one torn down. He wanted to reduce the 'hard' replacement requirements by allowing one-third of replacement units to be Section 8 certificates. This would make it less logistically and financially cumbersome for PHAs to demolish units. As he explains in a *Journal of Affordable Housing* article, "One-for-one replacement was a well-intentioned rule, but it ignored both the public opposition to creating more-of-the-same public housing and the lack of funds to do so; the requirement simply forced the retention of unworkable projects that badly harmed public housing's image" (Cavanaugh 2005, 236). Again, his logic was

based on the political damage incurred by the disgust-fear surrounding the public housing landscape.

Third, Cavanaugh suggested broadening income limits for public housing; allowing a proportion of residents to be of a higher income bracket than was allowed by income restrictions at the time. Here Cavanaugh made a connection to the prevailing view of poverty based on social science research, which as we saw in Chapter 4 was shaped by disgust-fear. Broadening income limits would be one step towards changing the demographics of public housing from 'concentrations of poverty' to a mix of incomes. Cavanaugh subscribed to some of the disgust-fear logic – concentrations of poor people lead to social pathologies – but again, much of Cavanaugh's logic was based on the political ramifications of disgust-fear. He argued that "[s]pending levels for domestic programs are strongly influenced by the numbers and political significance of the beneficiaries. Programs that serve broader income levels as well as the poor fare better and serve more of both" (1992, 68-69). Cavanaugh argued that there is little political advantage in supporting a program that serves the poor who are viewed as an un-influential constituency and that carry a social stigma. In order to convince politicians to fund public housing, he felt it must be directed towards the 'right' people.

Arthur Naparstek, "a long time social work friend" (Cavanaugh 2006) of Mikulski's was part of Senate dining room conversations with Mikulski and Kelly as they worked out ideas for HOPE VI (Kelly 2006). Naparstek was a professor at the Mandel School of Applied Social Sciences at Case Western Reserve University and director of the Cleveland Commission on Poverty, which outlined broad-based strategies for tackling Cleveland's poverty that stressed local community involvement. Given his background, Naparstek's focus was a 'people-based strategy' for public housing revitalization (Zhang and Weismann 2006). Mikulski believed community services and civic engagement must be included in any new program and her ideas were "strongly endorsed and enlivened" (Cavanaugh 2006) by Naparstek. This is where the shame discourse entered the discussion. Kelly's explanation of the 'people-based strategy' is a straightforward version of the underlying logic of the NCSDPH's Final Report: "That you had to be, it had to be about the community, not about the building. It was not about just the structure, it was about the things that went with it. And you had to build them all

together. And if you didn't integrate them, then you'd give them the nicest house in the world. Who cares?" (2006). Their focus on community services, as well as that of the NCSDPH, was fairly unique for public housing policy. Traditionally HUD is a 'bricks and mortar' agency focused on building and maintaining housing developments. Programs and policies typically emphasize the physical needs of buildings as well as management and tenant selection issues.

The initial outline of HOPE VI officially entered the public record on July 23, 1992 when the Subcommittee submitted its Senate Committee Appropriations Report on the 1993 Department of Veterans Affairs and Housing and Urban Development, and Independent Agencies Appropriation Bill. Despite the recognition and discussion of disgust-fear in the Senate dining room conversations, the report used a discourse of shame to introduce the new program and emphasized the 'people-based' strategies for revitalizing public housing. The report presented a

> new initiative…HOPE for the empowerment of residents of severely distressed and obsolete public housing. HOPE VI is an attempt by the Committee to invest Federal resources directly in communities to create the conditions to bring about citizen self-responsibility and resident self-sufficiency in the most distressed areas of urban America. For too long, these areas have been the victim of either gross neglect by government or the victim of large bureaucracies that have wasted limited resources in an attempt to impose top down strategies to do good to the residents of these areas. Neither approach has worked (U.S. Senate July 23, 1992)

While the report did not use an explicit shame discourse, such as 'national disgrace', it used the characteristics of shame. Shame involves both self-evaluation and a desire to reestablish a positive connection with someone or something. The report placed the government in the role of 'self' by emphasizing government's role in creating conditions of distress for public housing residents. HOPE VI was the Appropriation Committee's attempt to, in effect, repair their connection with public housing residents by transforming "these distressed areas into productive residential and commercial centers" (U.S. Senate July 23, 1992). The report outlined three goals: 1) shelter, "to eliminate dilapidated, and in many instances, dangerous structures that serve as homes for hundreds of thousands of Americans"; 2) self-sufficiency, "to provide residents in these areas with the opportunity to acquire the skills needed to achieve self-sufficiency"; and 3) community sweat equity, "to instill in these Americans the belief that with economic self-

sufficiency comes an obligation to self-responsibility and giving back something to one's community" (U.S. Senate July 23, 1992). All three focused on residents of public housing – their physical safety, economic opportunities, and notions of responsibility.

The shame discourse gave the Appropriations Report, as well as the Final Report of the NCSDPH, a distinct tone that was very different from the typical descriptions of public housing circulating in Congress at the time. The Report, for example, offered an understanding of the public housing landscape that was different from the predominant disgust-fear discourse: public housing is dangerous, not disgusting. Other descriptions of public housing that spotlight garbage and roaches imply dangerous living conditions for residents. Typically, however, the garbage and roaches are left to stand on their own as symbols for public housing. The conversations between Senator Mikulski, Kelly, Cavanaugh, Naparstek, and Lines understood this disgust-fear discourse as one that needed to be addressed for political survival. The Appropriations Report, however, used shame as a framework for HOPE VI which put the focus on residents and, in the case of landscape, safety concerns.

5.1.2 Evolution of HOPE VI – From Shame to Disgust-Fear

The evolution of HOPE VI from a piece of legislation to a working program was an act of translation: a program created by Senators was handed over to the Secretary and bureaucracy of HUD. Once HOPE VI was incorporated into HUD the guiding discourse changed from shame to disgust-fear. This was a general process with subtle shifts in tone and emphasis. Every sentence produced by HUD did not conform to disgust-fear and, in fact, HUD used language that was similar to the shame discourses outlined above. There was, however, a distinct overall change in how people understood and framed the program.

This shift from shame to disgust-fear also affected the policy emphasis of HOPE VI. Shame focused attention on improving residents' lives, which included a wide variety of policy initiatives from landscape transformation to social services. Starting from disgust-fear tended to lead to policies that sought to eliminate an outsiders' disgust-fear: cleaning up the physical environment and lessening the contaminating powers of poverty through the deconcentration of public housing residents. I am not arguing that starting with a disgust-fear discourse never leads to a call for social services or that a

concern for residents is reserved for those who operate from a shame discourse. The correlations outlined above are tendencies and trends.

In order to track this overall change I examine HUD's yearly Notices of Funding Availability, the yearly VA, HUD, and Independent Agencies Senate Appropriations Hearing, speeches by HUD Secretaries, discussions on the floor of Congress, and HUD publications.

Notices of Funding Availability and the VA, HUD, and Independent Agencies Senate Appropriation Hearings

HOPE VI NOFAs are written by HUD and contain both a narrative introducing the program and a rating scale.[35] The narrative is HUD's chance to verbally explain what they view HOPE VI is – the main goal and purpose of the program. The rating scale is HUD's technical instructions for local public housing authorities. HUD breaks down a HOPE VI application into a number of categories that are weighted on a point system. HUD outlines the maximum number of points that can be earned in each category and what they expect to see explained under each category.

Chris Hornig, former first Deputy Assistant Secretary for Public Housing Investments, explains the importance of NOFAs: "The NOFA really was hugely important both in terms of conveying messages to the public...If you wanted to steer the program you had to do it through the NOFA" (2006). Individual housing authorities have to craft their application to satisfy what HUD wants emphasized in a specific funding cycle. Kathleen O'Neil, consultant with the Schiff Group and author of Lexington and Louisville's successful HOPE VI grants, describes the process:

> KO (Kathleen O'Neil):...and the NOFA and the rating factors in the NOFA heavily shapes your um application. What HUD is looking for is what you write about, what you address.
>
> KO: but if you don't answer their questions and spit back the language that they're looking for
> EH (Ellen Hostetter): right, then
> KO: you're not going to get it (2006).

[35] I use the present tense here to indicate that the HOPE VI program is still active; NOFAs are still being written.

The evolution of the HOPE VI discourse, therefore, can be tracked through the opening narrative of the yearly NOFA. The effect of this narrative on the specifics of the program can be tracked through changes made to the rating scale.

The Appropriations Hearings are another important source for tracking the shifting discourse of HOPE VI. Every year at this hearing, the Secretary of HUD meets with the Appropriations Subcommittee on VA, HUD, and Independent Agencies. The Senators receive HUD's vision and desired budget for all of the Department's programs prior to the Hearing. The Hearing is a chance for the Senators to react to HUD's statement and for the Secretary to verbally defend his proposal for the following fiscal year. For the purpose of tracking shifts in the guiding discourse of HOPE VI, these hearings are useful because of the direct interaction between Senator Mikulski and the Secretary of HUD. Senator Mikulski's reaction to HUD's proposals is a gauge of how far HUD's discourse for HOPE VI veers from the Appropriations Report shame discourse and in what direction.

1993

The introductory narrative of the first HOPE VI NOFA, published in the *Federal Register* on January 5, 1993, began with the following narrative:

> The challenge of successfully revitalizing the Nation's most severely distressed public housing is a very difficult one. In launching this demonstration, the Department recognizes that there is no one prescription for the ills that affect these developments and each development will require its own solution...The approach selected must be consistent with the overall mandate of providing modestly designed housing for low-income persons and cost-effectiveness in the management of such housing, but should incorporate boldness and creativity in addressing difficult issues such as high density, crime, poor structural design, and oppressive social and economic conditions" (U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development January 5, 1993, 436).

This narrative shares some similarities with the shame discourse found in the Final Report and Appropriations Report. Both focused on the need to address a wide variety of physical and social issues in public housing: as the NOFA says, there is not one prescription to be followed. The 1993 NOFA rating scale reflected this emphasis, breaking down the HOPE VI application into physical and social considerations (see Table 5.3). The definition of severe distress, which is part of the category 'extent of need for revitalization', also reflected the breadth of perspective. The NOFA required

"evidence of distress in the development and distress in the surrounding neighborhood that has a significant impact on the development" (U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development January 5, 1993, 443). The definition of distress was taken directly from the Final Report of the NCSDPH and included the following factors:

1) Families living in distress, defined according to income
2) Incidence of serious crime, which includes the frequency of criminal acts, vandalism, lease terminations for criminal activity, and number of police calls to the development
3) Barriers to managing the environment, which takes into account vacancy rates, turnaround, and rent collection
4) Physical deterioration, which considers the cost of rehab/reconstruction, density, work order backlog, number of units that do not meet Housing Quality Standards, and major system deficiencies (U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development January 5, 1993, 437).

Both social and physical factors were folded into this definition of severe distress, with social considerations positioned up front. 'Physical deterioration' also addressed resident disgust, as outlined in Chapter 4. Aesthetic and design considerations were not factored in, as they might be for outsider disgust. Instead, 'physical deterioration' focused on factors that would affect the interior of apartments such as plumbing and electrical systems.

Table 5.3: 1993 Rating Categories

Category	Point Range
Extent of need for revitalization	0-30 points
Potential impact of the plan	0-30 points
Capabilities of the applicant	0-20 points
Extent of resident involvement	0-15 points
Extent of involvement of local public/private entities	0-10 points
Community service component	0-15 points

The difference between the opening narrative of the 1993 NOFA and the Final Report or the Appropriations Report, however, was the absence of self-evaluation. The problems of public housing as articulated in the NOFA were stated directly without any discussion of their source. Revitalizing public housing was presented as a difficult challenge, not a responsibility. The wide-angle focus of the first NOFA, therefore, stemmed not from a shame discourse, but from the wide-open atmosphere at HUD. The Department inherited HOPE VI from the Senate and was trying to figure out the direction

and details of the new program. Cynthia Demitros, HOPE VI consultant with the Schiff Group and former HUD official, describes the environment at HUD:

> [Milan Ozdinek] ran out of, he ran HOPE VI out of boxes in his office. You know boxes of paper in his office because there were no regs and…no handbooks – they were making it up as they went along (2006).

HUD sought direction from the 'boldness and creativity' of individual housing authorities and was, therefore, open to a variety of policies.

After the publication of the 1993 NOFA, HUD put together their HOPE VI budget for the following fiscal year and presented it to the Senate Appropriations Committee on April 29, 1993. The proposed budget refined HUD's priorities, emphasizing physical revitalization by cutting the community service and self-sufficiency portions of HOPE VI. This 1993 budgetary move set the scene for the years to follow, with HUD downplaying the social services side of HOPE VI (Zhang and Weismann 2006). Senator Mikulski responded to this shift in policy direction by clarifying the original intent of HOPE VI:

> The goal of HOPE 6 is community development, taking the recommendations of the task force on distressed housing, all of the problems with the Pruitt Igoes, the Lexington Terraces, and so on to come up with new concepts. In addition to the housing renovations and modernizations were two tools. To make sure that public housing led to a better way of life or a new way of life rather than a way of life was the self-sufficiency component and a community service component. We do not see this now in what is coming out of HOPE 6 to us, that it is a request for funds, that the self-sufficiency has been diminished and that the community service components are absent (U.S. Senate April 29, 1993).

Mikulski placed community development at the center of HOPE VI, which does not exclude physical transformation, but makes it one of a number of tools that focuses on the residents of public housing. Her comments at the hearing did not use the language of shame, but she insisted on the resident-based nature of HOPE VI that was initially set within a shame framework. Cisneros promised Senator Mikulski he would "personally immediately look into what the Department is proposing to make sure it conforms with these themes" (U.S. Senate April 29, 1993) and the community service and self-sufficiency components of HOPE VI were restored in the budget.

1995[36]

The 1995 announcement for HOPE VI grants was circulated by a series of letters from HUD to individual public housing authorities. Letters were sent on January 9, 1995 to the eight PHAs who had received planning grants the previous year, inviting them to apply for implementation grants.[37] A month later on February 3, 1995 letters were sent to all eligible PHAs inviting them to apply for planning and implementation grants (HOPE VI Program Authority August 2003). A follow-up packet entitled "Further Information for Development of Proposals for FY 1995 HOPE VI Implementation Grants" was sent on March 2, 1995.

The February 3, 1995 letters refined the narrative from the 1993 NOFA[38]:

> The Department recognizes the successful revitalization of the nation's severely distressed public housing as one of its most difficult and pressing challenges. While most public housing developments continue to provide decent, modest housing for low-income families within a broader community, others have become emblematic of a failed system by virtue of their deterioration, isolation and hopelessness. For a multitude of contributing reasons ranging from initial design and construction, to poor management, to changes in urban social and economic factors, to unintended consequences of federal policy, severely distressed public housing developments have become warehouses for low-income persons which drag down the communities around them. The Department has grown convinced that the most promising revitalization strategies are those which most directly attack both the isolation of the public housing authority, by proceeding in partnership with actors from the broader community, and the isolation of public housing development and residents, by blending public housing units into mixed-income communities (Marchman 1995).

This letter included a discussion of the reasons for distressed public housing, which was missing from the 1993 NOFA. It alluded to government involvement in creating conditions of distress by talking about the initial design and construction and poor management. But it also referred to the 'unintended' consequences of federal policy and abstract economic and social factors, removing a sense of government responsibility and avoiding a fully articulated shame discourse.

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[36] There was no 1994 NOFA. The Departments of Veterans Affairs and Housing and Urban Development, and Independent Agencies Appropriations Bill of 1994 required that the 1994 HOPE VI funds be made available only to those who submitted applications in the 1993 cycle. There was, therefore, no new call for applications.

[37] Implementation grants were for the rehabilitation or demolition of units and social services; planning grants were for assisting housing authorities in crafting a HOPE VI plan.

[38] The rating scale, however, does not change substantially.

The second sentence introduced the specific disgust-fear discourse that comes to dominate HOPE VI. Disgust-fear is prefaced with the emotion of pride: most public housing, the NOFA states, provides decent housing for low-income families. It is, therefore, a source of pride for HUD. The NOFA then slides into a negative description of severely distressed public housing informed by disgust-fear. This negative description cast some public housing units as a failure, as hopeless places. Disgust is evoked in the description of why these units are a failure: they are deteriorating, which suggests physical decay, something that is rotting, and they are "warehouses for low-income persons which drag down the communities around them" (Marchman 1995). Concentrations of poor people are ascribed the qualities of a disgusting object: they drag down the surrounding neighborhood around them and are, therefore, a contaminating presence within the community.[39] 'Warehousing of poverty,' 'concentrations of poverty', and 'social pathologies' were stock phrases in discussions of public housing as discussed in Chapter 4. These phrases were taken out of the social science research of William Julius Wilson's 1987 book *The Truly Disadvantaged* and folded into the disgust-fear discourse surrounding public housing.

The view of public housing as contaminating helped the 1995 NOFA distill the purpose of HOPE VI to two main policy proposals: transforming the distinct landscape of public housing and creating mixed-income communities. These two goals were certainly part of HOPE VI as envisioned by the core group of people involved in writing the HOPE VI legislation, including Senator Mikulski and the NCSDPH. But with the NOFA, however, the goals were isolated as the focus of the program and were presented within the framework of disgust-fear. Blending public housing units into mixed-income communities would address and transform disgust-fear in two ways. First, it would disperse the poor and, therefore, dilute poverty's contaminating powers. Second, it would remove the visible, architectural representation of disgust-fear by making public housing indistinguishable from its surroundings.

The 1995 NOFA made a shift to disgust-fear, but this is not to say that every single trace of shame and resident-focus evaporated from the discourse of HUD.

[39] Psychologists note that one of the most important attributes of a disgusting object is its perceived ability to contaminate.

Included in the packet sent with the February 3, 1995 letter is Appendix D: Urban Revitalization Demonstration Program (HOPE VI) Implementation Grant Agreement. The Appendix stated: "The parties to this Grant Agreement understand that HOPE VI and the Grantee's Revitalization Plan present an opportunity to redress the problems of severely distressed public housing and to produce public housing communities which will inspire their residents and their neighbors" (Appendix D 1995). The word redress hints at a shame discourse – HOPE VI is an opportunity to redress a wrong, the severe distress found in public housing communities. The Appendix went on to say:

> HOPE VI is intended to address the condition of people in public housing developments, and not merely of the bricks and mortar themselves. The parties will emphasize community and supportive services, as well as other means appropriate to each community, so as to have the broadest possible effect in meeting the social and economic needs of the residents and the surrounding community (Appendix D 1995).

This statement could have come from Mikulski herself, with its emphasis on public housing residents. Appendix D, however, is buried in the packet of information. HUD laid out its priorities in the cover letter and first few pages of the packet, which were the statements that took precedence for PHAs looking to receive HOPE VI funding.

The statements of Secretary Cisneros at the Senate Appropriations Hearings also do not uniformly and mechanically switch to a pride – disgust-fear discourse. At the May 19, 1995 hearing, for example, Cisneros stated: "Senator, I think it is very clear, as we have learned and as you have long noted, that we get nowhere when our approach to public housing modernization and renovation is just to change the bricks and mortar, reorganize some buildings and do some architectural fixes. That just does not change the dynamics of public housing. What has to change is the underlying dynamics so that the incentive systems are different for everyone, for public housing managers, as well as for residents" (U.S. Senate May 19, 1995). Unlike the 1995 NOFA, Cisneros downplayed 'bricks and mortar' approaches to public housing and made residents the centerpiece of his statements. I suspect, however, that a fair amount of politicking is involved in his statement. Cisneros was responding to a comment made by Mikulski with regards to mixed-income communities. Cisneros, therefore, was already in a discussion about residents of public housing and was speaking to a Senator known for her resident-focused

comments. Mikulski appears to become annoyed at the parroting nature of his comments and she cuts him off mid-thought: "It simply does not work when we take the poorest of the poor mix everyone together and take those pathologies of human – Mikulski: What are you getting to? I have a limited time" (U.S. Senate May 19, 1995).

1996

HUD returned to the *Federal Register* and a regular NOFA for 1996. The narrative section for the third NOFA, published on July 22, 1996, included a list of key HOPE VI elements that HUD hoped to encourage:

> *A. Changing the physical shape of public housing.* This includes tearing down the eyesores that are often identified with obsolete public housing and replacing them with homes that complement the surrounding neighborhoods and are attractive and marketable to the people they are intended to serve, meeting contemporary standards of modest comfort and liveability. HOPE VI funds should be used to create institutional and physical structures that serve the needs of public housing residents over the long term in a cost-effective manner (U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development July 22, 1996, 38025).

The list began with demolition, a type of landscape transformation that the previous NOFAs do not emphasize. This represents a subtle shift to aesthetic concerns. According to the NOFA, units targeted for demolition were eyesores and demolition was a way to eliminate a political liability – those units viewed through the lens of disgust-fear. The remainder of the narrative, however, shifted to a resident perspective on public housing – replacement housing should fit resident needs and be attractive to the people who live there.

The remainder of the list retained a resident focus:

> *B. Establishing positive incentives* for resident self-sufficiency and comprehensive services that empower residents. Programs should be outcome-based, directed at residents moving up and out of public housing.
> *C. Enforcing tough expectations* through strict occupancy and eviction rules, such as the "One Strike and You're Out'' policy announced by President Clinton…The goal of these rules is to improve the quality of life for residents, create safer, family-friendly environments conducive to learning, and make areas around public housing more attractive to businesses that can create well-paying jobs.
> *D. Lessening concentrations of poverty* by placing public housing in nonpoverty neighborhoods, or by promoting mixed-income communities where public housing once stood alone, thereby ending the social and economic isolation of public housing residents, increasing their access to quality municipal services such as schools, and increasing their access to job information and mentoring opportunities.

> *E. Forging partnerships* with other agencies, local governments, nonprofit organizations, and private businesses to leverage support and resources, whether financial or in-kind (U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development July 22, 1996, 38025).

The NOFA touts, for example, mixed-income communities not for their ability to dilute the contaminating powers of poverty, but to connect residents to services and end social and economic isolation. And social services remained a high priority, listed second after landscape transformation.[40]

This list indicates that the shift to disgust-fear was not monolithic and linear. Other elements of the NOFA and comments by Secretary Cisneros, however, point to the gradual drift towards an understanding of HOPE VI that puts the goals of the program within the context of a disgust-fear discourse. The first paragraph of the NOFA spelled out HUD's focus for 1996: demolition of public housing.

> The 1996 Appropriations Act provided this funding as an evolutionary advance in the HOPE VI program, for the purpose of enabling the demolition of obsolete public housing developments or portions thereof, the revitalization (where appropriate) of sites (including remaining public housing units) on which such developments are located, replacement housing that will avoid or lessen concentrations of very low-income families, and Section 8 tenant-based assistance for the purpose of providing replacement housing and assisting tenants to be displaced by the demolition. The HOPE VI program will fund demolition, the capital costs of reconstruction, rehabilitation and other physical improvements, the provision of replacement housing, management improvements, resident self-sufficiency programs, and tenant-based assistance (U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development July 22, 1996, 38024).

As in 1995, the main goal of HOPE VI was crisply defined by the 1996 NOFA: landscape transformation and deconcentration of poverty. The main difference, however, was the 1996 NOFA's explicit encouragement of demolition. In fact, this NOFA *required* PHAs to include a demolition component in their HOPE VI application.

This requirement was pushed by the new Republican majority in Congress, elected in the mid-term 1994 election. Conservative Republicans are, in general, hostile to public housing and have a history of attempting to reduce the Nation's public housing stock (Cavanaugh 2005). The Republican Congressmen influenced the Office of General

[40] The strict occupancy and eviction rules, however, could be read as a way to reverse disgust-fear: weeding out the worst cleanses the public housing resident population

Counsel for HUD (OGC) to establish the demolition requirement. Chris Hornig, who wrote the 1996 NOFA, explains the situation:

> Well the explicitness was only there for one year. Partly, and mostly that was legal. The appropriations language changed when uh, the Republicans came in in ninety-five. The whole Newt Gingrich revolution resulted in a very different appropriations language. And the OGC thought that demolition was an essential part of that (2006).

The 'appropriations language' Hornig refers to is the description of HOPE VI in the yearly Appropriation Acts for the Departments of Veterans Affairs and Housing and Urban Development, and Independent Agencies. The Fiscal Year 1995 Appropriations Act, Public Law 103-327, published on September 29, 1994 gave no description of HOPE VI; it merely set guidelines regarding funding. The 1995 Appropriations bill, however, included a section titled "Public Housing Demolition, Site Revitalization, and Replacement Housing Grants" which "really is for the severely distressed program (HOPE VI)" (U.S. House July 21, 1995):

> For grants to public housing agencies for the purpose of enabling the demolition of obsolete public housing projects or portions thereof, the revitalization (where appropriate) of sites (including remaining public housing units) on which such projects are located, replacement housing which will avoid or lessen concentrations of very low-income families, and tenant-based assistance in accordance with section 8 of the United States Housing Act of 1937 for the purpose of providing replacement housing and assisting tenants to be displaced by the demolition, $ 500,000,000, to remain available until expended (U.S. House July 21, 1995).

The Republican majority did indeed have an effect on the appropriations language. The focus in 1995 was on demolition and the deconcentration of poverty. The Appropriation Acts that followed were a word-for-word copy of this narrative.[41]

The 1996 rating categories also reflected the shift to disgust-fear and the attendant emphasis on demolition and deconcentration of poverty (see Table 5.4). 'Lessen

[41] The Republican takeover of Congress also made it easier to reform public housing regulations in October of 1998. The Quality Housing and Work Responsibility Act of 1998 – Title V of P.L. 105-276 the Departments of Veterans Affairs and Housing and Urban Development, and Independent Agencies Appropriations Act, 1999 – included the following reforms which directly impacted the implementation of HOPE VI: repeal of the one-for-one replacement rule (this had been part of the annual appropriation bills, but QHWRA made it permanent); allowing local housing authorities to use rent money to repay debt incurred for modernizing, developing, or acquiring public housing; allowing local housing authorities to use HOPE VI money as collateral for private borrowing. The last two provisions enable a PHA to function more like a private real estate entity.

Concentration of Low-Income Residents' was added to the rating factors and revitalization was refined to include demolition and replacement. The supportive and community service categories were eliminated and replaced with the label 'Self-Sufficiency' and 'Positive Incentives and Tougher Expectations', which put an emphasis on personal responsibility and has a punitive air. Tenants were expected to help themselves. The separate 15 point rating factor for 'Extent of Resident Involvement' was eliminated and folded into 'Community and Partnerships', diminishing the importance of resident involvement for the success of the application.

Table 5.4: 1996 Rating Categories

Category	Point Range
Lessen Concentration of Low-Income Residents	0-20 points
Need for Demolition, Revitalization, or Replacement	0-25 points
Self-Sufficiency Programs	0-20 points
Positive Incentives and Tougher Expectations	0-15 points
Local and National Impact	0-25 points
Community and Partnerships	0-20 points
Need for Funding	0-20 points
Program Quality, Feasibility, and Sustainability	0-25 points
Capability	0-15 points

Henry Cisneros reinforced demolition at the June 11, 1996 Appropriations Hearing:

> First we bring down the worst…We are going to bring down 30,000 units on this 4-year stretch, which is a dramatic increase in the reduction of public housing...And our goal, as the Vice President announced, is 70,000 units in the 4 years beyond that. Now, this is not a number selected out of the blue. This 30,000 and this 70,000 amount to 100,000. You will recall, Senator, a commission in 1991-92 on distressed public housing. That suggested then that the worst of the housing stock in America was 86,000 units. So if we are able to do this and then stabilize the rest of the housing and the new housing, we would literally have removed from the landscape of America the worst of public housing. Those 86,000 units would have been torn down and replaced, and if we could stabilize it then we have transformed public housing as it has existed in our country (U.S. Senate June 11, 1996).

His discussion of demolition relied on the disgust-fear discourse. The term 'worst' was a stand-in for those public housing developments that incited intense disgust-fear, real or perceived. The connections between disgust-fear and the landscape of public housing were so normalized that they do not need to be fully articulated; they can be condensed

into one word, 'worst'. Cisneros laid out his goal in the language of purification: the transformation of public housing required a literal cleansing of the American landscape through demolition. Lost in the Secretary's statements was any sense that demolition was being suggested for residents or any indication of the effect on residents.

This represents the subtle, but important drift of the HOPE VI discourse. I am not arguing that Cisneros does not care about improving residents' lives. What I am arguing is that framing HOPE VI in terms of transforming disgust-fear tends to diminish discussions regarding residents. The solution to the problems of public housing seems simple: clean up the landscape. As long as the landscape is transformed, everything else (i.e. reduction in poverty and social isolation) is implied.

Senator Mikulski expressed her concerns over the strong emphasis on demolition:

> In your remarks you talked about bringing down the worst of public housing and then creating opportunities. And again, in my own home town we do not seem to be bringing down not only the worst, we seem to be bringing down most. Of the 86,000 units, you are talking about tearing down 4,000 units in Baltimore, which is 5 percent of the total Nation, which is interesting. So I would hope that when we look at tearing down we are very clear about what is worst rather than what is the most, because some public housing, as you know, is working very well (U.S. Senate June 11, 1996).

Senator Mikulski had personal, political concerns – the situation in Baltimore – but her message was broader. She agreed with Secretary Cisneros that severely distressed public housing – units that were both physically (and politically) dangerous, the 'worst' – should be demolished. But she was concerned the program was transforming into an open-ended call to tear down public housing.

<u>1997-2006</u>

Nineteen ninety-six was a defining year for HOPE VI, clarifying the purpose of the program as transforming the landscape and creating mixed-income communities. The narrative introducing the 1997 NOFA was a word-for-word copy of the 1996 NOFA. The list of goals remained the same, but the reasoning and discussion was eliminated, leaving behind a series of bulleted headings:

- *Changing the physical shape of public housing*
- *Establishing positive incentives*

- *Enforcing tough expectations*
- *Lessening concentrations of poverty*
- *Forging partnerships* (U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development April 14, 1997, 18243)

A major change in the 1997 NOFA was the elimination of the demolition requirement. This move did not, however, involve focusing the narrative of HOPE VI on residents. HUD touts the "radical transformation" that results from demolition, but recognized that "as the program evolves it should also encompass appropriate revitalization strategies at obsolete and distressed developments where revitalization may be accomplished without extensive demolition, and more economical rehabilitation strategies may be available" (U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development April 14, 1997, 18243). Removing the demolition requirement was framed in terms of dollars – encouraging more economical strategies. This decision was also part of an overall expansion of eligibility, allowing smaller PHAs access to HOPE VI funds.

The NOFA retained a preference for demolition by requiring a Section 8 cost comparison. Any rehabilitation plan had to show that it would be cheaper than demolition with Section 8 replacement; those plans that would be more expensive required special justification. Demolition, therefore, was the baseline, the norm. HUD also created a separate HOPE VI grant exclusively for demolition in 1997. [42]

Other changes to HOPE VI were mainly management related. The 1997 NOFA included strict time requirements: any PHA lagging behind the timely completion of their plan was to be in danger of losing its HOPE VI funds. This requirement was a reaction to the slow progress of earlier HOPE VI grants. Also included was an emphasis on "plan designs, program management structures, [and] performance measures" (U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development April 14, 1997, 18243), which were all part of an effort to make the implementation of HOPE VI grants timely and efficient.[43]

The narrative of the 1998 NOFA brought back a discussion of residents. The 1998 NOFA opened with a narrative that highlighted both the physical and social aspects

[42] The initial program offered planning and implementation grants, but the planning grants were eliminated in 1995 and the demolition grants added in 1997.
[43] The rating factors do not substantially change. The 1996, 20 point category 'Lessen Concentration of Low-Income Residents' is changed to a 25 point category titled 'Lessen Isolation of Low-Income Residents', a less disgust-fear oriented title.

of HOPE VI: "The continued funding of the HOPE VI Program is to enable revitalization and transformation of the physical site of severely distressed public housing developments and the social dynamics of life for low-income residents at that site, or in any off-site replacement housing" (U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development March 31, 2005, 15577). This language matched the Final Report of the NCSDPH, which insisted that the physical and social dynamics of public housing be revitalized.

The rating scale for the 1998 NOFA, however, was modified to move the focus away from residents. A new 40 point category, 'Soundness of Approach', was created. This category collapsed a number of categories that had been freestanding in previous NOFAs: self-sufficiency, quality, feasibility and sustainability, and physical revitalization plans. The lumping together of these different rating factors diminished the number of points allocated to social services and resident participation. This was a marked reduction from the first NOFA where social services and resident participation each received 15 points as their own categories.

The definition of severe distress also moved in the direction of disgust-fear:

> In order to be eligible for HOPE VI funding, a public housing development, or portion of the development, must be severely distressed as to physical condition, location, or other factors, making the development, in its current condition, unusable for housing purposes. Major problems of severe distress are:
>
> (1) *Physical Condition*: structural deficiencies (e.g. settlement of earth below the building caused by inadequate structural fills, faulty structural design, or settlement of floors), substantial deterioration (e.g., severe termite damage or damage caused by extreme weather conditions), or other design or site problems (e.g., severe erosion or flooding).
>
> (2) *Location*: physical deterioration of the neighborhood; change from residential to industrial or commercial development; or environmental conditions as determined by HUD environmental review…which jeopardize the suitability of the site or a portion of the site and its housing structures for residential use
>
> (3) Other factors which have seriously affected the marketability, usefulness, or management of the property, such as significant numbers of families living in poverty, significant incidence of serious crime, high vacancy rate, high turnover rate, low rent collections, etc. (U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development March 31, 2005, 15578)

The physical landscape dominates this definition of severe distress. The definition of severe distress found in the 1993 NOFA started with families living in distress and included crime as a separate category. The 1998 NOFA, however, began with the

physical condition of the development, added location as a separate category, and combined the social factors of families and crime into a third category, 'other factors'. And note how the 1998 NOFA discussed the 'other factors': social distress was a concern because it had the potential to affect the marketability, usefulness, or management of the property. This subtle shift in emphasis indicated the increased use of a disgust-fear discourse as outsider perspectives trump resident needs.

The 1999 NOFA eliminated the language of 'social dynamics of life' in the opening narrative and again made the physical landscape the main issue: "The purpose of this program is to provide Revitalization Grants to enable public housing agencies (PHAs) to improve the living environment for public housing residents of severely distressed public housing projects and Demolition Grants to expedite the demolition of obsolete and/or severely distressed public housing units" (U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development February 26, 1999, 9727). The 1999 NOFA still mentioned improving the lives of public housing residents, but connected social improvement with improvement of the living environment, the landscape. A separate list of goals for the Revitalization Grant was also provided in 1999:

> (a) Improve the living environment for public housing residents of severely distressed public housing projects through the demolition, substantial rehabilitation, reconfiguration, and/or replacement of severely distressed units;
> (b) Revitalize the sites on which severely distressed public housing projects are located and contribute to the improvement of the surrounding neighborhood;
> (c) Lessen isolation and reduce the concentration of low-income families;
> (d) Build sustainable mixed-income communities; and
> (e) Provide well-coordinated, results-based community and supportive services that directly complement housing redevelopment and that help residents to achieve self-sufficiency, young people to attain educational excellence, and the community to secure a desirable quality of life (U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development February 26, 1999, 9728-9729).

The first goal made a direct correlation: improvement in the living environment for public housing residents means landscape change, either demolition or rehabilitation. The second goal was also landscape related: revitalization of the site and neighborhood. Items c and d go hand-in-hand: the deconcentration of poverty and the creation of mixed-income developments. Social services appeared last, in its diminished role.

The 1999 NOFA altered the definition of severe distress again:

> (a) (i) The public housing requires major redesign, reconstruction or redevelopment, or partial or total demolition, to correct serious deficiencies in the original design (including inappropriately high population density), deferred maintenance, physical deterioration or obsolescence of major systems, and other deficiencies in the physical plant of the project;
>
> (ii) The condition of the public housing project is a significant contributing factor to the physical decline of and disinvestment by public and private entities in the surrounding neighborhood (U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development February 26, 1999, 9731)

The definition of physical distress in (a) (i) was expanded to include the broad category of design deficiencies, addressing the aesthetic markers of disgust-fear. Part (ii) ascribed public housing the qualities of a disgusting object: public housing is considered severely distressed if it is a contaminating presence within the community, contributing to the neighborhood's physical and economic decline.[44]

This represents a distinct reversal in perspective. The previous NOFAs viewed severe distress from the perspective of resident and development needs: HUD considered the surrounding neighborhood *only* as it impacted the public housing site. As the 1998 NOFA stated, a factor in the severe distress of a public housing development is if "[t]he level of physical distress in the surrounding community is extreme and contributes to the obsolescence of the site, as evidenced by information and data addressing such factors as housing density, housing deterioration, and lack of adequate infrastructure or utilities" (U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development March 31, 1998, 15581). In the 1998 NOFA it was the surrounding community that might have a contaminating and deleterious effect on public housing. Beginning with the 1999 NOFA and continuing on, HUD's perspective steps outside of resident and development needs: it is the public housing development that is a contaminating presence for the surrounding neighborhood.

The 2000 NOFA represents the 'final' narrative, for each successive NOFA is an exact copy of 2000. The 2000 NOFA repeated the link between improving residents' lives and landscape transformation, placing it in the up-front narrative for HOPE VI:

> The HOPE VI Program through its revitalization funding component assists PHAs in improving the living environment for public housing residents of severely distressed public housing projects through the demolition, rehabilitation, reconfiguration, or replacement of obsolete public housing projects (or portions

[44] The rating categories for the 1999 NOFA do not change substantially.

> thereof), in revitalizing sites in which public housing sites are located, and providing housing that avoids or decreases the concentration of very low-income families. The demolition funding component of the HOPE VI Program enables PHAs to expedite the demolition of severely distressed public housing units (U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development February 24, 2000, 9601).

Gone is a larger discussion of the social dynamics of public housing – improvement was defined in terms of landscape change and no reasoning is offered for the deconcentration of poverty – this is a good in and of itself. The 2000 NOFA also provided a list of HOPE VI goals, repeating a, b, and c from the 1999 NOFA, but eliminating the reference to mixed-income communities (which is implied in c, the deconcentration of poverty) as well as the reference to social services. From 2000 on, therefore, the social service component is absent from the key goals of HOPE VI.

By 2002, the NOFA returned to individual rating categories, eliminating the 40 point 'Soundness of Approach'. The focus, however, remained on the physical condition of public housing, demolition, and mixed-income housing. Demonstrating resident and community involvement was worth a miniscule 3 points, and community and supportive services, 6 points. A 5 point category, however, that dealt with relocating residents was added. Taken together, the resident focused categories total less than leveraging, an important financial aspect of HOPE VI.

The NOFAs for 2003 and 2006 increased the worth of community and supportive services to ten and then twelve points. This move, however, did not restore resident issues to the level of emphasis found in the earlier NOFAs. This move can also be characterized as a reactionary measure: as Kathleen O'Neil explains,

> And some of these rating factors have come up after the fact in response to some um...blemishes and missteps in the HOPE VI program… the community and supportive services came kind of as an after-thought actually in response to many advocates and groups that were saying people were shuffled around, lost in the process, their quality of life was possibly becoming worse instead of less, because they might have gone to worse housing or they may have lost the cohesiveness that they had in their other community (2006).

My reading of the NOFA, modifies O'Neil's statement: the first NOFAs made social services a priority through the rating factors. Social services, however, were worth fewer and fewer points over the years, contributing to the problems O'Neil discusses. The most recent NOFAs are a reaction to this misstep.

The statements by HUD secretaries at the Senate Appropriations Hearing from 1997 on mimic the NOFA trends. In 1997 the successor to Secretary Cisneros, Andrew Cuomo, was asked by Senator Mikulski about HUD's desired reforms for HOPE VI. Cuomo describes HUD's number one concern: the cost of new units and progress of grants, which fits with the theme of the 1997 NOFA: stricter performance standards:

> [H]ow much do we want to pay for a unit? How about those HOPE VI grantees who are not spending the money? At what point do we say enough is enough, we are getting squeezed for money across the board, we do not have enough money for renewals, and take it aback? Those would be the top two on HOPE VI. Where is the money committed? How long will you allow it to stay out there? (U.S. Senate May 13, 1997)

In response, Senator Mikulski reasserted a larger vision of HOPE VI. From the tone of her questions it appears she was not satisfied with the landscape-heavy implementation of HOPE VI under HUD.

> Senator Mikulski: I would add one other. What is the outcome we seek? Is it just to move people from one ZIP code to another? Is it just to give money out so we can tear down public housing but not buildup community? And ultimately, are the residents better off? Have they greater tools of self-sufficiency, and then is the community in which they live doing that? Are we just building new federally subsidized empires, or are we building communities in which residents have these tools connected to empowerment or enterprise zones? Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and thank you, Mr. Secretary.
> Secretary Cuomo: Thank you very much, Senator" (U.S. Senate May 13, 1997).

Senator Mikulski's questions recalled the shame discourse. She was, in effect, asking the Secretary to focus on the federal government's relationship with public housing residents. Besides inquiries into the bureaucratic details of the program, she said, we should ask, what is our goal for HOPE VI, the ideal we should try and live up to?

At the March 12, 1998 Hearing, Secretary Cuomo presented a prepared statement to the Appropriations Subcommittee on VA, HUD, and Independent Agencies modeled on the pride – disgust-fear discourse. Most public housing, he stated, is well managed,

> but in too many communities, public housing is found at the heart of urban communities plagued by deterioration, crime and drugs. Critical mistakes were made in the design, construction and maintenance of many of these public housing developments. The Clinton Administration has worked for five years to implement a physical and social transformation of public housing. At its heart, this transformation requires the demolition of the worst public housing development. To replace these developments, HUD has created a new mold for public housing:

> mixed-income, mixed-finance projects that blend into their neighborhoods (U.S. Senate March 12, 1998).

He skirted shame by mentioning 'critical mistakes', but this did not lead to self-reflection. Instead, his statement revolved around pride – disgust-fear: most public housing is in good condition, but there are those units that are repositories for crime, drugs, deterioration. Cuomo also established the broad goals of HOPE VI – physical and social transformation – but then went on to define the heart of HOPE VI as demolition of the worst public housing. For Cuomo, the situation *required* demolition and the rebirth of public housing as mixed-income communities indistinguishable from their surroundings. In 1999, Cuomo was succinct: "The HOPE VI program basically said let us demolish the bad" (U.S. Senate April 22, 1999). The pride – disgust-fear discourse was at this point normalized. The description and meaning of disgust-fear could be compacted into the term 'bad' and pride could be implied by the unspoken existence of 'good' public housing. Senator Mikulski immediately reacted to Cuomo's 1999 statement:

> Wait a minute, Mr. Secretary. The issue around HOPE VI was not the condition of the buildings, but the condition of the concentration of poverty in the buildings.
> Secretary Cuomo: Yes, yes.
> Senator Mikulski: That is what I want you to focus on. Believe me, modernization, safety of architecture, but it was not the physical architecture that was so troubling that led to the HOPE VI, it was the concentration of poverty (U.S. Senate April 22, 1999).

Senator Mikulski brought the focus back to the people living in public housing, the focus that came from the shame discourse. Senator Mikulski was concerned with the physical landscape of public housing, but her concerns have a resident-focused perspective – safety, not disgust-fear. In her comments to Cuomo, she acknowledged a concern for landscape, but her concern was connected to the safety of residents living in dilapidated buildings.

Beyond 1999, the dance continued. On March 13, 2002, for example, Mikulski addressed Secretary Cuomo's successor, Mel Martinez:

> Because what we wanted was not a real estate program. We did not want to do real estate development. We wanted to do community building.
> Martinez: Right.

> Mikulski: [continuing]. Both in terms of fiscal infrastructure, but also a social infrastructure that took the people not only away from distressed public housing, but through empowerment, job training, stakes in the community, et cetera (U.S. Senate March 13, 2002).

Other government officials repeated HUD's discourse. Republican Senator Christopher Bond from Missouri, for example, reproduced HUD's narrative at the 2003 hearing held on March 6:

> I want to give you some history with that HOPE VI program. It started in the authorizing committee when we finally committed to tear down the very troubled almost uninhabitable public housing in St. Louis, and replace it with a model public housing program. Working through this Subcommittee we designed the HOPE VI program to carry on with tearing down the most distressed and obsolete public housing while replacing the housing with new mixed income and public housing developments (U.S. Senate March 6, 2003)

Senator Bond first engaged in some revisionist history by placing the origins of HOPE VI in his authorizing committee, not Mikulski's appropriations committee and by defining HOPE VI as a reaction to St. Louis public housing, shifting the focus from Mikulski to himself.[45] His description of the program echoed HUD's main thrust – demolition and mixed-income developments – instead of resident involvement. Compare this 2003 description with his comments in support of HOPE VI from 1992:

> The current public housing modernization program is simply not adequate to remedy conditions at severely distressed developments. In these cases, where PHA mismanagement is not the issue, the problems at distressed developments have to be solved by residents and community groups being involved in a comprehensive process to rebuild and reconfigure existing buildings and to provide social services -- health care, day care, job training -- to address the root causes of social and economic distress. This bill contains an important new initiative to begin the process of solving the problems at severely distressed public housing (U.S. Senate October 8, 1992).

Bond did not frame the problems of public housing through disgust-fear in 1992; his focus was on economic and social distress. His comments also placed residents at the center, describing the importance of their participation in physical revitalization as well as the need for PHAs to provide social services. The change from 1992 to 2003 is dramatic.

[45] It should be said, however, that Senator Bond is a firm supporter of HOPE VI.

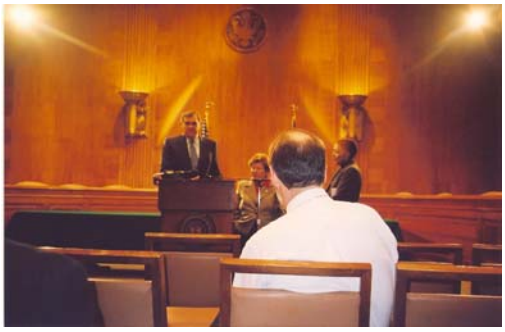
Senator Mikulski reacted to Senator Bond's 2003 statement at the Appropriations Hearing:

> My primary principle for HUD is absolutely simple. I believe that HUD needs to be in the community development business and not think of itself as just being in the building business. I think that HUD needs to be able to build communities, not only houses, communities where people can live, work, worship and shop, to strengthen communities, whether in small town U.S.A. or big town America… HOPE VI was not about building new housing for the poor, it was about building new opportunities for the poor. It was about using typical architecture, tearing down decrepit housing, and at the same time using a new empowerment architecture, insisting that the residents be involved in both the stake in the community as well as in job training, since public housing should be seen not only as a way of life but a way to a better life (U.S. Senate March 6, 2003).

Once again, Senator Mikulski tried to drag the focus of HOPE VI back to the broader vision laid down by shame: HOPE VI is not just about housing, but about opportunity and community.

The most recent example of this long-standing trend occurred at a March 8, 2007 press conference held by Senator Mikulski, Senator Mel Martinez, and Renee Glover, the Executive Director of the Atlanta Housing Authority (see Figures 5.1. and 5.2). The press conference was held to officially announce Senator Mikulski's bill to reauthorize and tweak HOPE VI. The current Bush administration has been hostile to the program and has, every year, tried to zero out its funding. Senator Mikulski's new bill responds to criticism of the HOPE VI program as it evolved under HUD. The new bill emphasizes relocation, replacement, and return, all of which bring HOPE VI back to the framework outlined in the 1992 Appropriations Report. The bill will add language that 1) ensures residents receive assistance in relocating either temporarily or permanently; 2) ensures that all public housing units torn down are replaced with housing within reach of low-income families; and 3) ensure that residents' desire to return to the HOPE VI site are given full consideration. As Senator Mikulski commented at the press conference, the goal of HOPE VI was never simply to give public housing a facelift; it was never meant to be just a 'botox injection' (Press Conference March 8 2007).[46]

[46] This bill was recently passed by Congress.



Figures 5.1. and 5.2: Mikulski press conference. To the left, the press conference in progress with Senator Martinez on the left, Senator Mikulski in the middle, and Renee Glover on the right. The press conference took place in one of the Committee meeting rooms. Figure 5.2 – After the press conference with Senator Mikulski seated with Renee Glover. Photographs taken by Ellen Hostetter. Note: the poor quality of these photos is the result of my discomfort. I was, quite simply, nervous and did not want to attract attention by snapping photographs with a flash camera.

5.1.3 HUD Speeches, the Floor of Congress, and HUD Documents

By the mid-1990s, the HOPE VI NOFA and the narratives of Secretaries Cisneros, Cuomo, and Martinez were firmly framed by the pride – disgust-fear discourse. The shame discourse did, however, make the occasional appearance during this time period. Secretary Cuomo, for example, despite his persistent disgust-fear framing at the Appropriations Hearings, drew on shame in a January 12, 1999 speech at the Baltimore Renaissance Hotel. His remarks opened a 1999 HUD-sponsored HOPE VI conference. Cuomo began with pride – disgust-fear:

> Public housing is much looked upon as a failure in this nation. But it's not a failure…It is a handful of housing authorities that we've had trouble with. So public housing is a success story nationwide. When it has gone bad, it has gone bad in a big way…The failures bear a commonality – which is that we took too many people, too many poor people with too many problems, and put them in too small an area (1999).

First he contrasted 'good' and 'bad' public housing and second he evoked the disgust-fear image of 'concentrated poverty'. But Cuomo then discussed disgust-fear in a different way:

> Notice in whatever city you go into, go look at the big public housing projects and you'll always see some divide between public housing and the rest of the city. Some wall, some barrier that says you're not part of this community. You're over there and you stay over there…That is the public housing that failed (1999).

This commentary focused on the disgust-fear that impacted the original public housing program. He described the classic disgust-fear reaction of distancing, exclusion, and

separation that literally and figuratively positioned public housing as the 'wrong side of the tracks'. He continued by placing government in the role of 'self', evaluating HUD's actions – "HOPE VI says it was a mistake, admit it…and this time do it right" (Cuomo 1999) – which leads to a discussion of the comprehensive nature of HOPE VI – "The way we do it, the way it is being done, from the community, bottom up, comprehensive, interconnected, interrelated, holistic. Which means what? Make all the pieces fit. It's not just about bricks and mortar, it's bricks and mortar and economic development, getting the jobs in, and getting the support services in" (Cuomo 1999). Unlike the Appropriation Hearings, at this conference Cuomo sounded like Senator Mikulski. He even came close to the shame discourse used by the NCSDPH:

> And this nation is not a success. And we do have more to do and we have to remember it and we can't be lulled into a false sense of security. Everything is not great for everyone out there. There is a lot of pain, there is a lot of suffering, there is a lot of fear, there is a lot of isolation. There are many promises of this nation that we have not even come close to touching. We are a nation of justice (1999).

The Final Report of the NCSDPH declared public housing a national disgrace, a national failure. Cuomo was more general, claiming this *nation* is not a success; this nation has failed to live up to its promises, one of which is the promise of a decent, sanitary, safe place to live. I cannot be certain as to why Cuomo shifted discourses, but my hypothesis focuses on his audience. In the conference speech he was addressing HUD and local PHA officials who implement HOPE VI grants across the country. Perhaps his discourse of shame was a subtle recognition of their personal involvement in the program. His discourse of shame also served to inspire, assuring these government employees that "[w]e can do these things. We can make this place a better place" (Cuomo 1999); we can, in other words, erase the nation's shameful failures through HOPE VI, an uplifting message for the beginning of a HOPE VI conference. At the Appropriation Hearings, in contrast, while he was speaking to Senator Mikulski who has intimate knowledge of the program, he was also speaking to the larger committee and was there to justify his budget. His comments, then, were made in a political and monetary context for which shame is not particularly effective (see Chapter 6 for more on this thought).

The shame discourse was also found sporadically on the floor of Congress from the years 1993 to 2006, three referring specifically to HOPE VI and two referring to

public housing in general. One of these instances of shame was of the 'you ought to be ashamed of yourself' variety. Every year when the administration unveils its budget for the next fiscal year, Congressmen take the opportunity to either criticize or praise the executive branch for their callousness or thrift. Proposed cuts to HOPE VI were often a vehicle for criticism.[47] On April 2, 2003, for example, Representative Barbara Lee (D-CA) stated

> Instead of spending billions on a faulty and unproven missile defense system, we should put more resources into housing, which is a national emergency and a national disgrace, but this budget cuts funding for public housing. It eliminates funding for the HOPE VI program to replace public housing structures that are in terrible condition. I ask you, without HOPE VI, what hope will those residents really have (U.S. House April 2, 2003)?

She used the term 'national disgrace' but I hesitate to put it in the same category with the Final Report of the NCSDPH because her larger agenda was criticizing the President, not understanding the complex dynamics of public housing or HOPE VI. The other two instances of shame came from Representative Danny Davis (D-IL) who was also concerned with proposed budget cuts to HOPE VI because his home district of Chicago benefits from HOPE VI dollars. In two different years he made the case for Chicago's need, but he does so not by using shame as a political weapon, but by using a combination of shame and disgust-fear discourses. Perhaps it was his focus on a particular place that broadens his discourse from that of the typical disgust-fear one-liner. In 2000 he stated:

> So I say to this Congress that without additional HOPE VI funding, there is no hope. A promising future will be nothing more than broken promises. Those towers of misery will continue as barricades to advancement, locking future generations into poverty and preventing this country from wiping a terrible stain from its past (U.S. House June 20, 2000).

His use of the word stain vacillates between disgust-fear and shame: the word evokes something dirty and fouling, but he used it in a shame context and saw HOPE VI as a way of making amends for this country's shameful past. In 2002 he defined HOPE VI as a program that

> Provides disadvantaged families and communities across the country with opportunities for revitalization and new chances, chances for advancement. All of

[47] See Table 5.5 for other criticisms of the budget that fall under the disgust-fear narrative.

> us would probably agree, Mr. Chairman, that it is time to tear down the high-rise public housing developments, the high-rises, as we know them, the concentrations of poverty. These families need hope and an adequate chance…To improve the quality of life for these families, it is necessary to improve the quality of public housing. We can do that by providing the necessary support services (U.S. House July 26, 2001)

The disgust-fear discourse lurked in the background of his comments: high-rise public housing, associated with concentrations of poverty, should be torn down. There was no question about saving a landscape loaded with so much disgust-fear. He also, however, defined improving the quality of public housing as providing support services.

Disgust-fear, however, permeated comments on the floor of Congress. When the program was only a year old in 1993, HOPE VI was typically framed on the floor of Congress as a revitalization program with a broad agenda. Senator Paul Simon (D-IL), for example, described HOPE VI as a program that sought to "revitalize severely distressed public housing developments in a number of cities" (U.S. Senate September 22, 1993) and a conference report recommended funding for the "new HOPE VI Program to address some of the most difficult problems in public housing" (U.S. House October 19, 1993). By 1995, however, there was a new line on the floor of Congress that reflected the shift outlined in the NOFAs and Appropriation Hearings. Senator Patty Murray (D-WA) stated that HOPE VI was "designed to replace this Nation's most desperate and distressed housing stock with new, sustainable housing communities that will instill a sense of pride and community" (U.S. Senate December 14, 1995). Murray's emphasis on replacing the public housing landscape reflects the shift in discourse found in the NOFAs and Appropriations Hearings outlined above. This framing remained consistent in the years that follow (see Table 5.5).

Table 5.5: Descriptions of HOPE VI on the floor of Congress, 1996-2006

Year	Speaker	Quote	Reference
1996	Conference Report	"The HOPE VI program was created in 1992 as a means to replace obsolete public housing developments aggressively with homes that are architecturally appealing, have lower densities, and are better suited to the needs of low-income families and their surrounding neighborhoods"	(U.S. House April 30, 1996)
1997	Senator John Kerry (D-MA)	Because of HOPE VI "you can easily witness this transformation at many sites across the country"	(U.S. Senate January 29, 1997)
1998	Senator Paul Sarbanes (D-MD)	HOPE VI "is focused on tearing down the worst, most isolated public housing projects and replacing them with mixed-income housing"	(U.S. Senate October 8, 1998)
1999	Representative Nancy Pelosi (D-	"HOPE VI grants are replacing the worst public housing with livable communities"	(U.S. House October 25,

	CA)		1999)
2000	Representative Jan Schakowsky (D-IL)	"And that is money for the HOPE 6 program, which would rebuild public housing that is uninhabitable like the kind we suffer in Chicago"	(U.S. House June 20, 2000)
	Representative Tom Udall (D-NM)	"HOPE VI funds that replace distressed housing projects"	(U.S. House June 23, 2000)
	Senator John Kerry (D-MA)	"The HOPE VI program, which has been enormously successful in turning around some of the Nation's worst public housing developments into healthy, mixed-income communities"	(U.S. Senate October 12, 2000)
2002	Representative Elijah Cummings (D-MD)	"Every time I think about housing, coming from the inner city of Baltimore, I think about the various new housing projects that we have been able to come up with and get built in our Seventh Congressional District with Hope VI dollars…But one of the things that we have noticed in the change, that change of environment does so much for children.	(U.S. House June 20, 2002)
	Representative Gregory Meeks (D-NY)	"This program is revolutionizing public housing by replacing high rises or barracks-style projects with new, mixed income, mixed-used communities"	
	Representative Donald Payne (D-NJ)	"The Bush administration budget eliminates funding for the HOPE VI program, which displaces distressed low-income housing with new community housing"	
2003	Representative Eddie Bernice Johnson (D-TX)	The proposed budget eliminates funding for the HOPE VI program which replaces distressed low-income housing with new strong community housing. That also provides opportunities for homeownership"	(U.S. House April 2, 2003)
	Senator Christopher Bond (R-MO)	This program has been a tremendous boost to the quality of housing for many low-income families. It has allowed PHAs to take down obsolete public housing, where we essentially warehouse the poor, and replace that housing with mixed income and public housing that has anchored investments in distressed communities	(U.S. Senate November 12, 2003)
2004	Representative Elijah Cummings (D-MD)	So we talk about the Hope VI program. This is a program in Baltimore that we have seen, I think we have six or seven Hope VI projects, but as I have said, on many occasions and for those who may not know what it is, it is basically a program that allows many mainly urban areas to tear down high-rise developments and then build more or less low-rise and mixed-income developments. Baltimore has changed the landscape of our city and allowed people to own homes who would not normally own homes. It has revitalized our cities in areas that were decaying…it was like having Andy and Mayberry in the middle of Baltimore City.	(U.S. House March 25, 2004)
	Senator Christopher Dodd (D-CT)	In addition, the HOPE VI initiative, which has assisted in the redevelopment of public housing complexes across the country, has been cut by 75 percent over the past 4 years. Many municipalities in my State, including Danbury, Hartford, Middletown, New Haven, and Stamford have benefited from HOPE VI resources totaling over $142 million to demolish deficient facilities and build quality affordable housing. Without this vital support, many of my constituents would have been denied the opportunity to live in decent and safe housing.	(U.S. Senate December 8, 2004)
2005	Senator Paul Sarbanes (D-MD)	HOPE VI has helped eliminate the worst public housing and replaced it with home ownership and has transformed the downtown areas of many cities in the country.	(U.S. Senate March 14, 2005)

Representative Christopher Shays (R-CT) provided a wonderful summary of HOPE VI in 2004, a summary that shows how an emphasis on landscape change is the product of a disgust-fear discourse:

> Of all the projects I have ever seen the government do, I am not exaggerating, this is the best. It is the best program. I feel real pride in it. And what was there before?

> What was there before was public housing that was smelly, dirty, just lots of poor kids. There was drug dealing. And now there is a swimming pool; there is a weight room; there are a lot of neat things (U.S. House May 20, 2004).

All of the social change that is supposed to be integral to HOPE VI, such as increased incomes for residents, is summed up in landscape change, in a swimming pool and weight room. So here, then, is the dominant discourse that has shaped public housing policy, a discourse that gains its force and story line from the emotions of disgust and fear. Once upon a time there was a smelly, dirty, frightening landscape. But this place was cleansed, replaced with a neater, nicer, safer landscape.[48]

Pride – disgust-fear also permeated HUD promotional materials and documents. HOPE VI was introduced by Mikulski and Kelly in 1992 as a program "for the empowerment of residents of severely distressed and obsolete public housing. HOPE VI is an attempt by the Committee to invest Federal resources directly in communities to create the conditions to bring about citizen self-responsibility and resident self-sufficiency in the most distressed areas of urban America" (U.S. Senate July 23, 1992). In 1999, HUD described HOPE VI using pride – disgust-fear in a promotional booklet:

> HUD's HOPE VI is the latest chapter in an important American success story – the public housing system. The vast majority of the nation's 3,400 housing authorities provide safe, decent, affordable housing for 1.3 million very low-income families – a stable place from which they can begin to build a better life. However, the quiet successes of America's public housing have all too often been overshadowed by the terrible conditions in a small share of units (almost 100,000 out of 1/3 million public housing units, according to a 1992 report of the National Commission on Severely Distressed Public Housing).
>
> These large high-rise and barracks-style projects, collapsing under the burdens of poor design, deferred maintenance, and decades of hard use, have unjustly defined the public image of public housing. Yet there is no denying the malignant effect of these developments on their residents or on struggling, high-poverty neighborhoods By the early 1990s, there was a clear consensus, not only that this severely distressed public housing should be demolished, but that the entire public housing system – the body of restrictive rules that had grown up around the program – had

[48] Congressmen Shays also made the following statement on the floor of Congress in 2003: "In Stamford, Connecticut, a HOPE VI grant transformed a dim, crime-ridden, and dilapidated housing project into a beautiful place to live and raise your children. As a result of this federal assistance, Southwood Square is now a safe place for children to play, its residents receive job training on site, and working parents have access to a child care facility. Just as importantly, residents are involved in their community" (U.S. House July 25, 2003). The disgust-fear transformation was paired with a discussion of social services, showing that the disgust-fear narrative does not always obscure a concern for the larger goals of HOPE VI.

> lost its way…HOPE VI has emerged as a successful component of the President's Urban Empowerment Agenda…HOPE VI provides grants of up to $35 million to transform our nation's worst public housing projects into its best mixed-income communities (HOPE VI December 1999).

Gone is the focus on residents; instead HUD opened with the public housing system and the performance of housing authorities. Gone is the self-evaluation of government policy; in its place was a list of problems stated abstractly, with only an implied indication of their origin – poor design, deferred maintenance, and hard use. Instead of shame, HUD laid out a discourse of pride by relaying the American success story of public housing. It then uses the Final Report of the NCSDPH to isolate the units deemed to be in terrible condition. These units were described as having a malignant effect on residents and the surrounding neighborhood. The definition of malignant as diseased is related to disgust: the landscape is a contaminating presence within the city. Pride – disgust-fear produces a simplistic division of the public housing stock between failure and success, bad and good, contaminating and benign.[49]

5.2 Lexington, Kentucky

Disgust-fear, so much a part of the policy process in DC also moved discussions and decisions regarding public housing in Lexington. We saw in Chapter 4 how disgust-fear circulated in newspaper articles about two of Lexington's public housing developments – Charlotte Court and Bluegrass-Aspendale. Disgust-fear also circulated in the everyday actions of Lexingtonians. As Debbie Hoskins, HOPE VI coordinator for the Lexington Housing Authority (LHA) told me "yeah, people are afraid. Many people haven't been even in that area if they don't live on the perimeter. Um…it's always

[49] HUD also produced a number of documents meant for internal distribution between 1995 and 1996 as part of the Department's 'reinvention' of public housing of which HOPE VI was a part (more on this in the following sections). These documents – *Transforming Public Housing*, June 1995; *Public Housing that Works*, May 1996; and *The Transformation of America's Public Housing*, 1996 – repeat the pride – disgust-fear discourse. Secretary Cisneros wrote, "Today, most of the nation's public housing is safe and clean, and most residents are responsible, law-abiding citizens who want to work and raise a strong family" (Public Housing May 20, 1996, Foreword). HOPE VI is placed under the heading "Replacing the Worst Developments Now" and is one of the "policies that are ridding our cities of these intolerable environments. By the end of 1996, the Clinton Administration will have demolished nearly 30,000 units of public housing" (Public Housing May 20, 1996, 9). But these documents are comprehensive and note that HOPE VI "goes more than surface deep" (Public Housing May 20, 1996, 10) to include social services. These documents offer a muted version of the pride – disgust-fear narrative. Like Secretary Cuomo's speech, this might reflect a different audience: these documents were meant for HUD employees who had to have a full understanding of the policies and who were directly responsible for their implementation.

negative connotations…because the only thing that's ever in the news about Bluegrass has been negative, you know that the, arrests, the shootings" (2006). The disgust-fear surrounding public housing is part of a larger racial discourse that separates Lexington's population into distinct white and black neighborhoods.

Austin Simms, Executive Director of the LHA, is very aware of the negative political and economic consequences of the disgust-fear discourse and is very aware of landscape's role in this discourse. Simms has been trying to change the face of the city's public housing since he became Executive Director in 1978, aggressively pursuing a scattered-site strategy and cultivating a suburban, even middle-class image for its developments through architectural design. In 1980, for example, small projects were completed at Appian Way, McCullough Drive, and Rogers Road (Western 1984) and in 1992, 10 single-family homes were built on Wilson Street, 18 on Brown Avenue, and 68 duplexes on Camelot Drive and Wilson Downing Road (300 Units Going Up Around Town 1992). As Simms stated in a series of 1993 *Herald Leader* articles, "'[w]e want to simply say to this community and the world: 'It ain't all bad in public housing'" (Ward, C2) and "'[w]hat we want to say to the community is that you can have housing that is tastefully done…Public housing is not bad. It is not dilapidated" (Stafford, C1). Like Cavanaugh, Kelly, and Senator Mikulski, Simms is interested in changing the discourse of disgust-fear through the landscape: "rid[ding] ourselves of all of the stereotypical antiquated public housing of yesteryear" (Simms 2006) and building "'unpublic housing'" (Stafford 1993, C1).

This approach to public housing has become synonymous with HOPE VI, but disgust-fear shaped the LHA's policy stance on public housing well before 1992. When HOPE VI became a funded HUD program it represented a lucrative opportunity to continue this trend at two of the city's most notorious projects. Lexington received its first HOPE VI grant in 1998 for Charlotte Court and its second in 2005 for Bluegrass-Aspendale. Charlotte Court was located in the West End, a historically black part of Lexington. Charlotte Court gained a reputation for drugs in the 1980s – the project's location nearby major arterial roads in Lexington as well as I-75 and I-64 made it attractive to regional drug dealers from Detroit and Ohio – and its image as a revolting and frightening part of Lexington coalesced. With the HOPE VI grant Charlotte Court

was transformed from a 356 unit barrack-style project into a single-family home, cul-de-sac development called Arbor Glen. The design of the new project intentionally mimicked popular market-rate housing in Lexington, which one *Herald Leader* columnist derisively described as "pure suburbia…the new Charlotte Court was the dead worm design found everywhere in Lexington outside New Circle Road" (Bishop 1998, F1). Whatever its architectural merits, the HOPE VI landscape successfully changed the image of the West End.

Most of the stories I gathered from Lexington focused on the city's most recent HOPE VI grant for Bluegrass-Aspendale. The transformation of Bluegrass-Aspendale began in 1988 with a renovation plan that included the demolition of 295 units, intended to "improve parking problems, enhance safety, relieve crowding and control traffic. And more trees and grass should give the complex more of a neighborhood feel" (Johns 1988, B1).[50] The thoughts behind this modernization through demolition would become associated with HOPE VI – the deconcentration of poverty and change in landscape. Both are an assumed good: in a chain of association, fewer people and more trees and grass mean safety and community. This did not, however, change the disgust-fear discourse surrounding Bluegrass-Aspendale and the LHA made the decision to apply for a HOPE VI grant in 2000.

Around the same time downtown Lexington was beginning to boom. Lexington's economy could hardly be called dynamic: it is known for thoroughbred horses and a declining tobacco industry and its economy relies on the University of Kentucky and a few corporations such as Lexmark. Despite its sedate growth, its downtown has seen substantial investment in the past few years as the middle-class rediscovers the central city. The pressure for 'something' to be done about Bluegrass-Aspendale – which represents over 70 acres of land directly adjacent to downtown – has been intense.

This economic and political pressure was constituted by disgust-fear. One of the characteristic actions of disgust is a desire for purification and Lexingtonians were eager to see the city cleansed of Bluegrass-Aspendale so development and investment could move forward. It was not difficult, then, to convince local government officials and

[50] The whole process - demolition of 295 units and their one-for-one replacement at scattered-sites throughout the city took until 1992 to complete.

developers that HOPE VI was a positive step for Lexington. Here is how Milton Dohoney, Chief Administrative Officer for the Lexington-Fayette Urban County Government, describes the situation:

> Milton Dohoney (MD): Well I've been involved uh, on the the, I guess you'd say planning side to start with in terms of marshalling support within local government so that we could be supportive of the application…It was important for people to see the big picture. And the big picture was that immediately adjacent to downtown Lexington, an area that we're putting a lot of emphasis on and have a lot of planning underway and a lot of development projects are either underway or on the drawing board. Immediately adjacent to that sits 77 acres of land that needs a major facelift.
> Ellen Hostetter (EH): mm hmm
> MD: and if we're going to maximize the benefits of a brand new downtown and also deal with some of our longstanding issues, we could not allow Bluegrass-Aspendale to stay status quo.
> EH: ok
> MD: and once we put up sort of an aerial map that showed here's downtown and here's the 77 acres, it didn't take much. Everybody could easily see that. And then it sort of bled into, here's where our commitment needs to be in order to ensure that this project goes forward.
> EH: ok
> MD: so the, everybody from planning to community development to traffic engineering, police, they all saw it.
> EH: right
> MD: so it was not a hard sell (2006).

Dohoney does not explicitly articulate disgust-fear, but it hums in the background of his comments. That Bluegrass-Aspendale needs a 'major facelift', that it cannot stay 'status-quo' are agreed-upon perceptions; these are assumptions in the first place because the image of Bluegrass-Aspendale is organized around disgust-fear. With this discourse in place as 'fact', the development is viewed geographically as a stain on the map of downtown, a stain that needs to be removed.

5.2.1 Writing the HOPE VI Application

When the LHA wrote their first Bluegrass-Aspendale HOPE VI application in 2000, the disgust-fear discourse that surrounded Bluegrass-Aspendale had a distinct point of contact with the disgust-fear discourse circulating at HUD. By this time disgust-fear had become the guiding discourse for HOPE VI in the yearly NOFAs. Fewer points were allocated for social services and resident participation and the modified definition of

severe distress required a PHA to prove that the public housing development was a contaminating presence for the surrounding neighborhood.

The emotive discourse of disgust-fear, therefore, was built into the HOPE VI application requirements. The rating factors, for example, required the LHA to prove Bluegrass-Aspendale was severely distressed by compiling statistics and data on income levels, numbers of welfare recipients and female-headed households, crime statistics on drug activity and violence, and visual documentation of physical deterioration. The combination of these statistics and data 'objectively' tell the reader that this development is a dangerous and revolting place. The LHA application cites a violent crime rate for the housing project that is seven times the rate for the entire city of Lexington and provides charts that show the project is predominantly African-American, poor, and welfare dependent. It is important to keep in mind that these statistics are real and do indicate a distressing situation for the residents of Bluegrass-Aspendale that is marked by poverty and crime. But I also want to emphasize the tendency for these types of statistics to also construct public housing as a disturbing place.

But HOPE VI applications cannot completely rely on regurgitating the NOFA in order to secure an award. They must convince HUD officials that this particular locale needs a HOPE VI grant. Do the strategies of grant writers, then, rely on weaving an emotive discourse into the application? According to Cynthia Demitros, the answer is no. Having both reviewed HOPE VI applications as a HUD staff member and written HOPE VI applications with the Schiff Group, I asked Demitros "what do you try to do in your writing style?"

> Cynthia Demitros (CD): Actually from having reviewed, many times we would read, read, read, and we'd just sit there and say, if they had just answered the question. You know, I mean there are very specific requirements for each of the…ranking factors. And that's, there's questions you need to address. And many times we looked at them and said, yeah, yeah, there's lots of words here but what's the answer? There's no real answer to the question. So I think on the writing side, I was sort of able to use that and say ok, what's the question we're answering. Let's make sure we've got the answer in here. The rest of it is just, makes us feel good, but you know, as a reviewer
> Joe Schiff: And hopefully the client
> CD: Yeah, it makes the client feel better. But as a reviewer, just answer the question. You know, it doesn't, the rest of it doesn't really matter (2006).

For Demitros, then, the most critical aspect of the application is directly answering HUD's questions in a straightforward manner. 'The rest of it', presumably any qualitative content, is considered so much fluff by the reviewer and is only important for the client.

This perspective, however, does not explain the success of Louisville and Lexington's HOPE VI applications, both written by Kathleen O'Neil, former employee of the Louisville Housing Authority and current member of the Schiff Group. O'Neil's writing style is distinctive. Instead of addressing HUD's questions in a dry and straightforward manner, her writing is full of imagery evocative of emotion. It is the rich, textured quality of her writing that netted Louisville a near perfect application and the praise of the area grant officer from HUD. In fact, after Lexington failed two times to obtain a grant for Bluegrass-Aspendale, the area officer told them to hire O'Neil (Hoskins 2006).

The following is the description of Bluegrass-Aspendale from Lexington's 2001 application, written by a different consultant:

> The East End, a dense and concentrated neighborhood but one that is steeped in history and tradition, is located in the northeast quadrant of Lexington's downtown. It is bounded by industrial and commercial properties to the east, single-family residential to the north and west, and the downtown business district to the south. The East End is home to three contiguous public housing developments that span 72 acres: KY 4-1 (30 units) constructed in 1941, KY 4-3 (359 units) constructed in 1951, and KY 4-4 (279 units) constructed in 1936. These developments, totaling 668 units in 104 buildings, are collectively referred to as the Bluegrass-Aspendale site. As detailed in Exhibit C, Bluegrass-Aspendale is LHA's public housing of last resort. None of the units could compete in the private real estate market because of the poorly configured and extremely small unit sizes and lack of amenities, including air conditioning. Because of the way the buildings and units are designed, reconfiguration is impossible. This, coupled with aging systems and years of wear and tear, also makes modernization costs prohibitive. Moreover, the developments are designed as a series of closed loops that promote loitering and drug activity and cut Bluegrass-Aspendale off from the East End and downtown. The result is an obsolete and distressed property that negatively impacts the entire East End neighborhood (FY 2001 2001, 1).

Disgust-fear framed some of this 2001 introduction: Bluegrass-Aspendale is the housing of last resort and it negatively impacts the surrounding neighborhood. Ascribing Bluegrass-Aspendale with contaminating properties aligns with HUD's 1998

modification to the definition of severe distress. The majority of the introduction, however, is dry compared to O'Neil's 2005 application:

> Bluegrass/Aspendale (B/A) is Lexington's largest, most severely distressed public housing site and is in desperate need of revitalization. Ingrained site deficiencies, obsolete and unmarketable unit configurations, mold-riddled buildings and decaying infrastructure have contributed to high vacancy rates and general disinvestment around the site over the last three decades. In turn, B/A has become a haven for violent crime, gang activity and drug trafficking, making the development the "housing of last resort" for low-income families. The result is an isolated island of households living in concentrated poverty, literally cut off from the larger community by dead-end streets and socially stigmatized by the negative influences associated with the site. Although area residents are slowly beginning to reclaim pockets of the neighborhood one building and parcel at a time, and housing and commercial developers are cautiously reconsidering the area, it will take a massive intervention to create the momentum necessary to truly transform the community. The $20,000,000 in requested HOPE VI funding is all that is lacking from the impressive $81,333,492 package of firm commitments we have assembled for the B/A Revitalization ($69,765,048 in physical leverage and $11,568,444 in CSS leverage). This represents a 4:1 ratio of solid, community support to every HOPE VI dollar (Lexington Housing Authority 2005, 1).

Debbi Hoskins summarizes the difference between the two: "I mean, can't you, can't you see it? Doesn't it get right...she um, I like, I love to read novels that are very descriptive and allow you to envision and that's what she does. It's, you feel like you know the property, you feel like you know the people. You feel like you really have an understanding of what makes up that community or that neighborhood" (2006). The first application began with a dry description of the project's location. O'Neil began by creating an atmosphere of disgust-fear through descriptive language – desperate need, deficiencies, obsolete, unmarketable, mold-riddled, decaying, disinvestment, haven for violent crime, isolated island, concentrated poverty, socially stigmatized – the type of imagery used by the NOFA narratives.

O'Neil is adept at understanding what details will dramatize and enhance the image of disgust-fear that makes such a compelling argument for demolition and replacement. In the discussion of physical distress, she wrote,

> A deteriorated storm sewer system and lack of connectivity between the roof downspouts and storm sewers has also caused sizeable areas of flooding and stagnant water, exposing residents to potential pathogenic organisms and illnesses including West Nile from mosquitoes, Helminthic diseases such as flatworms,

> pinworms and roundworms, and other fungal and bacterial conditions such as impetigo, E-coli and histoplasmosis (Lexington Housing Authority 2005, 36).

The list of pathogens and illnesses was a direct appeal to the visceral aspects of disgust – stagnant water as a breeding ground for contaminants. The emotive discourse of disgust-fear, then, was a key component of the success of this application. As O'Neil was told by the grant manager for Lexington, "he's read a lot of these things and he would always compliment on how, that it's written, that it keeps him awake…if you throw in enough of that kind of imagery" (O'Neil 2006).

But in the HOPE VI process we must also acknowledge the intricacies of the emotive discourses at work. Emotive discourses of outsiders and residents have moments of convergence and for individuals involved in the implementation of a HOPE VI grant it is often hard to separate disgust-fear discourses from that of shame. We already saw this phenomenon in Chapter 4 with residents who expressed disgust and fear, and with individuals in Washington DC and the Lexington Housing Authority where shame discourses were tied to disgust-fear.

O'Neil's use of disgust-fear in Lexington's HOPE VI application is an example of both. The disgust-fear discourse found in the application is multilayered: it was politically savvy, responding to the disgust-fear discourse that dominated HUD, but it was also an attempt to incorporate resident voices and needs. As O'Neil explained:

> Now I think that the other difference might be it's just my writing style versus the other person…because I'm a social worker, because I'm people focused instead of necessarily, this is great for the economy....That I look at it as look at what's happening in these people and this community now. You know they're victims of crime and I tried to be just - that's more my style of writing and persuasion that I focus on those kinds of things (2006)

She was trying to evoke life at Bluegrass-Aspendale. Part of her reasoning for including the disgust-fear imagery was to give a voice to the residents she met and interacted with at meetings and on site. Hoskins picks up on this focus, noting that the imagery is powerful because it gives the reader a feel for the residents and life in the development. Here, then, is a case of convergence between outsider and resident views as well as an individual using disgust-fear to make a connection with residents.

O'Neil and the LHA also spent significant effort on resident needs even though resident and community involvement, community and social services, and relocation were worth only three, thirteen, and five points respectively out of an application with a total of 129 points.[51] Lexington's HOPE VI application states, "[o]ur CSS Program was developed with the needs and desires of B/A residents foremost in our mind" (Lexington Housing Authority 2005, 53). This statement was supported by the LHA's survey of 180 residents asking for information regarding their social service needs. The LHA crafted their social services plan around resident responses. Residents showed the most interest in job training and GED classes and the LHA created three different social service tracks: employment, training, or education. The LHA was also responsive to resident concerns regarding the lack of public transportation available in Bluegrass-Aspendale. O'Neil was surprised that residents listed 'lack of transportation' as a major barrier to work and one of the least liked things about the site (O'Neil 2006). The city had recently canceled its bus routes through Bluegrass-Aspendale citing numerous accidents and winding streets as the problem. O'Neil and others at the LHA made sure to receive a guarantee from Lextran that they would provide bus service to the new site and set aside funds for bus passes and tokens. It is possible, therefore, to negotiate both shame and disgust-fear in a HOPE VI application and plan.

5.2.2 Designing the HOPE VI Plan

Disgust-fear also shaped discussions between the LHA, city government, and the East End community where Bluegrass-Aspendale was located. These discussions took place *after* the HOPE grant was awarded, showing that policy is an ongoing process. And the residents of the surrounding East End neighborhood, not the public housing residents, were the ones to raise concerns about the HOPE VI plan, showing that HOPE VI has ripple effects beyond the people living in public housing.[52] The discussions surrounded the HOPE VI design. The East End community questioned some details of the HOPE VI plan as the LHA prepared to turn the design into a built landscape. These

[51] HUD's reduction of the points available for social services and resident needs reflects the agency's de-valuing of the program's 'soft side'. Whether or not individual PHAs place emphasis on these categories depends on the focus of individual PHAs.

[52] The East End community occupies a similar position as public housing residents in the binaries outsider-resident and rational-emotional. Neighborhood and community activists and residents are often considered in the same emotional light as public housing residents.

discussions, however, illustrate how emotive discourses interact, creating points of convergence and divergence between these groups of people.

The HOPE VI plan had been created in conversation with a wide variety of local actors and approved by HUD, but in November 2006 it was becoming a reality and questions were raised by the East End community regarding how the roads from the revitalized public housing site would connect to the existing road network outside the project area (November 12th Design Charrette 2005). The design sent to HUD proposed a boulevard extending through the western half of the site connecting to Midland Avenue, a main artery into downtown. As the roads currently exist, the East End is isolated from this entry into the heart of the city. The proposed boulevard would create what the architects described as a 'grand entrance' to the East End that would "re-connect the site to the surrounding neighborhood, contributing to both the physical and psychological reintegration of the site into the greater community" (Lexington Housing Authority 2005, 3). (See Figure 5.3)

Figure 5.3: Architectural plan of the HOPE VI design for Bluegrass-Aspendale. The road in the top half of the plan, with the oval median, is the 'grand entrance'. The plan is from Lexington's 2005 HOPE VI application (Lexington Housing Authority 2005).

Residents of the East End, however, viewed this grand entrance with suspicion. Some owned property in the path of the boulevard and, therefore, would be directly affected by the configuration. Others were concerned about cut-through traffic the

opening-up of the neighborhood might encourage. And there was a general mistrust of local government, viewing the scheme as an attempt to gentrify the East End amidst the renewed (white) interest in downtown.

At a series of design charrettes organized to discuss the proposed boulevard and 'grand entrance', people voiced their position through emotional reactions to landscape. Both groups articulated a version of the disgust-fear discourse. In the meetings and grant application, the architects described the grand entrance as "attractive" and "positive", as a "new image" for the East End, implying that the disgust-fear discourse organized an understanding of the existing landscape (November 12th Design Charrette 2005). During the charrette, the officials' reasons for promoting the grand entrance shifted slightly from those outlined in the grant application. Much was made of the physical and psychological integration of the East End to the rest of the city in the application. This integration was attached to the pride and identity of the neighborhood, whereas the discourse in the meetings with community members primarily centered on economic revitalization: the new image of the East End will bring outside investment to the area.

The officials' focus on outside investment proved to be the most explicit expression of disgust. Milton Dohoney explained why the grand entrance was crucial to the economic revitalization of the East End, noting specifically the importance of Third and Race Streets, the old commercial core of the neighborhood. He said the entrance was a 'must…because a whole lot of people don't give a damn about Third Street…If you keep Third and Race looking the way it looks. Come on! Who are you going to get to invest if Race looks the way it does?' (November 12th Design Charrette 2005). This position was echoed by one of the architects who commented that 'there are certain things Third Street brings to the table…the name alone deters development' (November 12th Design Charrette 2005). The economic logic in these statements is structured by disgust-fear; the distancing reaction expressed through investment decisions.

Residents of the East End, however, also did not like the way their neighborhood looks and they knew outsiders view their neighborhood with disgust. As one resident said at a previous city council meeting, 'we are people, just like you' (October 6th Urban County Council Meeting 2005) in an attempt to counteract the disgust which casts them as less then human. The residents did, however, express a desire to embellish the

landscape: to make the homes and streets 'prettier'. The residents, therefore, organized part of their perception around disgust-fear.

There were, however, points of divergence between the outsiders present at the charrette and residents of the East End. Disgust-fear was the main emotive discourse articulated by outsiders, which had very real consequences for the design of the road network and the solutions proposed. Disgust provided a distinct solution to the problem at hand: cleanse the landscape by replacing it with an 'attractive' grand entrance. To outsiders, therefore, the solution was simple. The understanding of the East End for residents had more working parts. Disgust-fear mingled with attachment. They wanted a transformation of disgust-fear through a 'prettier' landscape, but did not want the neighborhood changed – opened up with a grand boulevard. East End residents wanted the same houses and streets to simply look 'prettier'. In other words, they wanted aesthetic change to come from within the community, not to be imposed from outside as proposed in the HOPE VI application. As one East End resident put it, '[Let's] use what we already have – the streetscape works' (November 12th Design Charrette 2005). But this desire was not to be granted. After the design charrette the LHA decided that the original plan would proceed.

5.3 Charlotte, North Carolina

Disgust-fear moved discussions and decisions in Charlotte, NC, just as it did in Washington DC and Lexington. Earle Village and Piedmont Courts were two of Charlotte's most notorious public housing developments with images organized around disgust-fear as described in Chapter 4. In 1985 *The Charlotte Observer* depicted everyday life in both projects, as well as four others in the city, as being "characterized by fear, crime and dim hopes for the future" (Smith 1985, A1).[53] Earle Village was the first of Charlotte's projects to be transformed. The Charlotte Housing Authority (CHA) received $41,740,155 in 1993 to revitalize the 409 unit development.

While the CHA was preparing their Earle Village grant, the city's uptown was in the midst of a boom. During the 1980s Charlotte became a center for finance and banking, second only to New York. Banks such as Wachovia and Bank of America

[53] Of the six projects singled out in the newspaper article - Earle Village, Dalton Village, Piedmont Courts, Fairview Homes, Boulevard Homes, and Southside Homes - the first four have received HOPE VI grants.

spurred the economy and invigorated uptown by investing in office space, but uptown was lacking retail, entertainment, and living opportunities and was suffering from the perception that it was a dangerous place. By 1992, however, *The Charlotte Observer* could report that "Uptown's Image Brightens" (Smith 1992, C7): the city had increased police foot patrols and strengthened laws against loitering as well as invested in a performing arts center and expansion of Discovery Place.

Earle Village remained a problem. Earle Village was built in 1967 after urban renewal razed a historically black neighborhood known as Brooklyn. Brooklyn, located in the Second Ward, had been a thriving African-American neighborhood in the early 1900s with a mix of single-family homes, shotgun rentals, and a bustling business district. With the Great Depression, the area declined and the subsequent post World War II suburbanization drained the neighborhood of a middle-class presence (Hanchett 1993). In the 1960s the area was home to a predominantly poor, African-American population, the type of neighborhood targeted for urban renewal in cities across the nation. After its destruction, residents of Brooklyn sued the city of Charlotte for replacement housing and Earle Village was built in the First Ward, part of uptown (see Figure 5.4). By 1992, however, Earle Village was the new slum of the inner city with a negative image that revolved around disgust and fear. Earle Village, therefore, clashed with the improving image of uptown. As Kathleen Foster, Vice President of Real Estate Development for the Charlotte Housing Authority, described the situation, Hugh McCall, CEO of Bank of America, looked down at Earle Village from the 51st floor of his uptown office and asked, 'why aren't we doing anything about this?' (Foster 2006).

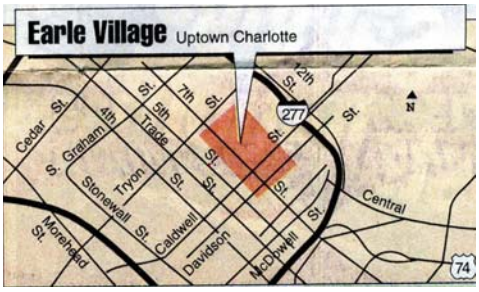


Figure 5.4: *Charlotte Observer* map showing the location of Earle Village 'inside the loop' of I-277 and, therefore, considered part of Uptown Charlotte. From a 1993 article on Earle Village, Staff Graphic (Brown 1993).

This comment by Foster reproduces an oft repeated image: the 'on-high' detachment of the Cartesian perspective, Lefebvre's abstract space. We are talking, however, about a specific office tower in uptown Charlotte and we are talking about the emotions of disgust and fear, which gives this perspective its sense of detachment. One of the characteristic actions of disgust is the desire to purify, to 'do something about this'.

This was also the reaction to Bluegrass-Aspendale in Lexington. But the disgust-fear reaction is not uniform; not everyone reacts to a disgust-fear discourse with the desire to 'clean it up'. Purification, after all, is not the only action tendency of disgust – withdrawal, recoiling, and distancing are also characteristic actions. The disgust-fear reaction for developers and architects in Charlotte took the form of economic recoiling. A hallmark of public housing is its economic (and social) isolation. The disgust and fear surrounding public housing creates a physical and financial distance that is fundamental to the 'rational' forces of market capitalism. This economic/spatial recoiling on the part of investors and developers shaped the history of Earle Village and the HOPE VI process. Architect David Furhman involved in the Earle Village HOPE VI grant relayed a story that captures this dynamic:

> Going back to when there was a decision to do a HOPE VI there, I remember when it was a ghetto. And there was a team of developers pulled together into a room to say would you guys be interested in developing down here and everybody in the room went *hell* no (2006)

The developers' reaction, 'hell no', is an expression of physical recoiling; it is disgust-fear at work. Emotion constituted this economic calculation.[54]

This decision could be read, however, as irrational, a case of emotions interfering with a logical financial decision. After all, from a profit-oriented perspective this proposition should have been attractive given Earle Village's proximity to a downtown in the beginning stages of an economic boom, a developer's dream. But the disgust-fear that was associated with Earle Village made this area undesirable and, therefore, a risky investment. Their reaction was financially logical because it followed the logic of disgust.

[54] As he said, 'hell no', Furhman reared his head back and crinkled his nose, a facial expression associated with disgust (Tomkins 1963).

Kathleen Foster concurred, saying that very few Charlotte professionals wanted to work on the project. She also provided more detail on the dynamics of the HOPE VI grant: native Charlotte residents, having grown up with disgust-fear directed towards Earle Village as 'that place I just don't go' brought their disgust-fear to the negotiating table. It took a number of converging forces to overcome the disgust-fear and get HOPE VI going. First, big players such as Bank of America became eager to invest in uptown. Having located their national headquarters in Charlotte, Bank of America wanted to ensure their new city projected an image of economic growth and progress. Second, at this time, Charlotte was experiencing an influx of people from outside the city and region who had no preconceived notions of First Ward (Foster 2006).

This trend continued, however, with Charlotte's 2003 HOPE VI grant for Piedmont Courts, despite the lapse in time and the successful model of Earle Village. Piedmont Courts opened in 1941 as a white public housing development in the neighborhood of Belmont, a blue-collar neighborhood north of uptown. By the late 1980s Piedmont Courts was known as a poor, black project in a poor, black neighborhood. By the time I moved to Charlotte in the summer of 2000 to work for the low-income home provider Habitat for Humanity, Belmont had the most Habitat homes of any neighborhood in the city, a loose gauge of race, income, and reputation. And by the time the CHA applied for a HOPE VI grant in 2003, Piedmont Courts and the Belmont neighborhood was surrounded by booming, gentrifying neighborhoods (see Figure 5.5. and 5.6.).

Figures 5.5. and 5.6: Piedmont Courts and townhouses in Charlotte. To the left, Piedmont Courts. Note the towers of uptown Charlotte in the background. With its proximity to uptown, this land has tremendous development potential. To the right, an example of the construction boom in

surrounding neighborhoods. This new urban loft is located in Optimist Park, a working class, black neighborhood adjacent to Belmont. Photographs taken by Ellen Hostetter

The pressure and potential for Belmont and Piedmont Courts to 'turn around' was intense. The disgust-fear surrounding Piedmont Courts was so strong, however, that local developers were hesitant to get involved. As Ben Collins, director of the HOPE VI project for the developer Grubb Associates, commented:

> the folks that um, were sort of more conservative from an underwriting standpoint and that type of thing, you know looked at the site and said there is no way that there's going to be, you know that we're going to be selling 200,000 dollar condos *there*. You know I mean it's just horrible. You know you have this convenience store across the street, you have all this industrial use across the way, the city yards, um, there was actually a person that was shot and killed on Seigle Avenue just down the street from here. I mean, just terrible…and you still go down in the Belmont neighborhood, and um, I mean, it's not an inviting place to go (2006)

The disgust-fear stems from a mix of aesthetic cues – a convenience store, the city yards – and social cues – violent crime – which together makes Piedmont Courts 'horrible', 'terrible', not an inviting place to go for most Charlotteans (see Figure 5.7).

Figure 5.7: Convenience Store, Piedmont Courts. "You know I mean it's just horrible. You know you have this convenience store across the street" (Collins 2006). The convenience store is not only aesthetically offending, but it acts as a meeting place for the black residents of Belmont. Photograph taken by Ellen Hostetter.

5.3.1 Designing the HOPE VI Plan

The potency of this disgust-fear shaped the revitalization plans for both HOPE VI grants in material ways. The initial plans for Earle Village included saving thirteen existing units. According to Kathleen Foster, it was the residents who wanted to save the existing units, 'for some reason' (2006). Allen McGuire discusses the evolution of this plan:

> They had planned to save thirteen, but it kept getting whittled down to, you know, oh we can't save these things, they're derelict and they evoked such such strong reaction from people that they were bad, and associated with what was bad. So, they eventually got down to having just four and nobody wanted to work on those, nobody wanted to renovate those buildings, and they came to us and we said, sure! We'll do it. And uh, so that was like the first, that was the first thing that kind of got off the ground…But um, they were very successful - the renovated units - and it really kind of changed the perception of what this place could become (2006).

The residents' request was reduced to four units because the disgust-fear surrounding the landscape was so strong. In a parallel to the shifting discourse found in the HOPE VI NOFA, as the disgust-fear of outsiders becomes the guiding discourse for HOPE VI, consideration of the needs and wants of residents has a tendency to be diminished. Despite resident requests and despite the structural integrity of the buildings which were "sturdy as all get out" (McGuire 2006), transforming disgust-fear was more important for the HOPE VI process. Practical concerns and resident desires would not fund and provide political support for the grant: it was the renovation of these units that started the financial and political wheels turning by changing the perception of what First Ward could become (see Figure 5.8 and 5.9).

Figures 5.8 and 5.9: Photographs of rehabilitated public housing, First Ward. "Having front porches and having porches big enough to occupy and steps and stoops and, and, you know, uh, not being afraid to have a next door neighbor and all that kind of thing…doing all those things that are sort of old, old neighborhood standards…there was a set of design parameters that was set up that brought back all of those things in a positive light" (McGuire 2006). Both photographs show one of the saved Earle Village units. Traditional housing details – porches and dormers – have been added to the plain brick buildings in order to normalize the landscape. The renovation is apparent in the photograph on the right: a gabled roof has been placed on top of the plain brick box like a hat. Porches and a storage space clad in vinyl siding have been plugged into the façade. Photographs taken by Ellen Hostetter.

The HOPE VI plan, however, included single family homes, a request of residents. Kathleen Foster expressed frustration with this request, feeling that the site demanded high density building (2006). But this resident request did not endanger the transformation of disgust-fear. While the CHA and developers were going for an urban look, single-family homes certainly project an image of mainstream America (see Figure 5.10).

Figure 5.10: Photograph of single-family home in First Ward. One of the single family homes built at the residents' request. This photograph could easily be titled 'Mainstream America'. Photograph taken by Ellen Hostetter.

For the Piedmont Court HOPE VI grant, outsider perspectives also dominated the design decision-making process. I asked Ben Collins to describe the first design charrette for Piedmont Courts, which was run by Urban Design Associates, a national-scale planning firm. In his description he lists some of the key stakeholder groups present at the charrette: "They would have ten and twelve different stakeholder groups – one that was local business owners, one that was adjacent property owners, one that was the Belmont neighborhood, one that was city planning" (Collins 2006). He does not list residents of Piedmont Courts as a key stakeholder, a telling omission since one could argue they had the most at stake. I asked if residents attended the design charrette and Collins recalled only six to ten. Much of the discussion, therefore, was amongst those who lived outside the development.

These outsiders were concerned with creating a marketable product and so design decisions met these outsider desires. Developers were eager to repeat the success of First Ward and felt they could achieve this goal by copying the architectural style found in the city's first HOPE VI project. As Collins comments, "so when [the design] was discussed, basically said, well, you know, it's going to look like this. (laughing). So, and

that was pretty much it, the end of it, because everyone's happy with how First Ward looks and turned out and everything. So we're going to look there and do something very similar" (2006) (see Figures 5.11-5.15).

Figures 5.11 and 5.12: Examples of First Ward architecture. Photographs taken by Ellen Hostetter.

Figure 5.13: Design sketch of Piedmont Courts, by Urban Design Associates. The rendered architecture is similar in appearance to the architecture of First Ward – three story townhouses with balconies. Sketch from a power point presentation created by Urban Design Associates (Power Point 2005).

Figures 5.14 and 5.15: Market rate housing, First Ward. Actually, the design sketch of Piedmont Courts looks more like the very popular market rate projects that went in after First Ward was completed. These townhouses have a more 'urban' feel: the use of steel pipes for balcony railings is repeated in the design sketch, as well as the modular geometry of the windows and bays. See Chapter 8 for more details. Photographs by Ellen Hostetter.

But this does not mean disgust-fear pervaded every aspect of the Piedmont Courts HOPE VI plan. The design, for example, took its architectural cues from First Ward, but its layout was influenced by convergent resident, community, and police discourses of fear. All three groups were concerned with safety. Urban Design Associates held a meeting with Piedmont Courts tenants where the residents listed three weaknesses of Piedmont Courts: noisy streets, lack of security, and outsiders – drugs[55] (Power Point 2005). The design team took these concerns into consideration and worked with a city committee dedicated to safety through environmental design. The result was a design with "lots of eyes on the street – eyes on the parking lot" (Collins 2006) that is easy for the police and community to monitor. Each part of a HOPE VI plan is a negotiation of different emotive discourses.

5.4 Conclusion

This chapter established the emotive discourses found in the policy process, showed how disgust-fear became the dominant emotive discourse for HOPE VI, and showed how the dominance of disgust-fear directed HOPE VI policy in particular directions. Specifically, the chapter showed that disgust, fear, and shame were part of the policy process in Washington DC that led to the writing of HOPE VI into law. Disgust-fear, however, became the dominant emotive discourse for HOPE VI, illustrated through

[55] It is unclear how many residents were present at this meeting.

a detailed examination of HOPE VI NOFA's, Senate Appropriation Hearings, HUD Documents, and *The Congressional Record*. Disgust and fear also dominated the HOPE VI process in Lexington and Charlotte in terms of writing a HOPE VI grant and designing the HOPE VI landscape. The Washington DC section, however, acknowledged that shame retained a presence in the HOPE VI process as a motivating discourse and the Lexington and Charlotte sections acknowledged that oftentimes, shame, disgust, and fear interconnect in complex ways.

The chapter also showed that shame and disgust-fear moved the politics and economics of HOPE VI in particular ways. A shame discourse tended to lead to broad policy recommendations that encompassed the physical and social aspects of public housing. Disgust-fear, on the other hand, tended to narrow discussion to the pathologies of public housing residents, which led to policy recommendations that focus on deconcentrating poverty and creating mixed-income communities largely through the demolition of the existing public housing landscape. Tracing the Washington DC NOFAs illustrated these trends, as did the conversations over design in Lexington and Charlotte.

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Chapter 6: Why Shame is the Exception and Disgust-Fear the Rule in Washington DC, Lexington, and Charlotte

The emotive discourses that moved and shaped the HOPE VI process were not simple or clean-cut. The stories from DC, Lexington, and Charlotte show the various ways disgust-fear and shame wove together and veered apart. There was, however, a tendency for disgust-fear to dominate HOPE VI in all three cities. This chapter explores 1) why shame is the exception and disgust-fear the rule and 2) the consequences of disgust-fear's dominance of HOPE VI. These explorations take into account how emotive discourses circulate through the structures of government and the characteristics of the emotions themselves.

The chapter begins with analysis of the shame discourse found in the Final Report of the NCSDPH and the Senate Appropriations Report, the 'founding documents' of HOPE VI, showing that the shame discourse found in both documents faced structural obstacles to its circulation. Both reports went through a translation: the Final Report of the NCSDPH was disseminated in Congress largely through verbal reports and summaries and the Appropriations Report was translated into public law. But the shame discourse also did not achieve widespread circulation because of the nature of shame itself. It is the characteristics of shame as used in the Final Report and Appropriations Report that makes it an effective motivator, but it also makes it problematic as a political emotion.

The chapter then moves to a discussion of disgust-fear: why this discourse is effective in the realm of politics and capital. It considers the neoliberal context for HOPE VI and HUD's 'reinvention' of public housing in 1996, both of which pushed for public housing to engage the private market. This push demanded that the disgust-fear surrounding public housing be transformed to enjoyment. Because of the characteristics of disgust-fear, this could only be accomplished in one way: demolishing the existing landscape and replacing it with a landscape deemed enjoyable. New Urbanist architecture and planning principles provided the design guidance for this transformation. The transformation of the disgust-fear discourse is also a highly visible, photogenic, and seemingly objective process, making it politically useful.

The chapter's third section is a summary analysis that examines the consequences of disgust-fear's dominance of HOPE VI. This section shows that disgust-fear is politically and financially effective and furthered some goals that received widespread support, but this emotive discourse 1) had material consequences for public housing across the country and 2) cuts off discussion and viability of alternative policy solutions. I argue that both of these consequences stem directly from the characteristics of disgust and fear.

6.1 Shame's Structural Obstacles

6.1.1. Final Report of the NCSDPH

The Final Report of the NCSDPH is widely cited as the inspiration for HOPE VI. A 2003 description of HOPE VI published by HUD, for example, describes a clear chronology and link between the Final Report and HOPE VI: "HOPE VI was a direct result of the report of the National Commission on Severely Distressed Public Housing, submitted to Congress on August 10, 1992" (HOPE VI Program Authority August 2003). It is not clear, however, that the Final Report *directly* laid the groundwork for the discourse of shame or the policy recommendations found in the Senate Appropriations Report that contained the initial description of HOPE VI, written by Senator Mikulski and Kevin Kelly.[56]

Mikulski and Kelly were aware of the Commission's work, but the line between the Commission and Mikulski and Kelly is fuzzy. Kevin Kelly described their use of the Final Report:

> EH (Ellen Hostetter): So how much, how much did you guys actually use the final report from the Commission in your –
> KK: (Kevin Kelly): We said there's a commission. It says there's a lot of problems in a lot of places. We need to fix it. And that was it.
> EH: ok,
> KK: It was not like, there was not this detailed attention to you know, no (2006).

[56] The NCSDPH had some influence on The Housing and Community Development Act of 1992, which contained Section 120, 'The Revitalization of Severely Distressed Public Housing', the parallel program to HOPE VI created by the Senate Subcommittee on Housing and Urban Affairs. As stated in footnote 13 this subcommittee created the NCSDPH. The Senate Report acknowledges the influence of the NCSDPH, but note that the Final Report was published at the end of deliberation on the Act and the Subcommittee was only able to respond to part of the Commission's recommendations. The Senate Report for this act, however, does not include the shame narrative found in the Commission's Final Report. It does, however, mimic Representative Green's summary of the Final Report which is outlined below.

Sharon Geno, former associate of Gordon Cavanaugh, also explained the situation:

> HOPE VI was kind of going on this track and the National Commission was kind of going on that track and they kind of (smacks her hands together) did this and it all sort of came together. But, they're not necessarily as connected as people think (2006).

This complicates the typical chronology presented in most discussions of HOPE VI that say the program came directly from the recommendations of the NCSDPH.

The Final Report's influence on HOPE VI and in Capitol Hill occurred in its *translation* rather than a direct reading, with implications for its use as a guiding discourse for HOPE VI. First, Jeffrey Lines, Lead Technical Consultant for the Commission, consulted with Cavanaugh as HOPE VI was crafted by Mikulski and Kelly. As Lines describes the situation: 'we sketched out the things we wanted and Gordon walked it over to Kevin' (2006). Mikulski and Kelly's awareness of the Commission's activities through Lines most likely reinforced their own ideas instead of generating them.[57]

Second, the main use of the Final Report on the Hill was as a lobbying tool: it drew attention to the problem of distressed public housing, generated interest, and provided sound-bites of information. The content of the Final Report, therefore, was summarized and distilled. Gordon Cavanaugh describes the situation:

> Senator Mikulski's Urban Demonstration program, a.k.a. HOPE VI [was] already conceived and probably rough-drafted before the Report was disseminated...It did not produce Mikulski's bill - contrary to some accounts - but did a great job of establishing an environment among any who needed to be persuaded of the problem and its solutions (2006).

Third, members of the Commission gave testimony at Congressional hearings in 1991 and 1992, offering summaries of the Commission's policy proposals to that date. At a March 25, 1992 hearing, "Distressed Public Housing", Co-Chair Vincent Lane and Terry Duvernay outlined some of the Commission's proposals: changes in rent calculations to encourage a greater mix of incomes, adoption of public safety measures, creation of a national accreditation system for PHAs, and allowing MROP funds to be used to pay for physical rehab and replacement housing. The majority of Lane and Duvernay's statements have a practical tone – laying out the Commission's

[57] It should be noted that I have no direct interview evidence for this statement.

recommendations without exposition. They do not, therefore, repeat the structure of the Final Report, limiting the reach of shame. But the comments of Irene Johnson, Chicago public housing resident and member of NCSDPH, have the tone of shame:

> My recommendation from a personal experience is – and you can't legislate attitudinal change, but you most certainly can talk about it. I think that if the attitudes of everybody began to change in terms of how to remedy this problem, it has to start with respect for the people that's living in these houses and consider and treat us as Americans, because if you notice that people in public housing – if you would come down where we are in the trenches, you will find that we love, we hate, we laugh, we cry. We want decent, safe and sanitary housing and environments (U.S. Senate March 25, 1992).

She did not use the specific language of shame found in the Final Report, but Johnson did speak about attitudinal change – respect for public housing residents and their inclusion as members of society and humanity – the type of change that might follow from the a shame experience. In terms of Johnson's comments influencing the circulation of the shame discourse, however, they are limited. First, she did not use the explicit phrase 'national disgrace'. Second, and this is speculation on my part, despite being a member of the NCSDPH she is a woman and public housing resident, making her emotional and personal comments expected and, therefore, easier to dismiss.

Even the official submission of the Final Report to Congress did not utilize the shame discourse that is so woven into the text itself. Representative and Commission Co-Chair Bill Green presented the Final Report on the floor of Congress:

> Let me say that our Commission, as best it could, tried to find out just what proportion of the public housing stock fell in the category of severely distressed. It was our estimate that roughly 6 percent of the public housing that had been built in the country fell in that category.
>
> People should understand that even an authority like the Philadelphia Housing Authority, which has some severely distressed public housing and plainly has very serious management problems, also had, when we visited, some housing developments that were running very well and providing very nice housing for the people who occupied them. So I have reasonable confidence in that 6-percent number.
>
> Now, I have to say that if one looked at social programs that this Congress has enacted over the years, one would see that a 94-percent batting average is a pretty good one. If 94 percent of all the people on welfare got off welfare after a couple of years, never to return, if 94 percent of all the people who went to prison got out and

> never went back, if 94 percent of all the people who went into drug treatment were cured and never slipped again, we should say that we had some superb programs there. Alas, none of them begins to approach that level.
>
> And I am sick and tired of people knocking public housing when it has this record that is far better than that of most other social programs this Congress has enacted (U.S. House July 29, 1992)

In an important act of translation he did not use the shame discourse found in the Final Report. Instead, he was at pains to highlight the public housing success story, stating that only six percent or 86,000 units are severely distressed. This numerical piece of information becomes one of the most frequently cited parts of the Commission's work while the phrase 'national disgrace' is confined to the Final Report.

Fourth, it is unclear how many politicians ever directly read the Final Report of the NCSDPH. When I asked this question of Jeff Lines he responded: 'First of all, many Congressmen don't read a damn thing' (2006) Congress is overwhelmed by literature on a daily basis and it is the Congressional staff that reads, sifts, summarizes, and briefs members of Congress where translation inevitably takes place. In the case of the Final Report it was most likely the policy recommendations that were summarized and reported, not the discourse. The timing of the Report's release combined with the translation process that makes up the everyday workings of government limited the circulation of 'national disgrace' as the guiding discourse for HOPE VI.

6.1.2 Appropriations Report

The shame discourse found in the Appropriations Report does not survive translation into public law, much like the shame discourse of the Final Report dwindled in its translation from person to person. On October 6, 1992, HOPE VI was written into Public Law 102-389 as an urban revitalization demonstration program. Kelly worked with officials at HUD on the language (Kelly 2006), which follows a formal, legal style that does not leave room for narrative. HOPE VI is introduced in P.L. 102-389 as "$300,000,000 shall be for grants to carry out an urban revitalization demonstration program involving major reconstruction of severely distressed or obsolete public housing projects, to be administered by local public housing agencies" (U.S. Congress October 6, 1992). The language of shame is gone, as is the up-front focus on residents. HOPE VI changed from a self-evaluation of government action and repairing a relationship with

residents to a straightforward reconstruction of severely distressed public housing developments, reflecting the template language used for other public housing programs that deal only with physical needs. This is not to say Kelly was upset with this wording; this is simply how government works.

The law goes on to provide a much more detailed outline of HOPE VI than was found in the Appropriations Report. 'Eliminating dangerous structures' was translated into an eighty percent allocation of funds for "major reconstruction, rehabilitation, and other physical improvements, for the capital costs of replacement units" (U.S. Congress October 6, 1992). The self-sufficiency and community sweat-equity components were translated into a twenty percent allocation of funds for social service programs with each city making matching contributions equaling fifteen percent of the funds provided. Additional details incorporated into the Appropriations Act included the following: housing authorities in the forty most populous cities are eligible; grants are capped at $50,000,000; and one-third of units demolished can be replaced by Section 8 certificates, with the rest replaced by conventional public housing, acquired units, or units made available for homeownership.[58] All of these details lacked a narrative explanation and discussion, eliminating the shame framework found in the Appropriations Report. And the details placed the emphasis on physical needs, with eighty percent of the grant to be used for landscape transformation. This is, however, a practical matter of not only fitting within the template of existing public housing legislation but recognizing that more money is needed for physical revitalization than social services.

The political pitch used to garner votes for the 1993 Appropriations Act also did not use a discourse of shame. Kelly hoped the authorizers would approve the program, but it was still unauthorized, which could have caused political problems when it came to a floor vote. His strategy for locking in the needed votes was based on money, not on any notion of responsibility or obligation to public housing residents. As Jeff Lines describes the situation: 'Kevin Kelly called me – Listen here Jeff, I want you to get this clear. We're doing an appropriations bill, I don't want any bullshit – I want to know, will Detroit get money? Will DC get money?' (2006). Kelly targeted those Senators who had

[58] Gordon Cavanaugh's suggestion that the one-for-one replacement rule be modified was incorporated into the Act.

the most populous cities in their states and who, therefore, would be eligible for and most likely receive HOPE VI grants. Senator Mikulski then went out onto the floor with the ability to say "fine, you want to cut housing for Salt Lake City, the potential for Salt Lake City to get this, fine. Come at us" (Kelly 2006).

The only place the original Appropriations Report language survives in written form is in a 2000 HUD document called *Community Building Makes a Difference*. The document directly quotes the three goals found in the Appropriations Report and notes that "[f]rom the beginning, HOPE VI has been about taking practical steps to create a community that supports family life, children, and the aspirations of people who have been marginalized and cut off from life's opportunities" (Naparstek et al. 2000, iii). This statement is reminiscent of the shame discourse; its theme is repairing relationships. The remainder of the document examines the support services offered by 7 HOPE VI grants and offers lessons learned. The document, however, was written by Arthur Naparstek with a forward by Senator Mikulski. The repetition of the Appropriations Report, therefore, relied on two of the individuals directly involved in the HOPE VI process. There is no sense that the Appropriations Report had become institutional knowledge.

6.1.3 NOFA

The first NOFA continues this chain of translation by drawing on the Appropriations Act of 1993[59] which was a *translation* of the shame discourse. In fact, it drew on and copied the technical language found in the Act, describing the purpose of the Urban Revitalization Demonstration Program as "revitalizing severely distressed or obsolete public housing developments. The activities in the program include funding of the capital costs of major reconstruction, rehabilitation and other physical improvements, the provision of replacement housing, management improvements, planning and technical assistance, implementation of community service programs and supportive services or the planning of such activities" (U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development January 5, 1993, 436). The programmatic elements remained a mix of physical and social initiatives, with the funding levels set by Mikulski and Kelly: eighty

[59] In an attempt to reconcile Senator Mikulski's HOPE VI with the Authorizing Committee's revitalization program, the first NOFA drew from both the Appropriations Act of 1993 and the Housing and Community Development Act of 1992.

percent for physical costs and twenty percent for social services, but the reasoning behind these programmatic elements is eliminated.

6.2 Shame's Political Obstacles

The shame discourse does have some political logic. Shame is an effective way to impress upon others the need to address public housing issues because it emphasizes an obligation and responsibility to public housing residents. It is an effective way to introduce broad policy recommendations focused on both physical and social needs. The shame discourse takes the situation as a whole and does not focus attention on any single aspect of public housing. And shame is a way to express indignation, outrage, and anger at the conditions found in public housing developments. Shame, however, is also used as a weapon in political debate, as in 'you ought to be ashamed of yourself'.

For those Congressmen not involved in the details of public housing policy, however, the shame discourse might not be an effective way for them to speak about public housing. Shame is an emotion that involves the whole self (Tomkins 1963); it indicates personal involvement. As a member of CLPHA commented, "Well Congress can't necessarily blame themselves, because if they say it's a disgrace, it's a disgrace because they didn't fund public housing. So they can look at the after effects and look at the crime and look at the dilapidation and kind of complain about that. But they can't really say, this is, we should be ashamed of ourselves, this is horrible because it's a situation they created" (Member 2006). For those Congressmen involved in the details of public housing policy, such as those on the Committee for VA, HUD, and Independent Agencies, this is less of a problem since, from their perspective, they *are* directly involved. For other politicians, however, this is a tenuous position to take especially considering that "there are very few people in the either party who give a hoot about public housing" (Schiff 2006). It is very unlikely that an individual with no political connection to public housing would adopt shame as a framework.

In terms of the shame discourse being an effective way to gain support for public housing, it has its limits. While it emphasizes a responsibility and obligation to public housing residents, it does not effectively engage a monetary argument. As seen with Kelly, to ensure the votes he needed for the Appropriations Bill, he had to rely on the promise of funneling money to a member's district or state. Obligation and responsibility

do not plug into the circulation of money that is such an important part of how government works.

An additional limitation of the shame discourse in gaining support for public housing is its focus on the failures of government, the failure of public housing. In the late 1980s and early 1990s HUD was struggling for political survival. The immediate past had not been kind to the agency, with a 1989 scandal involving "revelations of fraud, influence peddling and the alleged diversion of thousands of dollars into the pockets of former Reagan administration officials and their friends" (Ifill 1989, A4) as well as cuts in funding from the 1989-1993 Bush administration. The reputation of HUD was so poor that Secretary Jack Kemp could joke in 1989 that "When I first was nominated to become Secretary of the Department of Housing and Urban Development people told me that HUD really stood for the Department of Hotels and Urban Destruction" (U.S. House April 5, 1989).

By the time Bill Clinton took office in 1993, there were increasing calls to eliminate HUD as an agency. In a December 1994 interview with the *Washington Post*, Newt Gingrich was quoted as saying "I would argue that you could abolish HUD tomorrow morning and improve life in most of America....I think HUD's reputation is now so bad ... and the whole public housing policy has been such a failure that it's very hard to sustain HUD" (Cooper 1994). A 1995 *Washington Post* article stated "Politically, HUD is about as popular as smallpox" (Saving HUD: One Department's Risky Strategy for Radical Change 1995). The Clinton administration even floated the idea of eliminating HUD in 1994, the message conveyed to Secretary Cisneros during an airplane conversation with Vice President Al Gore (Saving HUD: One Department's Risky Strategy for Radical Change 1995).[60] Calls to eliminate HUD increased as a Republican Congress was elected in the 1995 mid-term elections and House Speaker Newt Gingrich and Senate Majority Leader Robert Dole led the charge.

[60] At a May 30, 1996 HUD Conference, Vice President Al Gore spins the disgust-fear narrative with imagery of infestation and contamination. At this conference the press quotes him as announcing the administration's goal of razing 100,000 public housing units, "warehouses for the poor" (Gugliotta 1996, A3), by 2000: "'These crime-infested monuments to a failed policy are killing the neighborhoods around them…By tearing them down and replacing them with apartments and town homes, we lay the foundations for vibrant neighborhoods that will bring our inner cities back to life'" (Gugliotta 1996, A3).

Some of the supporters of HOPE VI worried that the focus on public housing failures sent the wrong political message, especially given the hostile political environment. When asked about the phrase 'national disgrace', Jeff Lines' reaction was immediate: 'I couldn't control everything that went into the report' (Lines 2006). The phrase 'national disgrace' was included by the Commissioners over his objection. Lines did not like the phrase because he wanted to focus on the successes of the program; he wanted pride associated with public housing, not shame, in order to garner political support. Lines prefers Representative Bill Green's presentation of the Final Report to Congress which, as mentioned above, stresses pride in the public housing program.

6.3 Rise of Disgust-Fear

Disgust-fear became the guiding discourse for the evolution of HOPE VI for a number of reasons that have to do with its strength as the predominant, public discourse for public housing and its ability to fit into the political and financial requirements of government. As HOPE VI transitioned from a law enacted by Senators to a program implemented by HUD, a number of forces came to bear on the program that pushed it towards a private sector financial model – HUD's 'reinvention' of public housing within a neoliberal context; developers and urban planners interested in public housing and HOPE VI – all of which have to do with making HOPE VI marketable. As we saw with the stories from Lexington and Charlotte, the logic of the marketplace is, in many ways, the logic of disgust.

As already outlined, HUD faced a hostile political climate in the early 1990s. The Clinton Administration reacted to this heightened hostility with a 1995 plan to 'reinvent' public housing. The formulation of this reinvention began with a weekend meeting of HUD assistant secretaries Andrew Cuomo, Joseph Shuldiner, and Nicolas Retsinas in early December, 1995. The resulting memo outlined a drastic overhaul of the agency that involved consolidation of HUD programs, transformation of public housing, and creation of a federal housing corporation (HUD Reinvention March 1995). The transformation of public housing called for the implementation of neoliberal policies which revolved around the "belief that open, competitive, and unregulated markets, liberated from all forms of state interference, represent the optimal mechanism for economic development" (Brenner and Theodore 2002, 350). Applied to public housing policy, the result was

devolution and privatization (Hammel 2006), making the program more palatable to conservative Republicans who did not want government directly involved in building and operating public housing. HUD's plan envisioned a "shift to a market environment" (HUD Reinvention March 1995, 8): instead of direct subsidies to PHAs for specific developments, HUD would move towards a voucher system that would give assistance to residents within the private market. Residents, therefore, would have a 'choice' regarding their housing, putting pressure on PHAs to have a competitive product. As Cisneros explains, "public and assisted housing managers, forced to compete with similarly priced housing for the assisted tenants, would have to improve the quality of their housing or go the way of the dinosaur" (Cisneros 1995).

The ripple effects of the reinvention plan are in the 1995 NOFA packets distributed to PHAs. The February 3, 1995 cover letter signed by Kevin Marchman gave a frank outline of the situation:[61]

> As you well know, I write at a time when the environment in which your authority operates is becoming more and more challenging. The Department of Housing and Urban Development has proposed to transform the public housing system as part of a sweeping 'reinvention'. The proposed system will subject public housing developments to market forces by shifting project-based assistance to tenant-based subsidies. The Department has also proposed an orderly transition for the public housing system, during which project-based capital and operating funds will be available. PHAs with severely distressed developments must work especially quickly and strategically during this period in order to secure viable inventories which will be competitive in the coming market. The Department has designed its HOPE VI funding round for FY 1995 to help you prepare for this new competitive environment...The Department encourages grantees to plan for viable, competitive, and marketable units that will appeal to both subsidized and unsubsidized renters and homeowners. You should also be objective about the long term viability of your distressed developments, and consider the alternative of demolition, disposition and the subsequent replacement of units in competitive locations throughout your market area.
>
> The Department seeks solutions through the HOPE VI Demonstration which 'leverage' Federal funds...One avenue we encourage you to explore is that of transactions using multiple sources of funds, which can simultaneously develop affordable and/or market rate housing into which new public housing units may be dispersed, creating economically integrated neighborhoods (1995)

[61] Marchman had already sent PHAs a February 1994 memorandum called "URD Plus: A Tool for Neighborhood Revitalization" that encouraged the leveraging of HOPE VI funds (Epp 1996; Zhang and Weismann 2006)

HUD decided to use HOPE VI as a vehicle for enacting the 'Blueprint'. In order to prepare for the new market environment, HUD urged PHAs to use HOPE VI funds to ensure their product – the landscape – was competitive. As a precursor to the 1996 NOFA which required demolition, the 1995 letter encouraged PHAs to consider demolition as part of a new, market-oriented strategy.

The message from HUD was clear: PHAs must ensure the landscape of public housing was attractive to both residents and unsubsidized renters and homeowners. The push for involving unsubsidized folk is a financial consideration as well as part of the goal to create mixed-income communities. If PHAs can attract people with higher incomes, their operating subsidies will rise. And dealing with market-rate housing will also allow PHAs to enter partnerships with private developers and, therefore, leverage Federal funds, as the second paragraph of the letter suggests.

Affordable housing developers and residential housing developers also started to come to HUD with proposals that moved HUD to act in remaking the financial structure of public housing through HOPE VI. The first NOFA for HOPE VI got people's attention. Here was a fifty million dollar grant for public housing; a very large amount of money rarely seen by those in the affordable and public housing community. Developers and housing authorities saw the potential for innovative real estate transactions and leveraging of funds, if only HUD would loosen some of its structural restrictions on PHA partnerships with non-profits and the private sector. A number of developers including Richard Baron, Egbert Perry – CEO of the Integral Group, LLC, Patrick Clancy – CEO of Community Builders, Inc., and Donald Turner – CEO of BRIDGE Housing Corporation lobbied HUD on this issue (Zhang and Weismann 2006).

In 1994 Richard Baron went to the HUD Office of General Counsel, on behalf of the St. Louis Housing Authority, to request a legal opinion: could PHAs use their funds along with the Low-Income Housing Tax Credit program (LIHTC)? The LIHTC was created in 1986 as part of the Tax Reform Act. The program provides a tax credit for those who invest in affordable housing. These tax credits, however, were meant for the private sector. This request, therefore, "required HUD OGC to consider: (1) whether [HOPE VI], as it read at the time, permitted public housing to be owned and operated by

entities other than PHAs, such as limited partnerships receiving tax credits, and (2) whether the act allowed PHAs to provide operating subsidies or capital funds to such entities" (Zhang and Weismann 2006, 53). Nelson Diaz, in what has become known as the 'Diaz Opinion', concluded that the act allowed this type of activity. The 'Diaz Opinion' opened the gates to allow private sector involvement in public housing, furthering the neoliberal push.

In order for all of this to work – the neoliberal strategy, the details of the Diaz Opinion – outsider perspectives of public housing had to be managed. Linking to the private market hinges on attracting numerous outsiders such as developers, investors, and market-rate tenants. And as we have seen, the prevailing image of public housing was loaded with the highly negative emotions of disgust and fear. According to the logic of disgust, a revolting, contaminated object must be 'cleaned up' (Tomkins 1963) and since it is the landscape that evokes disgust-fear, it is the landscape that must cleansed through demolition. This is the 'natural' conclusion to this discourse, a conclusion that is typically viewed as simply the logic of the marketplace.[62] But in this case, the logic of the marketplace is the logic of disgust. In order to spark outsiders' interest and start the circulation of money, the disgust and fear surrounding public housing had to be overcome through elimination of the existing landscape and construction of a new landscape perceived as clean, safe, attractive, and enjoyable.

Joe Schiff offers a snapshot of this phenomenon in Louisville, Kentucky:

> JS (Joe Schiff) What you've basically got is a very large medical complex
> EH (Ellen Hostetter): ok
> JS: and literally diagonally across the street from one corner of the medical complex is a 718, was a 718 unit public housing site…Directly across the street, three towers of public housing for seniors, which now turned more into disabled people…but it's thought of as a senior property. I don't think the community understands who lives there, ok?
> EH: right, right.
> JS: Uh, but now the 718 units is down and the medical complex – a friend of mine is vice president of the university for health affairs, so I can tell you that they're ecstatic over the fact that it's gone. Ok? (2006)

[62] Howell and Leonard, for example, comment on the main goals of HOPE VI and conclude that "[k]ey to the success of each of these areas, however, is initially developing and marketing a successful real estate product" (1999, 25).

Outsiders are not necessarily interested in the social dynamics of public housing. What they see are public housing units that are eyesores, blighted, dangerous; they see the stereotype of public housing that is organized around disgust-fear. The purification of this landscape is what gets outsiders interested and excited, a crucial part of the financial workings of HOPE VI. The shame discourse, in contrast, was unable to plug into the circulation of money; it was not a framework that one could use to discuss leveraging funds and attracting outside investment. The shame discourse is too focused on resident needs, which is a cost for PHAs. But by shifting to disgust-fear, HOPE VI shifts from dealing with resident needs to managing outsider perspectives, a much more lucrative enterprise.

Given the neoliberal push from HUD and the need to change the landscape of public housing, the partnership between HUD and New Urbanism is not surprising. As described in the introduction, New Urbanism is a planning movement that seeks to address the social and economic ills created by modern architecture and suburbia. These architects and urban planners support a set of traditional planning principles from the turn-of-the-century: "neighborhoods should be diverse in use and population…cities and towns should be shaped by physically defined and universally accessible public spaces and community institutions; urban places should be framed by architecture and landscape design that celebrate local history, climate, ecology, and building practice" (Duany, Plater-Zyberk, and Speck 2000, 260-261). These principles parallel many HUD and Congressional solutions for public housing: mixed-income developments that connect with the surrounding community in terms of both architecture and institutions.

But perhaps more importantly, New Urbanism produces a 'successful real estate product', an aestheticized landscape that has been identified with neoliberalism in general (Walks 2006; Goonewardena 2005) and is key to making the neoliberal strategy of HOPE VI work. The landscapes produced by New Urbanists have proved popular amongst white, middle-class baby boomers seeking to differentiate themselves through the consumption of community (McCann 1995) and who are attuned to issues of design and style (Knox 1991). The specific architectural details utilized by New Urbanists – porches, picket fences, gables, historic references such as Victorian detailing, bay windows – results in a landscape that is often labeled cute and quaint, a nostalgic version

of small town America.[63] The New Urbanist landscape, therefore, evokes the positive emotion of enjoyment, which, in Tomkins' theory, is defined in terms of calmness and contentment (Nathanson 1992).[64] The aesthetic of New Urbanist architecture, therefore, not only lessens the isolation of public housing residents but is attractive to outsiders because of its emotive impact. New Urbanist landscapes are the enjoyable conclusion to the transformation of disgust-fear.

New Urbanist principles have produced dramatic before and after pictures that communicate the message and reasoning behind HOPE VI with emotive force. Kathleen O'Neil describes before and after pictures of Park DuValle in Louisville:

> KO (Kathleen O'Neil): And, yeah, the the first, the top part I think looks like the site's vacant…people were probably gone for a while and there's some litter and debris that's accumulating…and you know, that's a very, that was done to evoke emotion
> EH (Ellen Hostetter): yeah, right
> KO: the contrast…This is bad...this is scared...this is (laughing)....oooiihh (with hands raised, fingers wagging) (laughing). How horrible!...[pointing to the after picture] Yeah. And this is supposed to be new and clean and
> EH: right
> KO: and um, everybody's just idyllic (2006).

O'Neil argues that the purpose of these before and after pictures is to evoke emotion. She starts by describing culturally ingrained, visual cues of disgust-fear associated with public housing (and inner-city landscapes in general) – the site looks vacant, accumulating trash and debris. To describe the emotive impact of the before photo, she uses the words bad, scared, and horrible, but like so many emotions, the disgust-fear cannot be captured in words alone: she also uses tones and gestures to convey her point. After the disgust-fear of the first picture, the second photograph presents O'Neil with an idyllic landscape, defined as new and clean. Her choice of words – new and clean – highlights the disgust that surrounded the original landscape.

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[63] It is no accident that New Urbanist architects were hired to design Celebration, Florida, a town created by the Walt Disney Corporation.

[64] Enjoyment is Tomkins' term for the more ambiguous emotion 'happiness' (Nathanson 1992, 79). We won't concern ourselves with Tomkins' technical definition for enjoyment: a decrease in the rate and intensity of neural firing (Tomkins 1962). I use the term enjoyment because the 'social' side to this definition is a general feeling of calm and contentment, which I feel captures the mood of people who react positively to New Urbanist architecture.

A research assistant at CLPHA also captures the emotive impact of landscape change through a story about a staff trip to Puerto Rico to see a HOPE VI site in progress.

> And you go in and you see, at first you see the unfinished developments. And there's like stray dogs and chain-link fences and you know, the buildings are. They're well built because everything down there is made out of concrete. But you can see they're starting to deteriorate a little bit and then you just turn your head and all of the sudden you're in a completely different world. There's manicured lawns, there's plants, you know you see these brightly colored buildings. You know, in that instance there's a real emotional impact (Member 2006).

For her emotions were evoked by the contrast between the two. The combination of specific landscape details – the stray dogs, chain-link fence, signs of deterioration – added up to create a negative image. But it is the new development that packed the emotional punch by being so different from the old and offering visual cues of enjoyment – manicured lawns, plants, brightly colored buildings. The contrast literally suggested different worlds. It is this type of dramatic and emotional impact that helps investors overcome disgust and fear and makes for a good political message, as we saw in Charlotte's design of HOPE VI.

Contrast this with the steps necessary to transform shame - a mix of physical and social transformation that focuses on change in residents' lives. This is a more complex task that involves changing the landscape to benefit residents and a commitment of time and money to job and education training. The end result – improved lives for residents – is less tangible and harder to capture in a photo-op. As Joe Schiff comments,

> There's something – and I've been in this game for a long, long time – there's something about politicians and ribbon cuttings…that go together. And it's just incredible how elected officials love to cut ribbons or dig some dirt to start a project. But yet you get thirty-five people who receive their GED Friday night and there's never a politician around to say well done. You get x number of people to finish job training and get employed, there's never anyone around to say well done. It's just inherent in the system…and it's just something that you observe year after year after year (2006).

The phenomenon that Schiff describes is on display at the HUD HOPE VI office at 415 7th Street, Washington D.C. The front office is not decorated with photos of public housing residents receiving job training or a diploma, it is full of before and after landscape photos from HOPE VI projects around the country.

Part of this dynamic was also on display at a 2005 media event in Lexington. The city received word of its successful Bluegrass-Aspendale application in October and organized a press conference on December 19th to officially announce the award. In attendance and seated up front facing the audience were Austin Simms, the newly appointed Assistant Secretary to HUD Orlando Carberra, representatives from the office of both Kentucky's senators Mitch McConnell and Jim Bunning, Mayor of Lexington Teresa Isaac, and Governor of Kentucky Ernie Fletcher. Residents of Bluegrass-Aspendale and the surrounding community were seated in the audience. After the speeches were made, everyone was invited outside the heated tent to watch as the speakers, headed by Orlando Carberra, ceremoniously turned the ground with silver shovels to symbolize the beginning of the Bluegrass-Aspendale HOPE VI grant. It is not surprising that the symbolism revolves around landscape: Lexington's HOPE VI grant will, in the words of Mayor Isaac at the press conference, change the face of the East End (December 19th Media Event 2005). This is the politically and economically important part of HOPE VI.

While residents were present and were mentioned in the remarks, they were not part of the event in any significant way. Only a handful joined the crowd outside to watch the groundbreaking - the majority remained inside the tent - and no pictures were taken of residents with officials. There was also minimal interaction between these two groups, with the officials leaving immediately after the groundbreaking photos were taken. Residents and housing authority staff as well as local HUD officials stayed to mingle and eat the catered snacks (December 19th Media Event 2005). Again, engaging shame is a much more complicated, costly, and potentially awkward process. It requires interaction between different groups of people, something avoided at the media event.

There are three other characteristics of disgust-fear that make it compatible with the general requirements of politics. Disgust has the appearance of objectivity; it is a straightforward, 'objective' emotion because it is so closely tied to our bodies and the senses. There is something that seems indisputable about the repulsiveness of rotting garbage, urine, and rats. As Miller describes, "[b]y being so much in the gut, the idiom of disgust...signals seriousness, commitment, indisputability, presentness, and reality" (1997, 180). Objectivity and clarity are important components of a political argument.

The use of a pride - disgust-fear discourse allowed for a simplistic division of public housing into 'good' and 'bad'. The use of disgust-fear to frame the 'bad' gave the appearance of a rational argument without the need to delve into the complexity of responsibility and the larger social and economic needs of residents. As Miller implies, there is no need to articulate a detailed reasoning with disgust-fear.

Disgust fear also gave the details of HOPE VI a crisp edge: to solve the problems of public housing, one must cleanse the landscape through transformation. Change, therefore, is tangible, visible and decisive. And since disgust-fear and its transformation is visual, aesthetic, it could also be conveyed via photographs and images, another political advantage for framing public housing using this discourse. HUD's use of before and after pictures summarizes the logic and rationale behind HOPE VI without ever having to say a word; as shown above, the emotive force of the landscape photos says it all. Disgust and fear can also be summarized with statistics; unlike shame, these are quantifiable emotions. Figures on poverty, crime, drug use, and maintenance can evoke the image of a disturbing place, as was seen in newspaper articles and Lexington's HOPE VI application.

6.4 Summary Analysis

The shift from shame to pride – disgust-fear represents a complicated political dance. The framework of pride – disgust-fear was supported by a wide range of individuals such as Jeff Lines and Secretary Cisneros. Many of the policies that became the markers of HOPE VI – landscape transformation mainly through demolition, rebuilding public housing with New Urbanist principles, and the creation of mixed-income housing – were also supported by a wide range of people, from Democrats to Republicans, public housing officials to private developers. The removal of the one-for-one replacement requirement, for example, had wide support from people such as Gordon Cavanaugh and Chris Hornig as well as many Republicans in Congress. Mikulski, Kelly, and Cavanaugh saw demolition as a positive tool, as did Secretary Cisneros and Secretary Cuomo.

The difference lies in the emotive discourse used to frame HOPE VI by these individuals. Shame establishes a different focus and emphasis for HOPE VI than does the pride – disgust-fear. The shift to pride – disgust-fear moved the focus of HOPE VI

away from a discussion of residents and gave preference to a narrow range of policy solutions based on 'outsider' perspectives of public housing. Demolition of public housing was not a way to reduce social stigma for residents; it was a way to eradicate a blighting presence in the urban landscape. Deconcentrating poverty and creating mixed-income neighborhoods was not a way to end the isolation of public housing residents; it was a way to lessen the contaminating qualities of the poor. Improving the lives of residents became changing the landscape in which they lived. Jeff Lines notes these shifts in the program: as the program evolved 'people got impatient – conservatives became intolerant of the services and more interested in the real estate. They wanted this stuff cleaned up so it didn't look like an eyesore and they wanted developers to make money. I don't have a problem with that, but there's more to it then that. The focus became more narrow' (Lines 2006). As Sue Popkin, researcher at ABT Associates summarizes, resident needs are the stepchild of HOPE VI (Popkin 2006). (See Box 5.1)

Box 5.1: Shift to Disgust-Fear

As the pride – disgust-fear discourse became the guiding discourse for HOPE VI, the focus of the program narrowed. This shift can be seen in the types of grants offered, data on the number of housing units demolished and the number of replacement housing units constructed, and studies that have looked at the social service component of HOPE VI.

Types of Grants

In 1993 the HOPE VI program consisted of a planning grant and an implementation/revitalization grant. The planning grant gave PHAs money to consult with the community, residents, design professionals, and supportive service providers in creating a HOPE VI plan. The implementation/revitalization grant covered capital costs of the physical transformation, replacement units, and management improvements as well as administrative costs.

The planning grant ended in 1995, with a total of 35 awarded. The implementation/revitalization grants have remained a part of HOPE VI and as of 2005, 239 grants had been awarded for a total of $5,829,739,850. A separate demolition grant was created in 1996 to coincide with the demolition requirement. The requirement was removed in 1997, but the demolition grant remained in place until 2003. During this six year period, 287 grants were awarded for a total of $395,323,275 (McCarty 2005). The number of demolition grants, therefore, exceeds the number of implementation/revitalization grants by 48 despite being in existence for a shorter period of time. The creation and heavy use of the demolition grant signifies an emphasis on tearing-down public housing, especially considering that physical transformation – rehab and demolition – was already funded under the implementation/revitalization grant. Funneling more money to demolition coincided with the increased use of pride – disgust-fear as the guiding discourse for HOPE VI and the removal of regulatory barriers to demolition. This demolition-intense time period also saw a reduction in the amount of money dedicated to social services: the percentage of funds dedicated to this 'soft side' was reduced from 20 percent of the grant to 15 percent in the

1999 NOFA.

Number of Housing Units

The priority placed on neoliberal policies – involving the private market, leveraging HOPE VI funds, attracting market rate tenants – and the subsequent shift in focus from residents to outsider needs, is summarized by demolition and replacement statistics. As of June 2004, a total of 134,572 public housing units were scheduled for demolition through both revitalization and demolition grants (see Figures 6.1 and 6.2). In terms of replacement housing funded by revitalization grants, the 82,979 units to be demolished will be replaced with 94,725 new units (McCarty 2005), which on the surface appears to be a net gain of housing. As Dominique Blom commented during our interview, "we're building back more units than what we tear down in total. Some of it's on site, some of it's off site, and some of it's scattered site. So" (2006). Only 48,325 of the new units, however, are subsidized. This represents a depletion of over 35,000 subsidized housing units and does not include figures for demolition-only grants (McCarty 2005).

Figures 6.1 and 6.2: The demolition of Piedmont Courts. In the picture on the right, note the staircase being tossed about. Photographs taken by Ellen Hostetter

Understanding and trusting nationwide statistics, however, is a difficult matter to negotiate. First, there are bound to be errors in gathering data from hundreds of individual grants. Second, as we saw with Blom, there are different ways to interpret the figures. The total number of new units can be broken down into subsidized and un-subsidized, as the CRS Report did. But 'subsidized units' can mean 1) standard public housing – apartments for rent, 2) Section 8 vouchers, or 3) homeownership opportunities. Some would argue that only the first – standard public housing – should be counted as replacement for those public housing units demolished. Section 8 vouchers are a vehicle for providing affordable rental housing, but they do not create a new unit of affordable housing. Homeownership opportunities physically construct a new unit of housing, but it is unclear how many public housing residents would be eligible for these units. It also does nothing to contribute to the affordable *rental* housing stock. Third, there is a matter of definition. HUD and local PHA officials often use the terms subsidized, affordable, and market rate. The murkiest term is affordable, for which I can find no standard definition in HUD literature. One HUD official, Toney Hebert, defined affordable as rent that can be paid by those earning 0 to 80 percent of the average median income (AMI) (Hebert 2006). But this can be a slippery term, as I saw on a tour of DC public housing with the DC Housing Authority Board of Commissioners. We were driving through a new HOPE VI project, Capitol Gateway, and one of the Commissioners asked what percentage of the units were public housing and what percentage were market rate. Another Commissioner explained that some were also affordable. When asked what was meant by affordable, no one knew (March 9th Bus Tour 2007).

Interpreting local statistics is also a difficult matter. Bluegrass Aspendale, for example, has 361 units of public housing plus 28 de-commissioned units. These are being demolished and will be replaced with 491 new units. On-site replacement will consist of 260 units of subsidized apartment rentals for individuals at or below 60 percent of AMI; 93 homeownership units for families making 80 percent or less of AMI; and 10 market rate units. Off-site replacement will consist of 8 new units of subsidized apartment rentals; 72 units of subsidized apartment rentals from a converted and rehabilitated market rate apartment complex; and 48 scattered-site homeownership units built by non-profits such as Habitat for Humanity (Lexington Housing Authority 2005). One could summarize these numbers and conclude that there is a net gain of 102 units (491 units are replacing 389 demolished units). Or you could say that there will be a net gain of 92 subsidized units, which includes both apartments and homeownership. But you could also say that there will be a net loss of 49 subsidized units if you omit the homeownership opportunities. If you view HOPE VI as a vehicle for creating a wide variety of housing options for low-income folks, this development is a success. If you view HOPE VI as a vehicle for increasing the stock of standard public housing, this development is a failure.

Piedmont Courts is another difficult-to-interpret site. Piedmont Courts has 242 units of public housing, which will be replaced with 460 on-site and off-site subsidized units, 102 affordable units, and 355 market rate units. The on-site portion will consist of 204 rental units of public housing in garden-style apartments available to those who make 60 percent or less of the area median income; 20 affordable townhouse units for ownership; 30 market-rate townhouse units for ownership; and 140 market rate condominium units for ownership. The off-site portion will consist of 140 subsidized rental units; 158 Section 8 vouchers; 30 affordable rental units; 10 subsidized condominium units for ownership; and 215 market rate condominium units for ownership (Seigle Point 2006). Again, one enters the murky waters of definition: does one count the Section 8 vouchers as a 'new' unit of affordable housing; does one count affordable ownership opportunities as a true replacement of public housing stock?

I interpret these individual HOPE VI grants as reflecting the national trend. Both grants decrease the stock of standard public housing and privilege the American dream of homeownership.

Social Services

The conclusions from studies that look at the execution of social service programs are further indication that the shift in the guiding discourse for HOPE VI has had a substantive effect on the program. While each HOPE VI grant is its own unique story, a 2004 Urban Institute report on HOPE VI concluded that "The evidence from several studies indicates that housing authorities generally failed to plan adequately for relocation or to provide sufficient support to residents during the process…*The experiences of residents who received vouchers have been mixed and could have been substantially improved with better planning and support"* (Popkin, Katz et al. 2004, 49). With a focus on transforming disgust-fear into enjoyment, the visible landscape changes take precedence over resident needs.

We saw how uncomfortable Senator Mikulski was with the framing of HOPE VI presented at the Appropriation Hearings by various HUD Secretaries. Others involved in HOPE VI expressed a similar unease. Hornig, for example, discusses the demolition requirement included in the 1996 NOFA:

> It was um, that was very controversial because um – I would say on the one hand some of us were sympathetic uh, I mean we wanted to emphasize a. that demolition was legitimate. In most cases it was necessary. The effort was to um, to send signals about what we wanted about what we thought was good…But the specific answer in that year was that OGC said demolition had to be a component and the exact scope of what was required was negotiated in the NOFA (2006).

Hornig appears divided over this decision. Hornig, having worked at Reno & Cavanaugh, shared Cavanaugh's strategic thoughts regarding demolition; he was very much aware that developing model public housing projects would "help remove some of the stigma of public housing politically and create some space for housing authorities to do what they did because they didn't have to answer for these elephants that everyone was aware of" (Hornig 2006). On the one hand, therefore, he was sympathetic to the idea of encouraging demolition as a legitimate and sometimes necessary strategy. But there is an unsaid 'on the other hand' in his comments; a hesitation at making demolition so predominant, so much the focus of HOPE VI.

This is a problem, then, with the pride – disgust-fear discourse. It is politically and financially effective and it furthered some goals that received widespread support, but it allowed specific policy solutions to dominate. Take demolition, for example. What was intended as a tool directed at the most physically and image distressed developments in the nation – high-rise projects in major cities – became a more expansive goal, encompassing more and more units of public housing. In fact, when HUD made demolition a requirement in the 1996 NOFA, Gordon Cavanaugh and CLPHA lobbied against this change. They argued that the program was for 'revitalization and reconstruction', not demolition and believed that the up-front emphasis on demolition drained money away from social services. They also saw the expansion of the program to smaller cities as a perversion of the original intent: to transform the worst public housing which, defined in terms of actual physical conditions and political image, they thought were contained in large cities with high-rise public housing (Cavanaugh 2007).

Disgust-fear also closed the door to alternative policy solutions. Take, for example, the discussion of mixed-income neighborhoods. There is a specific way to create mixed-income communities that is proposed by HUD: attract those with higher

incomes to public housing developments, or scatter poor public housing residents within higher-income neighborhoods. There is, however, an alternative option outlined by Secretary Cisneros at a 1994 hearing of the Housing and Urban Affairs Subcommittee:

> But my belief is that we change income mix not by bringing people of higher incomes to public housing, but by creating opportunities for people who are now in public housing, Section 3 work, jobs in the authorities, jobs with the modernization funds, job training opportunities with which we expect to collaborate with the Labor Department. But this is a harder thing to do than simply, you know, changing the income mix by bringing other people of higher income. But that doesn't solve the problems of the people who are poor who are there now. I think we need to change the dynamic incentive structure for work in public housing as it exists and raise incomes that way (U.S. Senate April 28, 1994)

This approach works with the existing public housing population and creates mixed-income communities by raising their incomes. This is the kind of initiative that would fit comfortably within a shame discourse because the focus is on the situation of public housing residents.

A work-from-within strategy, however, is not viable when the push is to be marketable and competitive and transform outside perspectives of public housing from disgust-fear to enjoyment. Not only is a work-from-within strategy costly and time consuming, but it a) does not alter the landscape and, therefore, the physical representation of disgust-fear and b) does not grapple with the contaminating powers of poverty, as viewed from an outside perspective and reinforced with phrases such as 'warehousing and concentrating poverty'. To try and work within this population for self-improvement does nothing to allay the revulsion and fear evoked by large concentrations of public housing residents. What matters in this situation is what works financially and politically and by 1995 Secretary Cisneros had adopted the mixed-income strategy found in the NOFA.[65]

Disgust-fear emphasizes specific policy proposals – demolition and the deconcentration of poverty – and shuts down alternative discussions because of the characteristics of disgust-fear. First, disgust is difficult to overcome because it is so tied

[65] This shift is characterized by Zhang and Weisman as influenced by the Republican mid-term elections: "The moral concerns intrinsic to the rhetoric of serving the poorest of the poor or protecting the social safety net for the poor became much easier to sweep aside after the congressional midterm election in 1994" (2006, 48-49) with Speaker of the House Newt Gingrich creating an atmosphere of hostility towards social programs.

to the body – you can feel, smell, taste, and visualize revulsion. Once a public housing landscape is constructed as disgusting it is difficult to refute or overcome the seemingly sensory objectivity of disgust. And second, the action tendencies of disgust lead to policies that emphasize cleansing. As Nussbaum summarizes, "[d]isgust, because of its core idea of contamination, basically wants to get the person [or landscape] out of sight" (2004, 106).

6.5 Conclusion

This chapter provided reasons for why shame is the exception and disgust-fear the rule for HOPE VI and examined the consequences of disgust-fear's dominance of HOPE VI. The chapter demonstrated that shame faced structural obstacles to its circulation in government. The shame discourse found in the Final Report of the NCSDPH and the Senate Appropriations Report underwent a translation as they were disseminated to Congress and as the HOPE VI program moved under the purview of HUD. But the very characteristics of shame made it problematic as a political emotion: shame drew too much attention to the failures of public housing and focused too much blame and responsibility on individuals.

Disgust-fear, on the other hand, flourished in part because of the neoliberal atmosphere that enveloped HUD's 'reinvention' of public housing. HUD's 'reinvention' pushed HOPE VI to engage the private market, an economic-logic that demanded that disgust-fear surrounding public housing be transformed to enjoyment. Because of the characteristics of disgust-fear, this could only be accomplished in one way: the transformation of the public housing landscape. This is a tangible, photogenic, and seemingly objective process which makes it an easy sell politically.

The chapter also showed that disgust-fear's dominance had material consequences for public housing and HOPE VI: the national net loss of public housing units and decreased emphasis on funding for social services. Disgust-fear's dominance also eliminated alternative policy proposals such as creating mixed-income communities from existing public housing neighborhoods.

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Chapter 7: History of Public Housing

The public housing program was written into the structure of government in 1937. The circumstances surrounding this act are similar to those surrounding HOPE VI in the 1990s. The original public housing program was, in part, a response to the slum conditions of urban America. And as a *New York Times* article notes with HOPE VI, "'[t]he Federal Government is helping cities clear slums, but this time they are slums it helped create: public housing projects crippled by flawed policies and mismanagement and overwhelmed by poverty and crime" (Belluck 1998). Public housing is the new urban slum. John Bauman notes these connections and argues that market forces are responsible for this historical repetition:

> Whether the housing reformer was Washington, D.C.'s George Sternberg in the nineteenth century or Gotham's Lawrence Veiller in the early twentieth century or, more recently, the Department of Housing and Urban Development, policymakers…have grappled with the shortcomings of the fiercely competitive and individualistic housing marketplace (2000, 1).

I argue, however, that policymakers have grappled with society's persistent disgust for and fear of poor minorities. The competitive and individualistic housing marketplace is in many ways a *reflection* of this disgust and fear.

The market forces that Bauman refers to are the cumulative activity of hundreds of thousands of individuals making financial decisions. These financial transactions are a barometer of social feeling: what we spend money on, and how much, reflects what and who we value. As Radford argues, the structure of our housing policy is not inevitable; it is a series of choices (2000). We can point to America's veneration of homeownership and an unfettered marketplace as the reason why we have never supported low-income housing in this country. But this obscures choice and feeling. On the one hand, we chose to allow federal intervention in the marketplace when it was on behalf of the appropriate people – mainly white, middle- and working-class homebuyers. The Federal Housing Administration, which insures loans for those buying a home, passed through a supportive Congress in 1934, three years before the public housing program and almost immediately shut out African-Americans through regulations, deeds, and ordinances. On the other hand, we chose to under-fund and undercut public housing when it was directed towards poor African-Americans.

The lack of financial and political commitment to public housing on the part of the federal government is symptomatic of society's revulsion and fear of poor minorities. I do not mean to imply all government officials consciously feel fear and loathing in relation to public housing, but the results of policy decisions amount to a rejection of poor minorities. A message is sent to public housing residents: you are not worth the social and financial investment, you are less than human. Residents receive this message loud and clear. Irene Johnson, resident of Chicago public housing, for example, summarizes the disgust-fear projected onto her and her neighbors at a Congressional hearing:

> One of the problems in your distressed communities is lack of respect for residents living on a particular property by all concerns: management, city, state, and Federal Government. It appears that they use this property as just, we're not part of the city; we got little or no city services, no police protection or anything like that (U.S. Senate May 11, 1993)

'We are not part of the city' is a profound statement on exclusion and the "long American tradition of sociospatial disdain" (Vale 2002, 16).

This long American tradition is the reason for the similarities between the public housing program and HOPE VI: the relationship between emotion and public housing policy is consistent across time. This chapter outlines three main similarities that arise from the permeation of emotion in public housing policy. First, disgust-fear organized the representation and understanding of the slum and public housing. It is the image of both landscapes as revolting and frightening places that made landscape change a necessity. The first section provides encounters with these images.

Disgust-fear feeds the second similarity, which at first blush has the appearance of a difference: the design of public housing and HOPE VI landscapes. The original public housing landscape looks very different from what is being built today through HOPE VI, but the impulse for these disparate design ideas is the same: eliminate the disgust-fear and build something that is considered clean and healthy. This second section shows the importance of the aesthetic details of both the public housing landscape by outlining the design of the earliest public housing projects and HOPE VI, and the design theories that were their inspiration.

The third similarity is political. This section shows how the supporters of the public housing program and HOPE VI used similar arguments to push legislation through Congress: disgust-fear trumped shame as the most effective political emotion during both eras. The fourth and final section of the chapter outlines the evolution of the public housing program in order to show how we went from the optimism surrounding original public housing developments to the disgust-fear surrounding these same developments today. It is in these four sections that the 'unspoken' link between race, class, landscape, and emotion is given voice.

7.1 Disgust-Fear and the Slum

Descriptions of urban slums offered by housing reformers during the mid-nineteenth century and Progressive period were organized around disgust-fear. Agnes Sinclair Holbrook in *Hull-House Maps and Papers* offers a description common for the time. She begins with a dry objective, to "put into graphic form a few facts concerning the section of Chicago immediately east of the House" (1895, 3). She goes on, however, to paint a vivid portrait of the Chicago slum:

> Rear tenements and alleys form the core of the district, and it is there that the densest crowds of the most wretched and destitute congregate. Little idea can be given of the filthy and rotten tenements, the dingy courts and tumble-down sheds, the foul stables and dilapidated outhouses, the broken sewer-pipes, the piles of garbage fairly alive with diseases odors, and of the numbers of children filling every nook…pouring in and out of every door, and seeming literally to pave every scrap of 'yard' (1895, 5).

Holbrook focuses on filth, foul odors, sewers, garbage, and disease, a landscape description that is almost identical to that of public housing in newspaper articles described in Chapter 4. She even makes reference to the teeming numbers of children just as *The Charlotte Observer* noted the large number of children at Piedmont Courts, a reference to the overabundant fecundity of immigrants. The only thing missing in Holbrook's slum landscape is a syringe, a modern-day prop of the drug trade.

And just as the disgust-descriptions of public housing were repeated again and again in newspaper articles and in Congress, this representation of the slum had widespread circulation, appearing in a variety of texts from a variety of geographical locales and time periods. It can be found in the widely read and influential 1890 book *How the Other Half Lives* by Jacob Riis. Riis takes his readers through the 'the Bend',

the "foul core of New York's slums…a vast human pig-sty…In the scores of back alleys, of stable lanes and hidden byways, of which the rent collector alone can keep track, they share such shelter as the ramshackle structures afford with every kind of abomination rifled from the dumps and ash barrels of the city" (Riis 1971, 51). It appears in the six-volume *Pittsburgh Survey* of 1914: describing the Soho district of central Pittsburgh, the author isolates Forbes Street as the worst, where the "houses are breeding places of filth and disease" (Oseroff 1914, 408) and there "is a total neglect of most of the essentials of sanitation" (Oseroff 1914, 408). Along one side, "the ground to the very houses, and often even under the houses, is thoroughly permeated with sewage, foulness, and dampness. Wherever one turns the foul odors pervade the atmosphere like the very essence of civic neglect" (Oseroff 1914, 409). (See Figure 7.1)

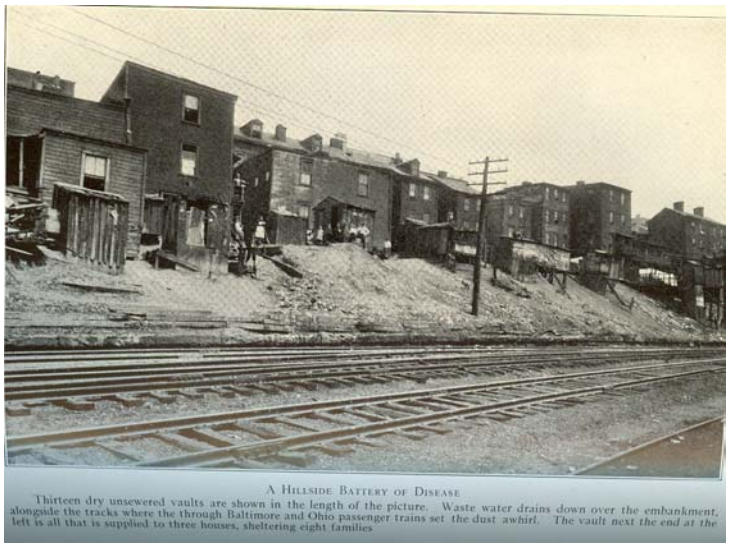


Figure 7.1: Photograph of Pittsburgh slum. *The Pittsburgh Survey* also included photographs, this one titled 'A Hillside Battery of Disease'. The caption describes the drainage of waste water and the crowded conditions of the slum. Photograph from *The Pittsburgh Survey* (Oseroff 1914).

Twenty-two years later its spirit is alive and well in the halls of Congress as Neville Miller, Mayor of Louisville, Kentucky, speaks at a Senate hearing for the Housing Act of 1936

> I have brought here…which will explain better than I can say in words, the facts I wish to show, in five maps of the city of Louisville…On these maps, for instance, on the first map we have spotted tuberculosis cases in 1933; on the second map we have spotted the major and minor crimes for the year 1933…and on the fifth map we have spotted a combination of crime, disease, relief, city hospital cases for that year (Excerpts 1985, 248-249).

Here the focus of disgust is disease, made scientific through its presentation on a map. Fear is also included in the form of crime statistics, hinting that the slums of Louisville are fetid and dangerous places. City officials circulated this disgust-infused description of the slums as well, as evidenced by a 1940 Housing Authority Report from Charlotte, North Carolina:

> Charlotte, thriving, prosperous, Queen City of the South, suffers along with other cities of the nation from a dread disease. From their beginning decades ago as mere pin pricks, slum areas have developed into festering sores, unsightly blemishes which mar the city's beauty. In these areas thousands of people, very nearly half of the total population, live crowded in ramshackled, insanitary, unhealthy, indecent houses…Here is a threat to the health, safety, and morals of the entire community. For it is in the slums that disease and crime breed…The sores that are the slums are spreading. Gradually but unhaltingly areas bordering the slums are being contaminated and are crumbling into the cesspool that they form" (City of Charlotte 1940, 7)

The use of the disease metaphor is particularly effective in conveying the sensory aspects of disgust as well as its contaminating properties, the other defining characteristic of a disgusting object. An open sore is associated with the quintessentially disgusting; it festers, oozes, and carries with it the threat of disease and contagion. By making a direct connection between an open sore and the slums of Charlotte, the report casts this landscape as an infectious threat to the entire community (see Figure 7.2).

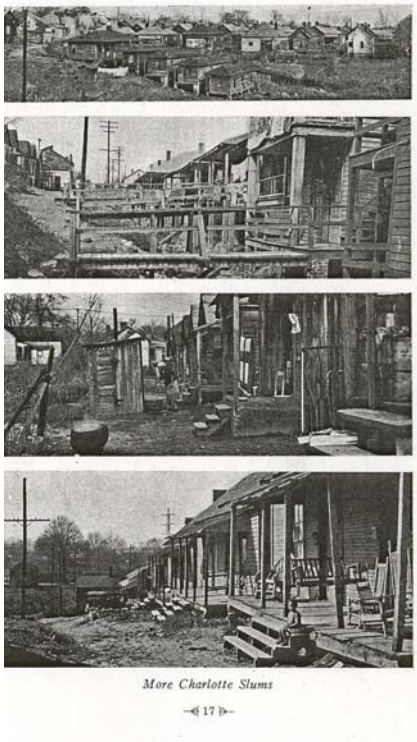


Figure 7.2: Pictures of Charlotte Slums. These pictures of Charlotte slums depict a crowded, filthy landscape and offer a tangible expression of the disgust-fear discourse found in the text. The visual representation of this landscape symbolized disgust-fear. Pictures from the 1940 Charlotte Housing Authority Report (City of Charlotte 1940)

There is no doubt that slums in the early twentieth century were unsanitary and dangerous places to live. The descriptions above document very real and serious living conditions, as do reports of public housing today. But, as Mitchell notes, "[j]ust as important, [the slums] were offensive to the eyes and noses of the upper classes" (1985, 188) and associated with a cornucopia of social pathologies. The slums were subject to the slippery nature of disgust. The distinction between the physical conditions of the slums and residents of the slums was almost nonexistent. The filth and stench of tenement alleys and halls was indistinguishable from the filth and stench of slum dwellers, both their physical and spiritual bodies. As one housing reformer pondered, "'Is degeneracy the cause of the hovel…or is the hovel a cause of degeneracy?...within certain limitations each may be considered as cause and each as effect" (Fairbanks 2000, 25).

The prevailing belief amongst housing reformers, however, was weighted towards isolating the physical condition of the slum as the cause of moral degradation. Guided

by environmental determinism, reformers believed the slums "promoted both physical and social pathology. Not only were tuberculosis, diphtheria, and other diseases disproportionately high in tenement house districts, but in the eyes of the reformers, the dwellings also encouraged intemperance, violence, and immorality" (Fairbanks 2000, 24). Compounding the physical-moral disgust directed at the slums was the fact that most residents of the slums were immigrants, a minority group that was disturbing for their differences.

Today, the slums look different. Public housing now represents the slum landscape and most residents are poor African-Americans. The concerns of disease and intemperance have been replaced by welfare dependency, violent crime, drug use, and high numbers of single mothers. Disgust-fear projected at poor minorities, however, is the constant. The representation and understanding of the slums and public housing are almost identical because of the physical-moral aspects of disgust-fear.

7.2 Disgust-Fear and the Design of Public Housing

The design of public housing and the design of HOPE VI developments are decidedly different. In fact, HOPE VI projects are consciously designed to look nothing like public housing. Despite the physical and aesthetic differences, however, the emotional mechanism at work is the same. Both were designed as a reaction against the reality and representation of a revolting and frightening landscape.

7.2.1 Early Public Housing – Design and Theory

Public housing was a physical, tangible reaction to society's disgust for the slum. The aspects of the slum that evoked physical and moral disgust were well-documented: overcrowded, dense and dark quarters and streets; filth from poor sanitation; and general dilapidation and dinginess. In a classic disgust reaction the slums were cleansed from the city, the festering sore removed, and the new public housing landscape was designed to stand apart from the slums they replaced (Bauer 1985; Franck and Mostoller 1995; Vale 1996). Open space, light, air, modern sanitation, and pleasant aesthetics were guiding principles for the new developments that were described as healthy, clean, and morally beneficial.

These guiding principles translated into specific designs. The first public housing projects built during World War I by the Emergency Fleet Corporation and the U.S.

Housing Corporation, during the Great Depression by the Public Works Administration, and during World War II by the Federal Works Agency had similar features. Three to four story garden apartments in U, L, or T configurations defined semi-enclosed interior courts (Figure 7.3) Through-streets were excluded, creating 'superblocks' of open space. Another popular design consisted of slab-like rowhouses arranged in parallel rows which created outdoor space that was open and undefined. Buildings were often turned away from the street to maximize cross-breezes and the visual experience of openness (Franck and Mostoller 1995). (See Figures 7.4 and 7.5.) These designs were the antithesis of the cramped hovels of the slum; they gave people, especially children, ample and safe space for play and recreation, invigorating breezes and light, modern sanitation systems, and a pleasant, landscaped aesthetic (Figures 7.6 and 7.7).

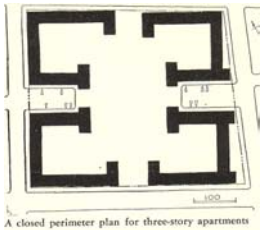
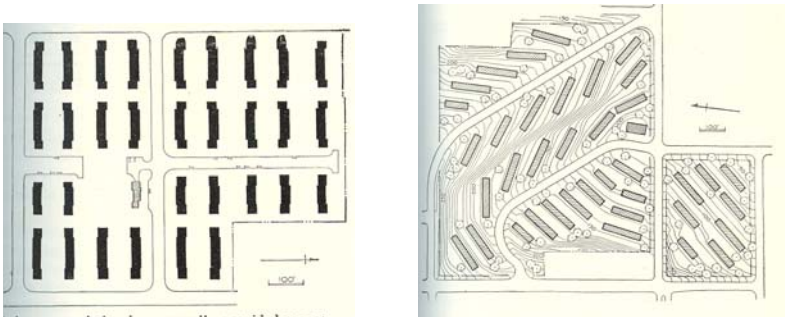


Figure 7.3: Plan of early public housing. This plan utilizes U-shaped apartment buildings to create interior courtyard spaces. Entrances were most likely from the interior in order to emphasize the importance of the communal open space. Drawing from a 1946 National Housing Agency publication (*Public Housing Design*, 28).



Figures 7.4 and 7.5: Plans of early public housing. Both plans reject the street in favor of the internal green of the superblock. Drawings from a 1946 National Housing Agency publication (*Public Housing Design*, 29 and 33).

Figure 7.6: View of Piedmont Courts. . Note the large swath of green dedicated to play space and general recreation as well as the landscaping in the foreground. The surrounding neighborhood can be seen in the background and it appears dense and confining in comparison. Photograph from the 1945 Charlotte Housing Authority Annual Report (Housing Authority)

Figure 7.7: Photograph from a 1946 National Housing Agency publication (*Public Housing Design*, 275) depicting a boy tending a shrub. The provision of light and air in public housing was so important that it even entered discussions of shrub placement. The caption reads "A tall-growing shrub planted so as not to obstruct light and air from windows" (*Public Housing Design* 1946, 275).

Many of the design details of this public housing landscape were inspired by urban design theory coming out of Europe. Reformist architects looked specifically to the English Garden City concept for inspiration, a planning and design movement that itself was a reaction to the appalling conditions of English slum landscapes (Newton 1971). Instead of the teeming filth of congested cities, Ebenezer Howard, the originator of the Garden City concept, dreamed of new towns of limited size that combined the best aspects of town and nature. In these towns there would be for all "ample sites for homes…ample space for roads…so wide and spacious that sunlight and air may freely circulate" (Newton 1971, 455). The implementation of Howard's vision in England became associated with a specific design vocabulary – "short, often curving streets…an emphasis on open space, and large blocks closed to vehicular traffic" (Radford 1996, 32)

– all of which made their way into the design of public housing. A variant of the Garden City movement was the *zeilenbau* style used in German public housing (Kostof 1991; von Hoffman 1996; Radford 1996). The *zeilenbau* style emphasized the use of parallel rows of apartment buildings and large superblocks. The reason for these design elements was, again, to provide sunlight, ventilation, and open space not found in urban slums (Radford 1996; von Hoffman 1996).

An influential 'American-born' design theory was the neighborhood unit, formulated by the American urban planner Clarence Perry (Franck and Mostoller 1995; von Hoffman 1996). The neighborhood unit idea emphasized comprehensive planning of whole neighborhoods as distinct units, with the use of specific features – the superblock and separation of pedestrian and automobile traffic – to enhance a sense of community (Gillette 1983). Perry himself entered the public housing conversation, advocating the use of neighborhood unit planning to rebuild cleared blighted and slum areas. He proposed to "set the redeveloped neighborhood apart from the city as 'an internal environment of such unusual charm and all-around desirability, that the unpleasantness of the sights and sounds outside the neighborhood could be completely counteracted'" (Gillette 1983, 432). The idea that public housing should be distinct and different – a purified space amongst unpleasantness – encouraged the practice of disconnecting public housing from the surrounding street grid.

American architects and urban analysts involved in the housing reform movement such as Edith Wood, Lewis Mumford, Catherine Bauer, Clarence Stein, Henry Wright, Frederick Ackerman and Robert Kohn (Garner 2000; von Hoffman 1996) found inspiration in these various design ideas and circulated them through journals, books, and conferences as well as direct implementation. Stein and Wright, for example, designed Sunnyside Gardens in Queens, New York, in 1924 and then Radburn, New Jersey, in 1929, famous American adaptations of the Garden City movement.

Many of these housing reformers were also involved in the early federal experiments with public housing. Frederick Ackerman, for example, was Chief of Design for the Emergency Fleet Corporation during World War I, Robert Kohn was in charge of housing production, and Henry Wright worked under Kohn. Kohn became director of the Housing Division of the Public Works Administration during the 1930s

and Henry Wright his first consultant (Radford 1996; Pommer 1978). It is not surprising, then, that the 1935 planning guidelines published by the PWA codified both English Garden City and neighborhood unit design principles as the unquestioned approach to low-income housing (Franck and Mostoller 1995). The tone of the publication was definitive, with declarations such as "'not only must a large percentage of the land remain unoccupied but in addition to this the buildings have to be placed to emphasize this fact'" (quoted in Franck and Mostoller 1995, 207)

The housing reformers also drew on or worked within the context of U.S.-based movements. Sanitary reform, for example, was a movement popular amongst American planners during the late 1800s. Sanitary reform combined new scientific knowledge about infectious disease with an urban planning agenda (Peterson 1983). Disease was thought to spread from filth, which had a vague definition that covered a wide range of conditions typically found in the slums: decomposing organic waste, stagnant pools of water, stale air, and lack of sunlight (Peterson 1983). Also popular at this time was the playground movement which reflected Progressive era ideas about urban life. A variety of spaces such as the street, saloon, tenement, and penny arcades were coded as both physically and morally dangerous for children. Neighborhood parks, it was argued, were needed to introduce open space into the city and move children's play from the street to nature (Davis 1983; Draper 1996). The anti-street and pro-open space ethos of this movement can be found in the design emphasis of public housing.

The constructed projects from these early public housing efforts, therefore, embodied modern design and urban theory and served as a model for the 1937 public housing program (Kostof 1991). These projects, however, are considered to be of higher quality than the public housing of the post-World War II era. Being new and experimental, these programs had the flexibility to implement design ideas from some of the top reformist architects in the country. These projects were also well-funded: first, they were meant to spur the economy and, therefore, received adequate funds and second, they were meant for the 'deserving' or working poor and were not subject to the cost limits imposed on public housing meant for very low-income folks.

7.2.2 Public Housing after World War II: Design and Theory

After World War II, the design elements of public housing were implemented at a larger scale. The increased emphasis on urban renewal cleared larger swaths of land and designers of public housing were able to experiment with the increasingly popular international style of modern architecture. The international style, exemplified by Swiss-born modern architect Le Corbusier, exaggerated existing design ideas. In a disgust-fear reaction to the slums of Paris, Le Corbusier had "airy visions of towers rising out of vast expanses of grass and greenery" (von Hoffman 1996, 431). This vision took the open space plans of row-house apartments to an extreme (see Figure 7.8). His 'tower-in-the-park' design influenced the construction of public housing in large urban centers such as Chicago, St. Louis, New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore

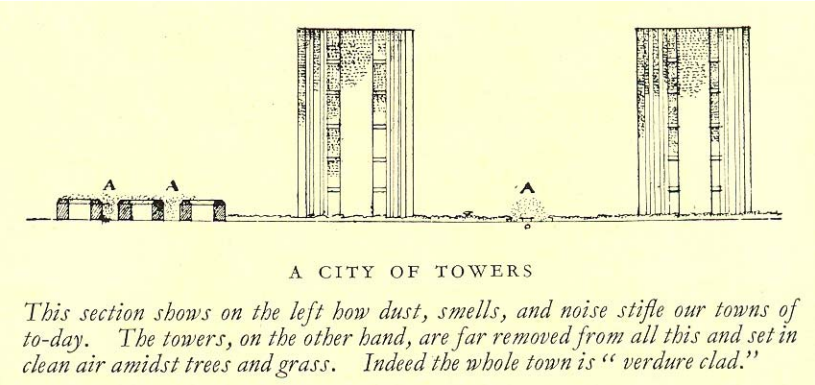


Figure 7.8: Design sketch by Le Corbusier, from his *Towards a New Architecture* (LeCorbusier 1931). The tall, widely spaced towers are a reaction to disgust: note how he contrasts the dirt and smells of contemporary towns and the clean air of the towers. On the left hand side of the sketch he presents an image of congestion – three tightly spaced buildings covered with black specks of grime. On the right hand side, the towers rise above the filth of the street.

High-rise public housing was popular in these cities after World War II for economic reasons – the high cost of inner-city land made building up instead of out more cost effective – and social reasons – high-rise construction was seen as modern and progressive by city officials who were worried about their declining downtowns. The Mayor of St. Louis, for example, Joseph M. Darst was "[i]n the throes of an intense infatuation with Manhattan and its modernist monuments" (von Hoffman 2000, 191) and he thought high-rise public housing would "transform Saint Louis into a gleaming, growing, modern metropolis" (von Hoffman 2000, 202). As the post-World War II era progressed, however, public housing design became standardized and architectural work

consisted of implementing the design guidelines set by HUD (see Comerio 1981). Design principles that had an initial purpose, such as open space, became an abstraction mechanically applied (Franck and Mostoller 1995). By 1955 Catherine Bauer could critique the public housing formula "which seems to produce either railroad cars on a siding, or vast institutional buildings that look like veterans' hospitals" (1955, 37) and by 1961 Jane Jacobs could describe, tongue-in-cheek, housing reformers as popularizing the idea of "grass, grass, grass" (1961, 22).

Despite these critiques, the use of modern design theory from the Garden City movement to the International Style helped housing reformers make a bold statement: public housing was nothing like the slums it replaced. Public housing was meant to stand apart from surrounding slum neighborhoods, a model of healthful, attractive living. Initial newspaper reports across the country characterized the design of public housing as such, describing the new landscape as "bold, modern, and 'clean,'" (Henderson 1995, 35). The word clean is no accident. When Fairview Homes in Charlotte, NC, for example, opened in 1940, it was framed as an "accomplishment in making possible the bright and clean homes of the project, homes which will mean a great deal to Negro citizens who have been living in slums" (Dedication is Held For Fairview Homes 1940). (See Figure 7.9).

Figure 7.9: Newspaper photograph of Piedmont Courts. This photograph accompanied the article announcing the opening of Piedmont Courts in December of 1940 (Three Units of Piedmont Courts 1940). When one is familiar with contemporary newspaper articles on Piedmont Courts, it is startling to see pictures of the development brand new, the landscape washed in optimism.

7.2.3 HOPE VI – Design and Theory

But now it is the HOPE VI landscape that is, in the words of Kathleen O'Neil, new and clean. Public housing is the slum of the twenty-first century and the discourse surrounding the public housing landscape is one of disgust and fear. As policymakers

seek solutions for its ills, they walk down the same path housing reformers followed in the late 1800s, using contemporary design theory to create a landscape that looks nothing like public housing.

The specific aspects of the design or layout of public housing that evoke disgust-fear are not as clear as they were for the slum. Garbage, syringes, roaches, rats, and urine are disgust objects associated with public housing and help create an overall picture of the landscape, but these are not associated with the design of public housing. What appears to be central to the disgust-fear reaction in terms of landscape design is the general sense that public housing looks different from mainstream residential America. This difference is described as institutional, uniform, sterile, and drab (as in Bauer's veteran hospital critique). The specific features most often cited in relation to this description are flat roofs, unadorned facades, the use of concrete as a building material, large open swaths of asphalt or weeds, and chain link fences. All of these are foreign to middle-class urban and suburban landscapes, having no relation to "'true American residential character"' (Bauer 1985, 279). As we will see in the following section, this distinct architecture became a symbol for poor, inner-city African-Americans and is the main reason why these differences become disturbing and frightening to outsiders.

The general reaction to this depiction of public housing was to tear it down and build a new landscape that looked normal, mainstream. A consensus started building in the 1960s that public housing design should reject the distinctive modern style with its emphasis on superblocks, open space, and austere apartments, and aim for a middle-class appearance associated with a typical American town or city neighborhood (Franck and Mostoller 1995; von Hoffman 1996). Specific design guidelines formed around this consensus that brought the landscape in line with conventional arrangements of public-private space in residential areas: individually defined attached homes with front doors and yards facing a public sidewalk and street, with private yards in the back (Franck and Mostoller 1995). All of these design guidelines reject the open, undefined space of public housing.

This new understanding of public housing as not modern and clean, but institutional and stark, and the new understanding of public housing design is directly connected to changing ideas about urban design and life. The public housing community,

for example, was heavily influenced by the 1961 publication of Jane Jacobs' *The Death and Life of Great American Cities.* Jacobs' book was a popular indictment of 1960s modernist urban planning and urban renewal practices of which public housing was a part. She argued that the rejection of the street and the valorization of homogenous open space was destructive to urban vitality and produced inhuman, soul-numbing places. Jacobs focused attention on 'tried and true' configurations of city neighborhoods, believing that "traditional spatial arrangements of public and private space in a city neighborhood are more conducive to community interaction than the urban forms brought about by…postwar modernist architecture's adversarial relationship with the street" (McCann 1995, 216). The street and sidewalk, rejected by housing reformers as chaotic, overcrowded, and dangerous was seen by Jacobs as essential to vibrant urban life.

The landscape itself was also tied to the disgust-fear discourse through the logic of environmental determinism. The landscape was so institutional, so dehumanizing, it was said to encourage antisocial behaviors such as dumping trash in airshafts or outside windows, breaking windows, graffiti, and defecating in public places. Specific design details were also blamed for encouraging crime and, therefore, creating an atmosphere of fear for both outsiders and residents. Oscar Newman's 1972, *Defensible Space: Crime Prevention through Urban Design* institutionalized these theories. He studied New York City public housing, arguing that there was a direct connection between specific landscape designs, safety, and crime. He isolated the superblock pattern of open undefined space as a serious problem because it encouraged anonymity, as well as the high-rise tower because it removed resident surveillance of the street. He concluded that four design principles were essential for defensible, safe space: clearly defined public and private spaces; the positioning of windows, stoops, and porches to allow residents to survey public areas; the adoption of building forms and idioms that avoid stigmatization and isolation; and the positioning of developments adjacent to active urban life (Newman 1972). All four are central to the 'tried and true' arrangements of traditional city neighborhoods advocated by Jacobs.

The impact of these design ideas was felt well before HOPE VI. The 1968 National Commission on Urban Problems, for example, condemned the use of large high-rise towers for public housing and in the same year Congress banned the construction of

high-rise public housing meant for families. Four years later, the destruction of Pruitt-Igoe in St. Louis made headline news across the country. Public housing architects also began to implement the new design ideas. In the late 1960s, for example, Hugh Stubbins designed Boston's Warren Gardens as a townhouse development and "demonstrated that low-income housing could be made to look indistinguishable from housing for the middle-class market" (von Hoffman 1996, 437).

It is no accident, therefore, that HUD partnered with the Congress for New Urbanism in 1996. New Urbanism, as seen in other chapters, codified many of the design ideas that emerged during the 1960s. The movement, in fact, began during this time period as young architecture and planning students were inspired by figures such as Jane Jacobs (Pyatok 2000). These students went on to establish firms steeped in her general philosophy and joined together in 1993 under the umbrella organization, the Congress for the New Urbanism.

New Urbanists have taken Jacobs' indictment of post-World War II planning and have looked to the early 1900s for inspiration, the period they consider to be the golden age of American planning. It is ironic, however, that some of the philosophies and individuals that New Urbanists cite as models for their work, such as the Garden City Movement and Clarence Perry (Bressi 1994; Katz 1994; Duany, Plater-Zyberk, and Alminana 2003), were directly involved in creating the original public housing landscape. It is also ironic that the New Urbanist vision for public housing – a landscape of social interaction on porches and sidewalks – has many of the elements that were deemed dangerous in the slums. The original public housing landscape rejected everything about the slums, "including playing in or near streets, sitting on stoops, and standing around on street corners" (Franck and Mostoller 1995, 212) that New Urbanists now want to revive.

But perhaps it is wrong to call these ironies. First, New Urbanists are mercenary in their approach; they rarely embrace ideas in their totality and instead pick and choose pieces they find useful (McCann 1995; Krieger 1991). This allows them, for example, to cite Perry's skill at considering the neighborhood as a whole and ignore his intentional isolation of neighborhoods from their surroundings. Second, both housing reformers and New Urbanists are steeped in the rhetoric of community. Both want to achieve community through the built environment and it is the flexible, yet consistent, disgust-

fear discourse that is the pivot around which the definition of community is built. Two different built environments – the slum and public housing – have been labeled the antithesis of community: the slum and public housing cannot possibly be conducive to community, it is thought, because they are revolting and frightening places. But the disgust-fear discourse is consistent; it produces the same reaction – get rid of the existing landscape and build its opposite.

7.3 Disgust, Fear, and Shame and the Politics of Public Housing

The way the original public housing program was sold to the 75th Congress is strikingly similar to the way HOPE VI was pitched to the 102nd Congress. In both eras the federal government was lukewarm on the idea of public housing and its supporters had to figure out what message would work politically. The most persuasive arguments revolved around heightening the disgust-fear characteristics of landscape. Housing reformers pushed the idea that slum clearance would be part of the public housing program: the "malevolent influence of the slums" (von Hoffman 2000, 300) would be eradicated by literally wiping it away, just as 'severely distressed public housing' would be eliminated through HOPE VI.

The political and economic effectiveness of this discourse meant that both the public housing program and HOPE VI came to have, after Friedman, a distinctive 'nonwelfare' orientation (1968, 159). In both cases the discourse of disgust-fear over-emphasizes outsiders' aesthetic reaction to landscape and de-emphasizes a consideration for low-income people. The disgust-fear perspective generates on the one hand, a hardy response to cleansing landscapes that house poor minorities and on the other, a low commitment to funding comprehensive, low-income housing programs.

7.3.1 Early Efforts

Early housing reform efforts relied on a disgust-fear discourse to push for legislative change even before the formation of the public housing program in the Great Depression. During the late 1800s, reformers in cities across the country successfully lobbied city governments to enact tenement house laws based on the strength of disgust-fear. Lawrence Veiller, for example created a tenement exhibit with over a thousand photographs and a series of maps detailing poverty and disease in New York City. Ten thousand people saw this exhibit, lingering over a cardboard model of a tenement block

which "vividly portrayed the horrors of congestion" (Fairbanks 2000, 26). The force of the exhibit convinced then Governor Theodore Roosevelt to establish a state tenement commission. This commission also used vivid photographs in their report in order to "shock the conscience and stir the Assembly" (Friedman 1968, 31) and wrote the Tenement Law of 1901 which focused primarily on changing the physical aspects of disgust.[66] The law governed light, ventilation, plumbing, drainage, intensive use of land, privacy, sewage, fire escapes, and cleanly maintenance practices of individual tenements (Fairbanks 2000). Tenement house reform was popular amongst middle-class Americans, "men and women offended by the smells and sights of the slums, shocked by the vice and squalor of the poor, and frightened that the American social system would not withstand the pressures of hordes of the immigrant poor" (Friedman and Spector 1965, 47). Reformers heightened the disgust-fear of outsiders to provoke action.[67]

Besides graphic displays of the disgusting aspects of the slums, the most popular and effective argument used to push building codes into law in cities across the country was the 'social cost' argument. This argument relied on emphasizing the disgusting and frightening elements of the slum: slums bred social and physical pathologies and if eradicated, would reduce crime and epidemic diseases (Bauman 2000; Friedman 1968). A 'welfare cost' argument also circulated amongst housing reformers at this time. 'Welfare cost' was framed around the characteristics of shame; it focused on the burdened, everyday life of slum dwellers themselves and "presumed that bad, unsafe, unsanitary housing constituted a social failure, which by enmeshing its occupants in squalor and ignorance barred them from full participation in the urban community" (Bauman 2000, 7). This argument is reminiscent of the NCSDPH's use of national disgrace, emphasizing society's role in creating slum conditions and focusing on the people living in the slum. This argument, however, was not effective in city legislative chambers.

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[66] This is very similar to the audit reports submitted for the 1992 Congressional Hearing, with their persuasive and powerful photographs of disgust.

[67] The creators of HOPE VI differ from the housing reformers in their use of the disgust-fear narrative. They did not push the disgust-fear aspects of public housing in order to make the program part of HUD. As we saw in Chapter 4, they began with a narrative of shame. But some, such as Jeff Lines, pushed for the pride – disgust-fear narrative as an alternative framing for HOPE VI. Disgust-fear ultimately became the guiding narrative for HOPE VI.

7.3.2 United States Housing Act of 1937

Housing reformers expanded their focus during the first three decades of the 1900s. They moved beyond the individual tenement to address the whole neighborhood. In some ways this was an extension of the disgust-fear argument from the scale of the individual housing unit to the scale of neighborhood and city. Reformers argued that changing an individual dwelling into a decent and sanitary place to live did nothing to change surrounding slum conditions, which remained a contaminating presence. Coinciding with the growth of urban planning as a profession, housing reformers began to talk about comprehensive zoning and neighborhood planning (Fairbanks 2000) and architects and planners such as Henry Wright and Clarence Stein joined the cause. Slums, they argued, had to be eliminated, whole neighborhoods had to be reworked and even better, whole neighborhoods of quality public housing had to be created from scratch. Such large scale projects seemed to require government intervention and housing reformers came to believe that direct federal intervention was necessary to eliminate the slums and produce decent housing for the poor (Mitchell 1985; Friedman 1968). The private real estate market could not be trusted or coerced to act on their own. Reformers such as Edith Elmer Wood and Catherine Bauer were calling for a "massive rental housing program for two-thirds of the American people" (von Hoffman 2000, 301) by the 1930s.

Housing reformers had little success, however, in implementing these large-scale ideas during this time. The idea of government involvement in the private market was almost unthinkable for it violated a core national belief, "the sovereignty and inviolability of the private housing market" (Bauman 2000, 2; see also Hays 1985), and provoked cries of socialism.[68] It took the Great Depression to overcome this ideological barrier.[69]

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[68] I would not argue that disgust-fear was involved in this economic argument. The real estate industry objected to a federal housing program aimed at a wide variety of individuals, both low-income and middle-class, because this represented direct competition for the lucrative middle-class market.

[69] Technically World War I was the first event to overcome this ideological barrier. The shortage of worker housing during the war spurred the government to create the Emergency Fleet Corporation under the U.S. Shipping Board in 1916 and the U.S. Housing Corporation under the Department of Labor in 1918. Reformist architects such as Robert Ackerman and Robert Kohn were hired by the Emergency Fleet Corporation and allowed to implement their community- scale ideas. At Yorkship Village they along with architect Electus Litchfield created a whole working-class neighborhood in a suburban, middle-class style that was meant to stand in "contrast to the dirt- and disease-ridden tenements that concentrated large and often foreign-born populations together" (Karolak 2000, 67-69). But no verbal argument, and no physical

The nation was in economic crisis and suddenly "businessmen who had once scorned the idea of government intervention began to dream the same kind of dreams that housers such as Edith Elmer Wood had long dreamed" (von Hoffman 1996, 17). A large-scale government housing program would help revive the housing industry and the economy as a whole. This swelled the numbers of people in government sympathetic to the housing reformers' desire for a national public housing program.

The number of supporters for public housing was still, however, relatively small.[70] If they wanted to make public housing a permanent part of the federal government, the housers realized they needed to work the political machine and began organizing on Capitol Hill in 1933. They chose two arguments with which to lobby Congress and the Roosevelt administration: public housing as an economic stimulus and public housing as a way to eliminate slums, drawing on the social cost argument of the early housing reform movement (Mitchell 1985; von Hoffman 1996). The slum clearance approach relied on the disgust-fear discourse that was already well-entrenched

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argument in the form of these newly built communities, could persuade the government to continue this active role in housing. Federal government officials were interested in building housing as part of the war effort. In this case, therefore, the disgust-fear narrative was not politically effective. As soon as the fighting ceased, the federal government halted construction and sold what had been built on the private market, ending their experiment with public housing "with almost indecent haste" (Friedman 1968, 96; see also Szylvian 1999).

[70] Evidence for this can be found in the history of the Public Works Administration. The federal government's first move to provide housing during the Great Depression, the creation of the Public Works Administration through the National Industrial Recovery Act, squeaked through Congress. The PWA was hardly the result of surging public demand or support within government; it was largely the result of two housing reformers' skills of persuasion. Mary K. Simkhovitch used her connections within the Democratic leadership to get herself and Reverend John O'Grady into the home of Frances Perkins, the labor secretary, where Congressmen were meeting to draft the relief bill. The reformers convinced the room to attach a provision for the construction of low-income housing. There is, unfortunately, no record of what was said at this dinner meeting (von Hoffman 1996).

The life of the PWA also shows the resistance to public housing, even at a time of increased support. First, the PWA found that slum clearance was far more popular than building public housing amongst the business community, as well as government officials. The agency had to insist on re-housing as part of any project. And second, the agency had to deal with legal blockades. The grants and loans given out by the PWA could only go to private businesses and second, these were not enough to entice private business to participate. In an attempt to move things along, director Harold Ickes created the Public Works Emergency Housing Corporation in 1933, a government entity that could initiate its own development projects. In 1935, however, the program received a blow from the court case *United States v. Certain Lands in City of Louisville*. This ruling held that the federal government could not use eminent domain to demolish slums in order to build public housing (Friedman 1968). Building public housing was not perceived to be for the "public good". Other state court cases from the same time period upheld eminent domain for slum clearance which was declared a public good. It was necessary for the government to be able to, in the words of the New York Supreme Court, "'protect and safeguard the entire public from the menace of the slums'" (quoted in Friedman 1968, 103).

on the Hill. As described above, this discourse had been circulating for decades and showed up in government discourse. Members of the President Hoover's Home Builders Conference in 1931, for example, described the slum as a place of 'squalid and wretched character' and a 'civic and social cancer' (von Hoffman 1996, 52). Housing reformers pushed this already familiar negative image and, more importantly, promised that the public housing program would offer a satisfying ending to the disgust-fear discourse: the eradication of the slum landscape. Reformers also used an 'economic cost' argument to positive effect. They borrowed the real estate industry's discourse of urban blight as economic decline and cast the slums as a financial burden on city coffers (von Hoffman 1996).

Disgust-fear makes an effective economic argument as we saw with HOPE VI in the context of neoliberal reform. There is economic value in eliminating something undesirable, a logic that converted staunch opponents of public housing into supporters. The housing reformers capitalized on the economic potential of the disgust-fear discourse by emphasizing the destruction of the slums. And besides, as Friedman summarizes, "[h]uman nature being what it is, it could hardly have been possible to rouse any substantial group of the comfortable to action without awakening in them fears for their own health and satisfaction" (1968, 5).

There were some arguments, however, that focused on people instead of money. Robert Wagner, Senator from New York who worked with the housing reformers, told his fellow Congressmen about the plight of the poor living in the slums (von Hoffman 1996). This was supposed to evoke pity, sympathy and empathy, but it differs from shame in that it does not necessarily engage the self: you should feel sorry for these poor people not because you are connected with them or are implicated in their poverty, but because they are pitiable. Shame was not used as a lobbying tool even though reformers had at their disposal the 'welfare cost' argument which had been around since the mid-1800s. As we saw with HOPE VI a shame-based argument is not particularly effective in the face of disgust-fear; it lacks the economic component that draws political support.

The disgust-fear discourse, however, proved *too* successful. The Wagner Housing Act of 1937 did create a national public housing program: it authorized the creation of a federal public housing authority that would provide loans and grants to local

public housing authorities who would use the money to build, acquire, and manage housing projects. But it tied public housing to slum clearance. At the insistence of David I. Walsh, Democratic Senator from Massachusetts, an amendment was added that required one slum unit to be destroyed for every public housing unit built (von Hoffman 1996). Besides linking the two policies together, 'equivalent elimination' required that slum clearance happen before the construction of public housing which 1) delayed badly needed affordable housing and 2) often consumed the bulk of funds leaving little for the construction of public housing. In retrospect, housing reformer Ernest Bohn stated, "'It may have been the wrong technique…I wonder where we'd be today if we had not scared [the hell] out of people about conditions in the slums, and would have just talked about beautiful little cottages with white picket fences around them'" (quoted in von Hoffman 1996, 56).[71]

The social cost argument, which highlights the revolting and frightening characteristics of the slum, made demolition an end in itself and led "to a certain callousness in the execution of demolition policy" (Friedman 1968, 69). Many in Congress and the administration saw the public housing bill as a way to wipe out the worst slum spots, end of story. The expansive vision of public housing was in the words of Gail Radford, eviscerated (1996, 189-190). The most popular aspect of the 1937 program was slum clearance and little thought was given to the displaced slum dwellers at the policy level (Weiss 1985). Cost limitations were also added to the 1937 Housing Act in an amendment sponsored by Virginia Senator Harry Byrd. He was concerned that the government would spend an 'extravagant' amount of money on the poor and the amendment imposed maximum costs on construction. The cap of $1,250 per room in cities over 500,000 people (Pommer 1978) ensured a "markedly diminished physical standard for what Americans would come to know as 'public housing'" (Radford 2000, 112). It also crippled housing reformers' vision of creating communities with a mix of housing, community facilities, and social services.

[71] Does this sound familiar? It appears HUD has taken this advice, prominently displaying the before-after pictures of HOPE VI projects.

7.3.3 United States Housing Act of 1949

The years between the writing of the 1937 Housing Act and the next major piece of housing legislation in 1949 did nothing to increase support for the public housing program.[72] Housing reformers began to re-organize during World War II, realizing they needed to lobby Congress in order to revive the program. They once again faced decisions regarding what arguments to use on the Hill. The popularity of slum clearance proposals had increased during the war years and a separate housing movement had formed around the concept of urban redevelopment. This movement was backed by the National Association of Real Estate Boards, city officials, and downtown businessmen who were concerned with the decline of America's central cities. Middle-class migration to the suburbs had been accelerating since the 1920s and this exodus left a trail of 'urban blight': economic decline, a decrease in real estate values, and the creation and spread of slum conditions. Those in favor of urban redevelopment envisioned a national policy that would eradicate the slums, improve infrastructure, and promote downtown development, none of which included provisions for the building of public or low-income housing (Biles 2000; von Hoffman 2000).

Housing reformers saw the rising popularity of urban redevelopment and decided the only way to save public housing was to ensure it was a part of this movement. Reflecting the dominance of slum clearance and urban redevelopment, their language changed: instead of pushing for public housing they talked about re-housing the low-

[72] A number of factors converged to wither support for public housing during these years: ineffective administration of the program, a conservative influx into Congress, and the Nation's preoccupation with World War II. Nathan Straus was appointed by FDR to head the United States Housing Authority. Straus was an advocate of public housing, but was not a savvy politician. He pinched pennies so that costs came in well below the maximum amounts set by Congress in the hope to garner political support. What he wound up doing was creating poor quality housing that no one supported (Radford 2000). In New York City, for example, the first two projects built under the 1937 Housing Act were cost effective, but in the words of Lewis Mumford, both Red Hook and Queensbridge were "unnecessarily barrackslike and monotonous". In an act that indicates the housing authority's disconnect to the people living there, items considered 'nonessential' were eliminated such as closet doors and sturdy materials (Radford 2000).

These developments did not gain public housing any supporters in Congress and new waves of conservative Congressmen after 1937 stalled new funding for public housing. In 1938 Congressional elections brought conservative anti-New Deal and anti-public housing politicians to the Hill. The program received no new funding and housing production ground to a halt (Mitchell 1985; von Hoffman 1996). A second World War provided housers with another opportunity to revive government support for public housing, but their experiences were an almost identical replay of what happened during World War I: housers were hired by the Federal Works Agency, they created innovative and well-designed communities of public housing, and then they watched the program be cut and the housing remain out of reach for low-income folk.

income people who would be displaced (von Hoffman 1996). Their argument relied on emphasizing the contaminating qualities of the slum. Housing reformers argued that public housing was a necessary part of urban redevelopment because slum conditions would simply spread or move if low-income people were not housed. Within the larger context of a post-World War II housing shortage, this argument proved convincing for policymakers.

The Housing Act of 1949 restarted the public housing program with Title III, which stated the goal of providing a decent home to every American and authorized the construction of 810,000 units of public housing over the next six years. Public housing, however, was an adjunct to slum clearance which headlined the Act as Title I (Biles 2000). Title I provided $1 billion in loans for cities looking to eliminate blight for redevelopment. The funds went to local public renewal agencies which would acquire land with the federal money, clear it and sell it to a private developer at market price. As von Hoffman summarizes, "slum clearance, that seductress of housing reform, was now clearly in the driver's seat" (1996, 70).

Title I was the vision of the real estate industry, downtown businesses, and financial institutions who were enamored with the economic logic of disgust fear: wiping the slate clean. They gave very little thought to the lives of displaced individuals. Historians have argued, however, that the 'predominantly residential' provision included in Title I proves that Congress saw urban renewal as a program to provide more low income housing (Weiss 1985). This provision required that either the slum to be razed or the project to be redeveloped be predominantly residential. First, this wording created a loophole: if a largely residential slum was razed, it could be replaced with business or industrial uses. Second, the only reason there was an attempt to think about housing those displaced was the insistence of Senator Robert Taft of Ohio who "argued that the only type of redevelopment program that the federal government should pay for was construction of low income housing" (Weiss 1985, 262-263). Taft was a key vote and pushed this provision through with no other supporters.

Disgust-fear, therefore, kept public housing alive, but just barely. The political and financial emphasis was on demolition, not building low-income housing because arguments, once again, relied on disgust-fear discourses that emphasized the

contaminating aspects of the slums and the need to purify urban space. The Housing Act of 1949 authorized the construction of 810,000 units of public housing in six years but there proved to be no commitment to achieving this goal. Before Truman left office, he cut the annual production of public housing to 30,000 because he was worried about the cost of the Korean War. The specter of a materials shortage took priority over low-income housing. Following this cut, conservative congressmen tried to use the War as justification for eliminating the program entirely. They were not successful, but housing production only increased to 50,000 units (von Hoffman 2000).

The Eisenhower Administration was at worst hostile to public housing and at best indifferent and during this era Congress vacillated yearly between providing meager funding and none at all (von Hoffman 2000). Eleven years after the Housing Act passed the government had constructed less than 40 percent of the 810,000 units they said would be built in six years. Meanwhile, urban renewal schemes succeeded in razing thousands of units of low-income housing and replacing them with profitable commercial buildings (Friedman 1968; Biles 2000; Weiss 1985). James W. Follin, for example, declared in 1955 with regards to urban renewal in Nashville, TN, "'Tennesse's distinctive State capitol at Nashville once was surrounded by some really sorry slums. These now have been leveled, eliminating an eyesore that was increasingly difficult to explain to visitors'" (quoted in Friedman 1968, 155).

The post-World War II years are neatly summarized by Mitchell: "Housing programs for low-income and inner city households were systematically underfunded and were crowded out by commercial revitalization" (Mitchell 1985, 11), an economic process that relies on the logic of disgust-fear. Urban renewal was an economically advantageous way for cities to act on their local configuration of the disgust-fear discourse which organized the public's understanding of poor minorities and their landscapes.

7.4 The Coming Together of Disgust-Fear, Race, and the Public Housing Landscape

The depiction of the slums and public housing, the designs of both landscapes, and the arguments used to push both programs through Congress have everything to do with American society's persistent attitude towards poor minorities. This is the constant that links the original public housing program and HOPE VI; it is the engine that drives

the historical repetition of destruction and construction. The rise of the disgust-fear discourse surrounding public housing illustrates this point. The impetus for public housing came from a disgust-fear reaction to the slums – a landscape of poor immigrants. But as public housing became increasingly associated with the poor in the 1960s, especially poor African-Americans, disgust-fear coalesced around this landscape and is on the same demolition path as the slums. The disgust-fear discourse, it seems, trails poor minorities and their landscapes, shaping and directing public housing policy.

7.4.1 From Vision to Reality

Housing reformers' original conception of the public housing program was expansive. The program was to be directed at two-thirds of the American population and would include modern housing integrated with facilities such as community centers, child-care rooms, parks and playgrounds, as well as social services. Sites would be carefully chosen to ensure proximity to schools and health clinics. The World War I and New Deal experiments in public housing were close approximations of the housing reformers' ideal. The World War I programs housed working families employed in the defense industry and PWA housing was directed towards the middle-third of the market (Radford 1996). Especially during the 1930s, public housing was viewed as being for the 'submerged middle-class' or the 'deserving' poor who were great in number during the Great Depression (Friedman 1968).

But with the passage of the Wagner-Steagall Act of 1937, this vision narrowed significantly. The vision of a program geared towards low- and middle-income groups was attacked by the real estate industry and conservative Congressmen on economic grounds: such a program could potentially compete with private real estate. While families on relief were excluded from public housing (Friedman 1968), Congress passed amendments restricting the income of eligible tenants. This ensured that public housing would house the lowest income groups and would not remove anyone able to pay rent from the private housing market. These provisions, plus tethering the program to slum clearance through equivalent elimination ensured the program would be labeled as low-income.

The Housing Act of 1949 continued this trend. The legislation set income limits for public housing eligibility: if a family's income rose above the ceiling they had to

move out, leaving behind an increasingly poor resident population. The Housing Act of 1949 also gave preference to housing the mainly African-American population displaced by urban renewal. In 1948, 37 percent of public housing residents were black; in 1957 this figure was 48 percent; and by 1965 it was over 50 percent (Schach 1997). The median income of public housing residents also dropped to 41 percent of the national median by 1968 (Schach 1997). Exacerbating these policy decisions were demographic trends. By the mid-1960s the population living in city centers had shifted from working families to a largely poor, African-American population (Mitchell 1985; Vale 1999). Riding the post-World War II era of prosperity, working class families moved to single-family homes, "especially those who were white and able to take full advantage of federal subsidies for homeownership in the suburbs" (Vale 1999, 14).

As public housing residents in major cities became increasingly poor and black, and public housing developments physically deteriorated,[73] media representations of public housing "heaped scorn and disgust on public housing" (Friedman 1968, 142; see also Henderson 1995). This is no coincidence. The United States and Europe have a history of prejudice against blacks and the poor and according to Nathanson, "[t]he affective roots of prejudice *always* involve…disgust" (1992, 133).[74] In the U.S. and Europe, the poor have been cast to the bottom of the social ladder, in part, by associating them with disgusting objects and ascribing them with disgusting properties. Hays, for example, summarizes this country's general ideological orientation towards the poor: "[f]or many Americans, hostility toward the poor extends beyond an intellectual defense of inequality to include a visceral dislike of the poor as a group" (Hays 1985, 27). A dislike that is *visceral* is tied to disgust and indeed, references to dirt, disease, and

[73] Housing authorities faced budget shortfalls in the wake of these demographic changes: operating budgets were based on rents, so as residents in public housing became poorer housing authorities saw their budgets decline. The 1969 Brooke Amendment added to this financial squeeze when rents were capped at one-fourth of tenant's income. Major structural renovations were deferred as was routine maintenance, which contributed to the physical and aesthetic decline of the public housing landscape. In many cities across the country, this physical decline was highly visible because of the architectural design of public housing built after World War II: large-scale high rise developments or barracks-style apartments that were decidedly different from the surrounding landscape.

[74] The full quote reads, "The affective roots of prejudice *always* involve dissmell and disgust" (Nathanson 1992, 133). Nathanson, following Tomkins' theory of affect, makes a distinction between disgust, which is viewed as tied to the sense of taste, and dissmell, which is tied to the sense of smell. Both are considered key emotions in interpersonal rejection. I do not discuss dissmell because no other psychology text refers to it; it is simpler to fold dissmell into the concept of disgust.

animals have been a consistent theme in historical and contemporary discussions of the poor (Sibley 1995; Stallybrass and White 1986; Nussbaum 2004).

Representations of blacks follow a similar pattern. As Sibley notes, the color black is a negative signifier in European white society and is associated with dirt, disease, disorder, and fear (1995). These color associations directly inform the conceptualization of race. Blacks have historically been framed as savage, violating the norms of sex and hygiene Rozin describes, casting them as less than human. Kay Anderson reinforces this point by outlining the importance of 'animality' in the construction of racial discourses. Distinctions between civilized humanity and debased animality are made on the basis of race and have been used to "mark out some (racialized) humans from others" (Anderson 2002, 31). Disgust is the emotion that polices this boundary.

The post World War II concentration and channeling of "the victims of all of the nation's most virulent prejudices into a single program" (Vale 1996, 229) created "highly visible images of vertical file drawers filled with society's failures and outcasts" (Mitchell 1985, 15), laying the foundation for a discourse of public housing organized around disgust-fear. Revulsion and fear of black 'others' was projected onto the public housing landscape[75]: as poor blacks moved into public housing in greater numbers, it was these landscapes that became dirty, disorderly, scary. The connections between the three – disgust-fear, landscape, and race – have solidified to the point that particular emotive descriptions of landscape automatically imply race. This process can be seen in the newspaper articles and Congressional discussions quoted in Chapter 4. (For further evidence of the link between disgust-fear, landscape, and race see Figure 7.10).

[75] General media representations of public housing often focus on inner-city high-rise projects in major urban centers, the projects that are most associated with poor African-Americans. This has led to a skewed understanding of public housing amongst the general public which does not realize that 1) much of the public housing stock consists of low-rise apartments, 2) some high-rise public housing works well in cities such as New York where there is a culture of high-rise apartment living, 3) whites also live in public housing, and 4) public housing can be found in rural areas. But as we saw with Charlotte and Lexington, just because public housing is not a high-rise or located in a large city, local representations of public housing tend towards the disgust-fear narrative.

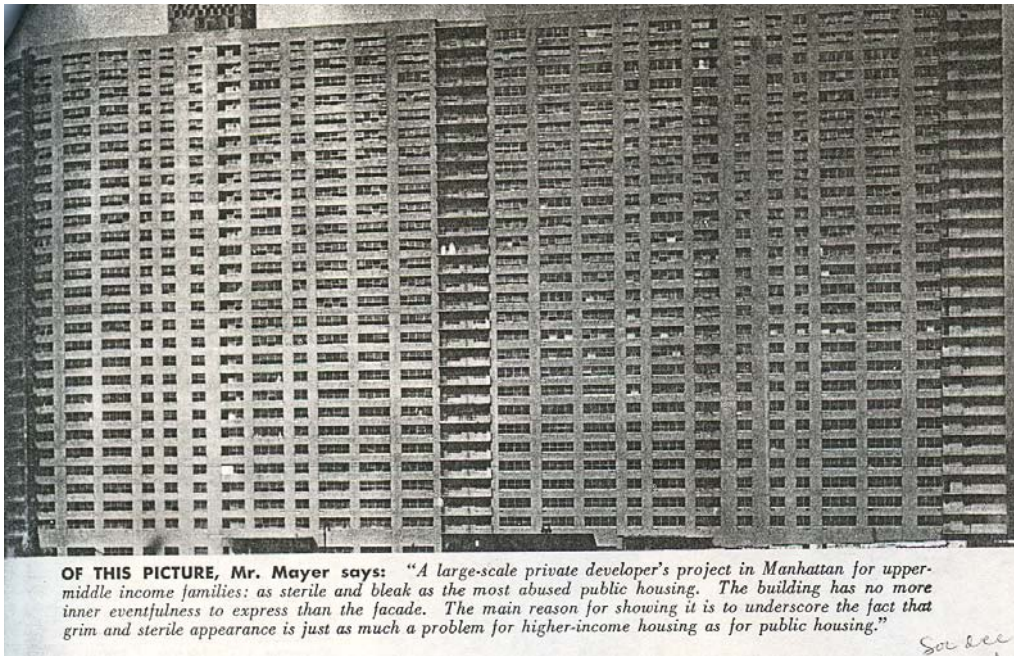


Figure 7.10: Photograph of upper-income high-rise housing in Manhattan. It was included in a 1962 article on public housing in the *Journal of Housing* in order to "underscore the fact that grim and sterile appearance is just as much a problem for higher-income housing as for public housing" (Mayer 1962, 451). This is true, but high-rise housing for the upper-income has never been represented by disgust-fear. Architectural critics might decry the bland facades of high-rise housing for the well-to-do, but this landscape has typically been represented by the media as exciting and desirable. In the 1960s – the same period the disgust-fear discourse cohered around public housing – apartment living for upper-income whites was depicted as fitting in with the leisure age; these were 'pads for singles', a 'good place to be bad' (Henderson 1995). Same landscape, different race, different representation: in other words, the race of tenants was the determining factor in whether the landscape was described by the media with disgust-fear or enjoyment. But this does not diminish the role of landscape. It is not enough to recognize that prejudice and racism are problems that begin in "human relationships, social relations, and social structures" (Henderson 2003, 188). Landscapes are a constitutive part of human relationships. In order to understand disgust, fear (and, therefore, prejudice), we must understand how people perceive and represent landscapes. Landscapes, after all, are a key mediator of emotion.

By the late 1960s and early 1970s, therefore, public housing had acquired a nationwide reputation for housing the poorest of the poor, a reputation that was organized by disgust-fear and informed by the media and social science research. The Kennedy and Johnson administrations were liberal, however, and increased the production of public housing. In 1965, for example, President Johnson created HUD as a cabinet-level department and the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968 authorized the construction of 6 million low-income housing units over the next 10 years. But as the numbers of public housing units increased, opposition increased. As Friedman notes, public housing was met with a "wall of white hostility" (1968, 123). This led to public

housing's distinct spatial pattern: public housing is typically found in black-majority neighborhoods in inner cities and on the most marginal land. Race and income prejudice has also fueled the outright rejection of the creation of local public housing authorities (Friedman 1968). Given this context, the 1969 U.S. Commission on Urban Problems concluded, "[o]pposition to public housing led many of its advocates to seek alternatives. Public assistance remained necessary to bring decent housing within reach of large numbers of Americans. But the attempt to provide this assistance while avoiding the stigma sometimes associated with public housing led to new paths" (Building 1969).

We already saw how the design of public housing began to change during this time. As the landscape of public housing became a symbol for black, inner-city poverty, it became a scary and revolting place that needed to be normalized. A new vision of public housing emerged from the Carter administration that mirrored the design consensus and affected federal policy. President Carter and HUD Secretary Patricia Roberts Harris dreamed of "revitalized neighborhoods, bustling with entrepreneurial vigor, where…poor black families in concert with white, childless, middle-class professionals opened neighborhood businesses, refurbished historic houses, scrubbed clean graffiti-defaced walls, and excited drab streetscapes with spring plantings" (Bauman 2000, 251) – an aestheticized and mixed-income vision not unlike HOPE VI.[76]

7.5 Conclusion

This chapter showed that American society's persistent disgust-fear construction of poor minorities is the reason for the similarities between the public housing program and HOPE VI. The chapter outlined three major similarities that arise from the permeation of emotion in public housing policy. First, disgust-fear organized the representation and understanding of both the slum and public housing, making landscape change a necessity. Second, the design of the first public housing landscape and HOPE VI landscapes are rooted in a desire to eliminate disgust-fear and build a landscape considered clean and healthy. Third, both the creators of the public housing program and those involved in the HOPE VI process used disgust-fear to push legislation through

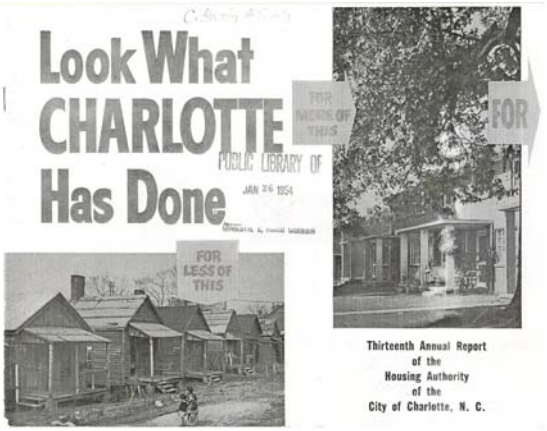
[76] The policies behind this vision included 'New Urban Partnerships' which encouraged private sector involvement in public housing. The other major policy push during this time period was Section 8 which encouraged the deconcentration of poverty by giving public housing residents vouchers for renting an apartment on the private market. This policy was buoyed by the common interpretation of Wilson's work on concentrated poverty and social pathologies.

Congress. The final section of the chapter showed how we went from the optimism surrounding original public housing developments to the disgust-fear surrounding these same developments today, highlighting the persistence of disgust-fear in American society's construction of poor minorities.

The people involved in creating public housing understood this emotional makeup of American society. Their desire for public housing to be available to both low- and middle-class individuals was emotionally savvy. As Catherine Bauer argued in the 1930s, a low-income program would give public housing a 'charity smell', eliminating the possibility that the program ever receive sufficient political or public support (von Hoffman 1996). Her choice of words is revealing. American society views poor minorities with disgust and fear and, therefore, a program and landscape associated with this group would literally and figuratively smell to outsiders. Her comment, unfortunately, proved accurate and played out in the Post World War II era.

This is the same sentiment offered by the creators of HOPE VI. Gordon Cavanaugh, for example, approaches public housing with an understanding of how society feels about the poor. He argues that "[p]rograms that serve broader income levels as well as the poor fare better and serve more of both" (1992, 68-69) and that "the only way to serve the poor properly is by hitching their needs to those of a more influential population" (1992, 75). These statements might be criticized as pessimistic or defeatist, but in many ways they attempt to grapple with the reality of disgust-fear in our society.

We can learn something, then, from these individuals and the story of public housing outlined in this chapter. The cycles of demolition and construction that mark the history of public housing are fueled by society-wide disgust and fear for poor minorities. As Friedman acknowledges, one of the most serious impediments to a successful affordable and low-income housing policy in this country is class and race prejudice (1968), which are underpinned by specific emotions. An emotions-focused perspective on public housing, then, is a tool that can "provide the intellectual reinforcements necessary to understand the constant *destruction* of landscape" (Mitchell 2003, 789) (see Figures 7.11 and 7.12).



Figures 7.11 and 7.12: Before and after pictures, Charlotte Housing Authority. The picture on the left shows the 1954 cover of Charlotte Housing Authority's Annual Report (Thirteenth Annual Report 1954). It depicts a before and after montage: the squalid slums to the left are replaced with clean and appealing public housing on the right. Less of the first, more of the second. The picture on the right was produced by the current Charlotte Housing Authority. It depicts another before and after montage: squalid public housing at the top is replaced with a clean and appealing HOPE VI landscape on the bottom (First Ward 2006). The evolving public housing landscape is very much a part of the social negotiation of disgust and fear.

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Chapter 8: Landscape Aesthetics

This chapter brings the importance of the public housing landscape to the forefront, a theme which runs through the previous chapters. Public housing, as a cultural and symbolic landscape, is key to how HOPE VI, and public housing policy in general, works. The circulation of disgust, fear, shame, and enjoyment happens through the aesthetics of public housing; the visual and even olfactory perceptions of public housing evoke specific emotional reactions. The chapter explores these connections between aesthetics, emotion, and social life. First, I provide background on the concept of aesthetics – aesthetic reactions to landscape are often considered innate, divorced from both cognition and the social – and offer examples from my interviews that illustrate this understanding.

Second, I critique this understanding of aesthetics through the geography literature. It is this critique that highlights an important part of how landscape works in public housing policy. Viewing aesthetics as innate allows emotive reactions to landscape to become shorthand for social life. Assuming that one's recoiling at the sight or description of public housing is natural allows the link between disgust and poor minorities to go unexplored. And because the New Urbanist landscape evokes the positive emotion of enjoyment, the racial and class underpinnings of this landscape transformation are normalized through emotional appeal. The inner-workings of this process are explored through stories from Washington DC and Charlotte. In both cities the choice of architecture hinges on the desire to create a culturally coded 'white' landscape - architectural cues from surrounding landscapes dominated by poor African-Americans are ignored and architectural cues from successful 'white' and middle- to upper-class landscapes are embraced.

The third and final section, however, explores how the links between landscape aesthetics, emotion, and social life can have positive social implications. This requires taking people's emotions seriously: just because feelings about landscape are in many ways socially constructed does not make them any less real. I explore the possibility that the public housing transformation under New Urbanist principles might 1) reduce residents' sense of shame and 2) reduce outsider disgust-fear of public housing.

8.1 Background

The term aesthetic comes from the Greek 'aisthetike', but its emergence as a separate branch of philosophy came in the 1730s founded by the German philosopher Alexander Baumgarten. For Baumgarten aesthetics was the study of "the whole range of human perception and sensation" (Eagleton 1990, 13). The study and understanding of aesthetics has gone through a long and complex trajectory through German and English philosophy, with contributions from people such as Hume, Kant, Hegel, and Nietzsche (Beardsley 1966; Eagleton 1990).

Aesthetics as a separate category of knowledge has a specific history that directly informs contemporary understandings and critiques of the concept. Eagleton identifies the transition from feudalism in Germany as a key moment for the development of aesthetics. Aesthetics was part of the re-visioning of German life: the substitution of feudal power with a society of free and equal individuals who govern themselves (Eagleton 1990, 19). In this re-visioning, there is no external power demanding adherence to law. Instead, individuals 'discover' the law through their senses; their habits, tastes, and sentiments. As Eagelton describes it, "this is equivalent to saying that power in such an order has become *aestheticized*. It is at one with the body's spontaneous impulses, entwined with sensibility and the affections, lived out in unreflective custom" (Eagleton 1990, 20). There is no monarch demanding adherence to society's rules and regulations; you know what is right and wrong via what you like and dislike.

As this re-visioning evolved and aesthetics was taken up by English philosophy, these spontaneous impulses were scrutinized and understood via social hierarchy. Aesthetic reactions involving sight and hearing were considered 'above' those aesthetic reactions derived from taste, smell, and touch. And depending on what objects one took aesthetic pleasure from, one was either in good or bad taste. Such aesthetic judgments easily slide into moral judgments: as Eagleton summarizes, "[b]eauty, truth and goodness are ultimately at one: what is beautiful is harmonious, what is harmonious is true, and what is at once true and beautiful is agreeable and good" (1990, 35). Morality, then, becomes "as self-evident as the taste of sherry" (Eagleton 1990, 38).

These philosophical understandings of aesthetics inform contemporary understandings of aesthetics. Duncan and Duncan summarize the similarities:

> The most common contemporary view assumes an engaged or immersed quality of the aesthetic as a realm of immediate, unarticulated response to the materiality of art or nature or whatever objects one adopts an aesthetic attitude toward. Often unarticulated except in naturalized, unself-conscious terms, the aesthetic is largely separated from the realm of the cognitive. The aesthetic disposition in this sense is related to ideology in that it refers to the unarticulated, unmediated, and naturalized pleasure one takes in the concrete materiality of things in themselves. Although visual pleasure is often based on learned taste or so-called 'refined' appreciation, part of the learning process is to internalize the taste so that it appears a self-evident inclination, a 'habit of the heart' (Bourdieu 1984). As such, the aesthetic refers to a sensuous, bodily pleasure and immediacy of response that is thought to be shared with others (2004, 31).

Many of the people I spoke with held this 'naturalized' vision of aesthetic judgment, specifically that beauty is a universal, agreed-upon concept. I spoke with Marilyn Melkonian, President of the development firm Telesis Corporation, and asked her about the HOPE VI design process: do residents and architects see eye to eye on what they want for new developments in terms of design and architecture? Her reply resembles the philosophy outlined above: "They basically want the same amenities or, or, or sense of beauty that anybody else. I mean tastes can differ, that's always different. But the basics are common ground, you know, they're really common ground" (2006). Later in the conversation she remarked, "people are moved by what is beautiful and to some extent that's a transcendent feeling you know, that it's not necessarily based on opinion, but people feel it" (2006). Her statements have the ring of Kant's *sensus communis,* shared human sense: tastes may differ over the particular details of the project, but there is a base level of aesthetic judgment that is universal and is felt rather than thought (Dutton 2001).

Michael Kelly was another person I interviewed that had a 'naturalized' understanding of aesthetics. The question I asked him was similar to the one I asked Melkonian: whether or not there was any disagreement between residents and architects over the design of new developments.

> It's uh, it's a term that's used in um, Palladio's five books of architecture where he calls it delight. You know, delight is something that we all share. We may have a difficult time defining it, but if, if, you know you or I were to look at 10 paintings,

> there's a pretty good chance that we would agree that seven of the ten or some number, we agree are very pretty. They bring us happiness, and we'd almost agree that we have, this one doesn't bring either of us happiness. There's some sort of feeling, of appreciation of aesthetics, that is a shared, is a fundamental shared uh, ability of all human beings. And so I think that's, I think we try to generate a process where we start from that level of delight. And we may argue about the color or you know, the size of something of some features, but fundamentally we're on board with the finished product (2006).

Kelly's background is in architecture and he draws from one of the first known architectural treatises, Vitruvius's Ten Books of Architecture, written in 27 B.C. (During the interview, Kelly ascribes this theory to Palladio). Vitruvius defined three principles of architecture – firmness, commodity, and delight – with delight referring to the beauty and sensory appeal of a building; its ability to lift the human spirit. For Kelly, the central goal of HOPE VI design charrettes is to achieve communal delight. He describes this process as relatively seamless because, much like Melkonian, he ascribes to a universal and natural definition of aesthetics. Everyone involved in the design charrette simply agrees on what is beautiful and desirable in terms of housing and architecture.

8.2 Geography's Critique of Aesthetics

It is this understanding of aesthetics that has been critiqued by cultural geographers interested in landscape. Aesthetic reactions to landscape are often considered innate and divorced from both cognition and the social, as we saw with both Melkonian and Kelly: a landscape is beautiful simply because it is. But as Schein warns,

> A contemporary landscape aesthetic is reliant upon vision and, often, shared notions of spatial order, which in turn constitute an epistemology; and that epistemology, like other seemingly 'commonsense' approaches to social life, is a product of its place and time (2003, 200-201).

Aesthetic reactions to landscape, then, appear spontaneous, but are thoroughly intertwined with social norms. Taking these critiques further, Duncan and Duncan argue that aesthetics is a type of "alienated thought by which the interests of the dominant classes in society are naturalized" (Duncan and Duncan 2004, 33) at the scale of the body.

With this critique, geographers have shown how the aesthetics of landscape work to reinforce social hierarchy, exclude, and normalize race and class relations. James and

Nancy Duncan, for example, examine Bedford, New York, residents' attachment to a rural aesthetic. They argue that residents achieve social status through Bedford's rural landscape and maintain this status by excluding others through historic preservation, nature preservation, and strict zoning regulation (Duncan and Duncan 2001). This process of exclusion works through the emotional aspects of aesthetics: residents do not simply dislike those who are different, of a lower social class, what they dislike is a particular aesthetic of landscape. Schein examines the creation of Thoroughbred Park in Lexington, Kentucky as a racialized landscape. The park is situated at a key entry point to downtown and offers those who drive by a slice of Kentucky's countryside aesthetic: rolling hills of green grass, frolicking horses in the form of bronze statues, and stone walls that is part of "a long tradition of elite symbol making" (Schein 2003, 216). This crafted aesthetic blocks views of a low-income, predominantly black neighborhood. Schein concludes that "the park is a three-dimensional visual and spatial display that naturalizes long-standing social and racial practice in this part of the country" (2003, 217).

Similar critiques have been leveled against the aesthetic of New Urbanism, the planning and architecture movement adopted by HUD as the guiding design framework for new HOPE VI developments. In general, New Urbanists create an aesthetic reminiscent of 'small town America'. This aesthetic is central to the movement's larger goals of tapping into the 'American planning tradition' and creating a sense of community. Geographers approach this aesthetic with suspicion, arguing that it is normative, reinforcing class and racial hierarchies. Smith does not mince words, describing a famous New Urbanist development, Seaside, Florida as "stylistically as much as statistically white and wealthy…There is no mystery about for whom this new urbanism is built. The design styles distill the most traditional assumptions of gender, class, and race" (1999, 200). McCann argues that New Urbanists carefully select models of the 'American planning tradition' based on class, choosing to emulate places such as Princeton and Georgetown (1995). Till shows how a New Urbanist aesthetic works in a specific place, Santa Rosa, California:

> [t]he built environment of the urban village tangibly promotes a sense of historical completeness in architecture and design, even though the 'early California Spanish colonial tradition' is a highly selective one…their buildings are constructed for

> specific regional markets whose consumers are familiar with…this style which symbolizes the exclusiveness of middle-class and upper-class residential communities (1993, 718).

In this way, the landscape aesthetic of New Urbanism leads to two types of exclusion: the exclusion of alternative understandings of tradition and community and the physical exclusion of groups of people from living in these developments. New Urbanism is also criticized for being environmentally deterministic; assuming that social processes such as the creation of 'community' will automatically flow from a specific spatial and aesthetic arrangement. (See the following for similar critiques: Dowling 1998; Fainstein 2000; Falconer Al-Hindi 2001; Falconer Al-Hindi and Staddon 1997; Harvey 1997, 2000; Till 2001; Zimmerman 2001)

Many of these critiques are applicable to the understanding and use of aesthetics in HOPE VI. From interview material, HUD documents, and newspaper articles, it appears there *is* a general, meta-level agreement over what is ugly and beautiful in terms of public housing design. And these emotional-aesthetic reactions are hard for people to articulate, as was seen with Kathleen O'Neil, who replaced a verbal description of an existing public housing project with noises (oooihhhh) and hand gestures.

Because of this naturalization of aesthetics, it is assumed the New Urbanist landscape is better for public housing residents and outsiders alike simply because it evokes positive emotions. *Why* it evokes positive emotions is not explored. The racial and class underpinnings of this landscape transformation are normalized through emotional appeal. Emotions are an essential part of aesthetic experience, particularly disgust and enjoyment. As Menninghaus summarizes, the eighteenth century's foundation "of modern aesthetics can be described as a foundation based on prohibition of what is disgusting. The 'aesthetic' is the field of a particular 'pleasure' whose absolute other is disgust" (2003, 7). But as argued above, there is nothing natural about aesthetic reactions: the emotions evoked by aesthetic cues are socially constructed and have everything to do with social categories such as race and class. When public housing, then, evokes aesthetic disgust, part of this reaction is because of who lives there. And when HOPE VI removes this highly stigmatized 'black' landscape from the city and replaces it with a New Urbanist aesthetic, feelings of enjoyment are tied to an

understanding of whiteness. Low summarizes this general process: “Niceness – keeping things clean, orderly, homogenous and controlled…is also a way of maintaining ‘whiteness’” (2003, 172) The whitewashing of public housing is an implied, but unspoken part of HOPE VI that has its basis in emotional, aesthetic reactions.

The inner-workings of this process can be seen in the spotty application of New Urbanist principles in different HOPE VI projects. The Congress for New Urbanism created a document for HUD - Principles for Inner City Neighborhood Design - that lays out fourteen general design guidelines for new public housing projects. One of the fourteen principles is "Local Architectural Character: The image and character of new developments should respond to the best traditions of residential and mixed-use architecture in the area" (Principles 2000, 30). In Washington D.C. this philosophy has been unevenly applied in the city's various HOPE VI projects. At Ellen Wilson Homes, D.C.'s first HOPE VI grant, the architecture carefully reflects that of the surrounding community, the construction even emulating "the '3 or 4 buildings at a time' nature of the development of the existing neighborhood" (Principles 2000, 31). The surrounding community, however, happens to be Capitol Hill North, a historic and trendy part of the city that has been gentrified (Knox 1991). In other words, this HOPE VI project emulates an already desirable architecture associated with white and wealthy D.C. residents (see Figures 8.1-8.5).

Figures 8.1, 8.2 and 8.3: Photographs of the new Ellen Wilson Homes. These three photos show units that were built as part of the HOPE VI project. Photographs taken by Ellen Hostetter.

Figures 8.4 and 8.5: Photographs of the surrounding context. These two photos show non-HOPE VI housing directly across the street from the HOPE VI development. Note the similarities in material and form. Photographs taken by Ellen Hostetter.

At another Washington D.C. HOPE VI development, Capitol Gateway, the HOPE VI development is decidedly different from the rest of the neighborhood. Instead of blending in, the development stands apart: the townhouses clad in light colored vinyl and brick stand in stark contrast to adjacent brick duplexes. The HOPE VI development looks strikingly similar to many of the new urban condo and townhouse projects cropping up all over the city-suburbs and strikingly unlike surrounding structures (see Figures 8.6.-8.10). This disjuncture could be explained in practical terms. The new development represents current building practice and styles: homes today are not built with solid brick and instead rely on cheaper materials such as vinyl siding.[77] But I do not think it is a coincidence that the surrounding neighborhood is predominantly black and poor, in a part of town avoided by white D.C. residents.

Figures 8.6 and 8.7: Photographs of Capitol Gateway. To the left are townhouses that architecturally mimic many of the new townhouse developments springing up in suburban D.C. To the right is a construction scene that could have been taken from any new suburban development in the United States. Photographs taken by Ellen Hostetter.

Figure 8.8: Photograph of Pulte Homes townhouse, Washington DC. This photograph is from a real estate website (Kostof 1991) and shows townhouses on offer in Dakota Crossing, a master planned community northwest of metro D.C. starting in the $460,000 range. Note the pediment with the

[77] Although at Ellen Wilson Homes, solid brick is used for many of the HOPE VI units facing the main street; high quality siding is used for those units facing the alley.

circular detail, which is also found on the HOPE VI townhouse. Side-note: Dakota Crossing happens to be located at 2621 Patricia Roberts Harris Place: Patricia Roberts Harris was Secretary of HUD under Jimmy Carter.

Figures 8.9 and 8.10: Homes found in the neighborhoods surrounding Capitol Gateway. No architectural elements of these brick duplexes made their way into the design of the HOPE VI project. Photographs taken by Ellen Hostetter.

I do not want to argue that the brick homes in the surrounding neighborhoods represent a distinctly 'black' aesthetic, or that the HOPE VI development can automatically be associated with whiteness. It does appear, however, that adherence to the Local Architecture principle hinges on the desirability of the surrounding neighborhood, with desirability skewed towards whiteness and affluence. If a HOPE VI project is in a poor, black neighborhood, the surrounding architecture is rejected in favor of whatever aesthetic is selling in the private sector which, again, tends to be architecture that is attractive to and symbolic of the white middle-class. In the case of Capitol Gateway, the HOPE VI development mirrors many of the private sector condo developments springing up in downtown and the surrounding suburbs.

A similar scenario unfolded in Charlotte. I spoke with Allen McGuire, a Charlotte architect involved in the city's first HOPE VI grant, Earle Village. He narrated the development's history, describing Brooklyn, the black neighborhood that preceded Earle Village and that was destroyed by urban renewal. Some of the public housing residents involved in the HOPE VI design charrettes had memories of the destroyed black neighborhood:

> there were a core group of people who um, uh, a lot of them were older, um, some of them had been a part of the original Brooklyn neighborhood that I told you that was torn down and so they remembered, they knew what a neighborhood was about and they wanted that so badly. They wanted that back. And the opportunity to um,

> participate in the design of that, in the rebirth of the neighborhood, there were several core folks who were, you know, 100 percent behind it. And that made it fun (McGuire 2006).

I asked if there was ever any attempt to draw on the architecture and layout of the destroyed neighborhood, drawing on the memories of residents and historic photos (which lined the conference room wall where the interview was conducted). McGuire responded, "that didn't come up too much" (2006). Again, I do not want to imply that if cues from the Brooklyn neighborhood were used that the resulting aesthetic would have been somehow 'black'. In fact, some of the principles might have been the same, such as pedestrian friendly sidewalks and porches. What I want to point out is that the possibility of drawing on a historically black neighborhood was not even part of the conversation. And First Ward, the HOPE VI project, looks very much like any other downtown condo development associated with white gentrification. When I moved to Charlotte in 2000, I automatically assumed the by then completed project was another wave of white yuppies rediscovering urban living. I assumed homogenous, white, well-off tenants occupied the townhouses until one day I saw African-American children on the sidewalk and an African-American woman entering one of the units. My immediate, 'knee-jerk' thought was, 'what are *they* doing here?' The architecture had told me this was a white space; to see a black family living there crashed head on with my stereotype (and revealed some of my own prejudices).[78]

For Piedmont Courts in Charlotte, the pattern was similar. As mentioned above, very little discussion surrounded the architectural design for this HOPE VI project: First Ward had been so successful, it was assumed the architecture would simply be replicated at Piedmont Courts. There is some evidence, however, of consideration for the architectural context of Belmont, the largely black and poor neighborhood that surrounds Piedmont Courts. In a power point presentation prepared by Urban Design Associates, photographs of single family homes from Belmont were presented as a 'context-study', as possible inspiration for the new development, which is in keeping with the principle of local architectural character (see Figure 8.11). The design sketches, however, presented a streetscape that looks nothing like the Belmont neighborhood (Figure 8.12). They look

[78] I automatically assumed that because they were African-American, they were also poor.

like the photographs taken for a separate context-study of First Ward and townhouses in the general Charlotte area, the 'hot' markets that attract higher-income tenants who are interested in living in an 'urban village' (see Figures 8.13 and 8.14).

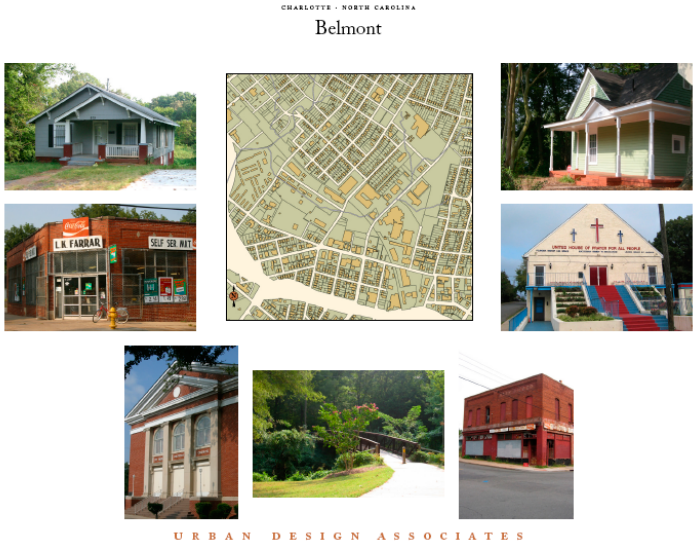

Figure 8.11: Context study of Belmont. From power point presentation created by Urban Design Associates (Power Point 2005).

Figure 8.12: Design sketch of Piedmont Courts. No single-family homes or bungalow style in this drawing. From power point presentation created by Urban Design Associates (Power Point 2005).

Figures 8.13 and 8.14: Context studies of First Ward and Townhouses of Charlotte. The design sketch of Piedmont Court looks like the 'modern', 'urban' townhouses found in First Ward and surrounding 'hot' neighborhoods. From power point presentation created by Urban Design Associates (Power Point 2005).

The 'environmental determinism' critique of New Urbanism can also be applied to HOPE VI: it is assumed that once poor, working class, and middle class tenants move into these HOPE VI developments, social interaction and a sense of 'community' will follow. As a HUD brochure comments, "HOPE VI developments are designed for neighborliness. They include attributes of traditional communities – front porches, wide front steps, sidewalks, neighborhood pools, and playgrounds – that encourage residents to know one another and take an active interest in their neighborhood" (HOPE VI December 1999, 9). More specifically and paternalistically, it is assumed that working families will become 'role models' for public housing tenants largely through a landscape that encourages interaction. Studies of this process have reported mixed results, with no clear proof that the stated goals are being achieved (Hendrickson 2002).

Other critiques have been leveled against the New Urbanist aesthetics of HOPE VI by architects and housing policy commentators. Vale points out the tendency for architects and residents to have conflicting aesthetic agendas. He catalogues the opinions of both groups involved with the 1980s redevelopment of Boston's West Broadway, a project that preceded HOPE VI, but was very much in the HOPE VI style. For the architects and planners "certain aspects of the buildings' new appearance seem to have been of considerably greater concern" (Vale 1995, 296) than it was for the residents. As the BHA design specialist commented, "the question of pitched roofs…seemed to arouse 'no tenant feeling'" (Vale 1995, 296) The most important design changes for residents

were those involving reconfiguring the interior units. And the biggest concern for residents had nothing to do with aesthetics: the retention of community ties.

A separate critique is offered by Pyatok, who argues that crafting a New Urbanist aesthetic is the main priority of those involved in implementing HOPE VI, leaving out a concern for the people affected by the program. In his own words, "Both public and private developers, viewing the world from the middle of the class structure, see a well-designed environment as a higher priority than intensive people-oriented solutions" (2000, 808). Others make a similar argument, that the aesthetics of HOPE VI risk masking the economic and social problems of public housing residents (FitzPatrick 2000; Smith 1998; Wright 2002): "[a]dopting the forms of the rich for the poor, without adaptations for the differing needs of the populations, will only lead to a future as bleak as the past" (FitzPatrick 2000, 448).

A large portion of my dissertation is devoted to this critique: concerns about resident lives become secondary to landscape change. My dissertation supports this argument by showing how this process works: it is the emotional appeal of a transformation of landscape aesthetics – the dramatic change from disgust-fear to enjoyment-happiness – that makes a focus on landscape aesthetics politically and financially popular. And further, it is largely the characteristics of disgust-fear that dictates aesthetic policy solutions.

8.3 Is there any Hope for Aesthetics?

Within these important and necessary critiques, however, there is room to argue for a positive side to aesthetic concerns. From my critical humanistic perspective, this is a necessary move. If we view aesthetic concerns as nothing more than manipulations of the powerless by the powerful, the normalization of class and racial hierarchies, and a tool of exclusion, we lose an understanding of everyday life. As Tuan notes, "The tendency in the human sciences to expose the hidden underside of life and to offer ego-deflating explanation of aesthetic surfaces is justified, if only as cautionary tales…However, it is not obvious to me why life that goes on beneath the surface or backstage should have an automatic claim to privileged status" (1989, 237). Tuan urges us to not just critique aesthetics, scratching at its surface to reveal a perceived 'truth' underneath, but to be open to the full experience of aesthetics in everyday life: "So much

of life occurs at the surface that, as students of the human scene, we are obliged to pay far more attention to its character (subtlety, variety, and density) than we have done" (Tuan 1989, 233).

For me, this means taking people's emotional reactions to aesthetics seriously – both outsiders and residents. Just because feelings about landscape are in many ways socially constructed does not make them any less real. As outlined in Chapter 4, for example, many public housing residents feel the sting of shame on a daily basis. A person's sense of self is intimately connected to the place they call home and in America, the public housing landscape is viewed as 'housing of last resort'. The predominant perception of the public housing landscape as revolting and fearful, as wholly undesirable, stigmatizes public housing residents. Living in public housing is akin to wearing a Scarlet Letter (Goffman 1963).

Through the lens of shame, then, the aesthetic transformation achieved through landscape change can be seen as a positive goal, one that attends to the emotions of public housing residents. Some residents, as reported above, place more emphasis on the interior of their units than on the outside aesthetic. Gable roofs and dormers are the concern of architects, while residents want to know about the size and configuration of bedrooms. This is an important distinction, but one that does not acknowledge residents' aesthetic desires. Many residents want to be accepted by their surrounding community and society in general; they long to mend this connection and 'fit in', "to feel a part of a community" (Power Point 2005). Landscape aesthetics is one way they express this desire and is one way to fulfill this longing. In Vale's study of West Broadway, which emphasized the aesthetic differences between architects and residents, he recognizes that "public housing residents also care deeply about symbolic messages as well…For some, the redesign techniques employed by the architects and urban designers were both understood and clearly appreciated" (Vale 1995, 296). In a powerful statement, one resident commented they were "'better off' because the development was now a 'place to look up to,' adding that 'we're people here, we're not lower than the sidewalk'" (Vale 1995, 297)

These themes emerged in a conversation I had with Lexington public housing resident, Jeanene Tate regarding Lexington's HOPE VI grant for Bluegrass-Aspendale:

> JT (Jeanene Tate): …what we wanted was a community, that you can buy a house and it didn't look like a project. That's what we wanted - it didn't look like public housing, like it's now, where we at. So that's what we wanted…
> EH (Ellen Hostetter): You kind of answered my next question, was, specifically, what, yeah, what did residents want out of the design?
> JT: Yeah, they wanted. A com- it's - they wanted hou- apartments. They wanted apartments like duplexes. But they did not want a public housing feel. They wanted an environment where it didn't say hang out, you can hang out here.
> EH: So really maybe kind of like all the other homes look like in this neighborhood? (Referring to the community surrounding Bluegrass-Aspendale, which is predominantly black and poor/working class and made up of duplexes and single-family homes). Or…
> JT: No
> EH: or in Lexington in general?
> JT: Lexington in general. We didn't want to look. How would you say, we didn't want it to look like a poor neighborhood (2006).

Later in the conversation I asked about specific architectural details that the residents wanted and that were incorporated into the HOPE VI design:

> J: There was no front porches. It was like a stoop. And we, wanted, porches. Yeah. It's, and that's, that's another problem with people moving out because they're used to porches and a yard. You know, you might find one with a balcony, but no, no space of your own. You know, we wanted something that defined their space…That's what we wanted, a mix. we didn't want to look like everything's the same. We wanted different styles. Two, duplexes, single family, complexes. And you can even do, you know, but we wanted - everybody. One thing we agreed, everybody agreed on, you need a front door and a back door. Yeah. Have to have a front door and a back door (2006).

One could read this conversation and conclude that Tate has been indoctrinated into a middle-class aesthetic. Her specific desire for a porch and a home of her own, and her rejection of a 'poor', 'project' aesthetic follows in the footsteps of dominant interests - developers, architects, and a Lexington public that views the area as blight. Tate's aesthetic desires are in no way natural. We are not born longing for a front porch; these desires are learned. As bell hooks comments in relation to her own vision of home, "undergirding my dreams, my fantasies, and desires were class-based longings" (hooks, Eizenberg, and Koning 1994, 22-23). In some way, Tate is 'giving in' to the disgust and fear leveled at her community. Some of her comments even smack of HUD rhetoric - her insistence on the need for front and back doors is a design detail associated with Oscar Newman's theory of 'defensible space', a theory adopted by HUD. Tate might have

picked up bits of this theory from her interaction with HUD staff and architects during the HOPE VI process.

But for this analysis to be the conclusion is to, in effect, walk away from Tate. It is to ignore the fact that Tate's desires still exist, that her feelings about her environment are valid and shape the contours of her days. It is to dismiss her desire for acceptance, a very human trait.[79] Other stories that I encountered in my research reinforce the importance of taking people's emotions seriously. Jeff Lines relayed to me his reluctance to focus on, much less emphasize, landscape aesthetics: 'you began to say screw the grounds and focus on systems features. Flowers or heat? You just want to protect people from harm rather than people feeling good about their community' (2006). He became a 'convert' to what he calls curb appeal through an experience he had with children who lived in public housing. In an early HOPE VI planning exercise, children were given cameras and told to take photos of things in their community that were important to them: 'they would so seek beauty, safety, refuge, stimulation in any way they could. We needed to do that, right out the front door' (Lines 2006). To chalk up this search for beauty and stimulation as nothing more than hegemony is a violent dismissal.

It also does not consider the possibility that the aesthetic change of HOPE VI can be politically and socially progressive. As Jacobs reminds us, to view aesthetics through a purely negative lens is to "display an uncritical acceptance of the depoliticizing force of aestheticization" (1998, 258). Jacobs would rather remain open to the unpredictability of aesthetic change. In terms of public housing, aesthetics are a key trigger for the public's revulsion and fear. By moving the aesthetics of public housing into the mainstream, New Urbanist landscapes have the potential to end the constant stream of scorn and rejection from the public at large.

Marilyn Melkonian summarizes the political and social potential of aesthetic change in what she calls the 'sound of silence phenomenon'. Her firm Telesis was the developer for Ellen Wilson Homes, a HOPE VI project that encountered NIMBY (not-in-my-backyard) resistance on the part of surrounding white, middle-class neighbors. The

[79] bell hooks makes a similar point in the *Assemblage* article quoted above. She writes a poem about the inside spaces of a house, which "seems to be a location of common dreams, and yearnings that transcend the particularities of race, class, gender, nationality, the interior world of the house like the interior world of the body function in ways that illuminate all that is common and shared among humans everywhere" (hooks, Eizenberg, and Koning 1994, 22)

neighbors did not want the return of low income residents to the neighborhood; instead, they wanted a park. After the project was built, however, the feelings of rejection and anger were replaced by acceptance. As Melkonian explains, "after it was built then people saw this beautiful neighborhood, and I like to refer to it as the sounds of silence phenomenon…Oh, well, we didn't know you were going to do *that*" (2006). The aesthetic change made the social change acceptable to the Capitol Hill North residents. This is no small victory as it represents an important step in breaking down the aesthetic markers of revulsion and fear that support prejudice.

Gordon Cavanaugh offers another take on the 'sounds of silence' phenomenon, relaying a story about his relatives in Philadelphia who changed their opinion about public housing after seeing the aesthetic change at Wilson Park:

> I think it's really slowly taken the sting out of this stuff. Uh, I have relatives in Philadelphia who always wondered what I was doing with my life - who say, gee, you know that place that used to be you know, by the airport, have you seen it lately Gordon it really looks – it's the Wilson project – and it's been HOPE VIed and then some. Uh, so they'll call up and say that they're struck by how many bad places look good. So, these are people who are sympathetic to me anyway, but they weren't sympathetic to public housing. So I think it's declined (2006).

The change in landscape was able to 'take the sting out of this stuff', making public housing acceptable to those who were once resistant.

Allen McGuire, architect for the First Ward HOPE VI project in Charlotte, makes a similar observation:

> Yes, um, you know it's more about traditional architecture – is what puts people at ease. Um, you know I think as um, (sigh) you know, you can't help but touch on the New Urbanism aspect of everything and what that means and um, I don't, you know, that doesn't mean a style of architecture, but so far it has, just because I think that's what has evoked the good feelings and the memories that people have about what neighborhoods were…with neighborhoods like First Ward, you gained a more public acceptance when you went to a traditional style…you gained a lot more positive sentiment, a lot more public acceptance when you went with the traditional forms and style (2006).

McGuire gets at why this landscape change is able to change opinions and attitudes: the New Urbanist landscapes, which reference 'traditional' architecture, evoke positive, 'good', emotions.

Some might label the 'sound of silence' phenomenon a shallow and superficial change. It is easily critiqued on moral and ethical grounds: people should not need aesthetic change to change their opinion about public housing residents. Bottom line: people should care about other people. And it can also be argued that since this change in opinion and perspective is based on aesthetics, it is not profound or deep, only scratching the surface of an individual's prejudice and stereotypes. These critiques, however, rest in part on a utopic vision of how human beings interact. They ignore the realities of everyday life where little fears, disgusts, and joys add up to produce perceptions and worldviews. Yes, we should not need aesthetic change to overcome divisions within society, but is this a realistic vision? As Tuan reminds us, "Most of the time, we too respond to things around us and to each other because of how they *appear*" (1989, 235), which the New Urbanist vision for public housing takes into account.

The 'sound of silence' phenomenon also begs the question of social interaction: has any meaningful communication and contact between white and black, middle and low-income residents occurred? As the environmental determinism critique laid out above, the answer to this question is typically no. Again, this is an important critique, but it diminishes the change in feeling that comes from aesthetic change. Gordon Cavanaugh relays a story that frames this transformation as a first step in the slow process of social justice. His comments come from a Yonkers, New York neighborhood that underwent a 'HOPE VI style' redevelopment:

> So here are uh, basically African-Americans who now live in rowhouses kind of like what you're seeing here [at Ellen Wilson Homes], maybe not quite as fancy a neighborhood. Uh, and what do you think? They said, peaceful. That's the first thing that everybody – peace – they feel secure, which is a big thing to feel. Uh, my kids have better access to better schools. Uh, my son I always knew he was bright, but now he's finally doing well in school. Uh, and there's some congeniality among us who live here, but we still feel somewhat isolated – it's, we, we – the whites, there were vicious demonstrations against them – ugly opposition. That's all gone. These residents living in what we would call the equivalent of a HOPE VI environment saying that you know, we're not pals, but there's not any the God-awful outbursts that we used to get. And some of the whites said, oh yeah, it's ok, we may not be friends, but they're fine (2006).

From the viewpoint of recent geographic work on landscape aesthetics, these statements could stand as proof that a reliance on aesthetics is "'a way of avoiding the irreconcilable

social antagonisms that pervade modern life'" (Kohn quoted in Walks 2006, 470). Aesthetics "can provide the necessary cultural cues to evoke a particular style of community without having to go through any face-to-face community-building work" (Walks 2006, 470). From a critical humanist perspective, however, these incremental steps should not be cast aside because they do not achieve the 'shangrila' of social justice. First, Cavanaugh relays the feelings of peace and security on the part of black residents, a profound positive change. Second, he notes that the interaction between white and black residents is not ideal. Black residents report feeling somewhat isolated and friendships between the two groups are few. But the acceptance is there; the ugly and 'God-awful' rejection that, I argue, comes from intense disgust and fear has dissipated.

8.4 Conclusion

This chapter explored the connections between landscape aesthetics, emotion, and social life, emphasizing that the public housing landscape is important to how HOPE VI works. The chapter began by outlining a common understanding of aesthetics – aesthetic reactions to landscape are often considered innate and natural – and showed how this was a prevalent view amongst the people I interviewed. The chapter then moved to geographers' critique of this view which highlighted an important part of how landscape works in public housing policy. Seeing aesthetic reactions to landscape as innate obscures the links between emotion and social life and allows emotive reactions to landscape to become shorthand for both. This process was illustrated by showing how architectural choices in Washington DC and Charlotte were influenced by highly marketable developments in the surrounding areas, developments associated with middle- to upper-class whites, instead of surrounding landscapes inhabited by poor African-Americans. There was no question that the upper-class developments would be the models for HOPE VI because they were seen as attractive. The chapter ended, however, by exploring the positive potential of the links between landscape aesthetics, emotion, and social life. Changing the aesthetics of public housing has the potential to change residents' feelings of shame and outsiders' prejudice against public housing.

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Chapter 9: Epilogue

9.1 Summary

I would like to end with some final thoughts and ways forward, but first, a summary. This dissertation challenged the binaries that are often found in academic and governmental literatures on HOPE VI and public housing – rational-emotional, outsiders-residents, creation-implementation, and national-local – and showed that an understanding of specific emotions is central to an understanding of American public housing by approaching HOPE VI discursively and by making five substantive points that are threaded throughout the dissertation. Viewing HOPE VI discursively, as outlined in Chapter 3, kept the research process focused on everyday life, making it impossible to sustain a vision of HOPE VI as having been created at an abstract national scale devoid of emotion and implemented at highly individualized and emotional local scales. HOPE VI is a coagulation of discourses that come together in specific places such as Washington DC, Lexington, and Charlotte. Tracing the discourses in these three cities and noting how both talk and texts circulate between them complicated neat divisions between national and local, creation and implementation.

The dissertation also showed that disgust, fear, and shame constitute both the political and economic logic that is part of the HOPE VI process. Chapters 4 and 5 established that these three emotions were key to the HOPE VI process by showing how they permeated, shaped, and directed 1) representations of public housing in newspaper articles, speeches on the floor of Congress, and HUD documents and 2) the policy process through documents such as Senate Reports, HOPE VI NOFAs, and HOPE VI applications, and events such as Senate Appropriations Hearings and conversations between individuals. Chapter 5 also established that the different emotive discourses affected the politics and economics of HOPE VI in particular ways.

Second, the dissertation showed that there are moments of emotional divergence *and* convergence between outsider and resident perspectives on public housing. Chapter 4 took each emotion – disgust, fear, and shame – and showed how both outsiders and residents related to each. This chapter showed that both outsiders and residents speak about public housing in terms of disgust and fear. Both groups also approach public

housing with shame albeit in different forms. The binary framework that conceives of outsiders as always at odds with residents is, therefore, a false representation of much more complex relationships.

Third, the dissertation showed that disgust and fear received widespread circulation amongst the text and talk of HOPE VI while shame faced obstacles to its circulation. This provided details on how emotions work within the policy process. Chapter 5 showed how disgust-fear becomes the guiding discourse of HOPE VI in Washington DC, Lexington, and Charlotte while shame occasionally surfaces as a motivating discourse. Chapter 6 outlined the structural obstacles to the shame discourse and showed that the nature of shame itself made it problematic as a political emotion. The chapter argued that disgust-fear was moved to the forefront by 1) the neoliberal push to 'reinvent' public housing and 2) the nature of disgust and fear. This chapter also dealt with the consequences of disgust-fear's dominance of HOPE VI.

Fourth, the dissertation showed that the visuality of landscape is key to how HOPE VI works: disgust, fear, shame, and enjoyment are articulated through and crystallized in reactions to the aesthetics and social context of the public housing landscape, adding another dimension to an understanding of how emotions work within the policy process. This is an important theme in all the chapters, but is highlighted in Chapter 8 which specifically traces the connections between landscape aesthetics, emotion, and social life and shows how emotive reactions to landscape become shorthand for social life. The chapter also explores the notion that aesthetics can have a positive impact on public housing residents and on class and race relations.

Finally, the dissertation showed that the permeation of disgust, fear, shame, and enjoyment is not unique to HOPE VI; these specific emotions have permeated the history of U.S. public housing. Chapter 7 offers a review of public housing history, noting that the initial 1937 public housing program and HOPE VI have many similarities. These similarities are fueled by the permeation of emotion in public housing policy, specifically the permeation of disgust-fear for poor minorities. To make this point clear, the chapter showed that 1) disgust-fear discourses organized the representation and understanding of the slum and public housing, 2) disgust-fear shaped the design of early public housing

and HOPE VI, and 3) disgust-fear trumped shame as the most effective political emotion during the initial public housing and HOPE VI eras.

After living with this dissertation for the past three years, the chain of association between emotions, landscape, and social life is what continues to fascinate me. Disgust, fear, shame, and enjoyment surrounding the aesthetics of public housing, poor minorities, and the economics and politics of housing policy are all intimately connected. The dissertation showed how these connections are varied, complex, and at times surprising. But the dissertation also showed that patterns emerge, patterns that can be traced through the evolution of HOPE VI and the history of public housing policy. It is the dissertation's final conclusion that these patterns are the product of the emotion system we are all born and live with.

9.2 Parting Thoughts and Ways Forward

Return to the newspaper photograph, the bleak scene from the introduction: row after row of austere, flat-roofed apartments; unadorned windows and doors; clotheslines sagging in open yards (Figure 9.1). Move to the photographs, the expanse of dirt and gravel that used to be Piedmont Courts in the Belmont community of Charlotte, NC and the sign announcing the soon to come Seigle Point, mid $140's to low $200's (Figures 9.2 and 9.3). Then there is McAden Park Apartments, three story yellow and blue townhouses built by the Charlotte Housing Authority, which stand in contrast to the one-story single-family homes typical of the Belmont neighborhood (Figures 9.4 and 9.5).

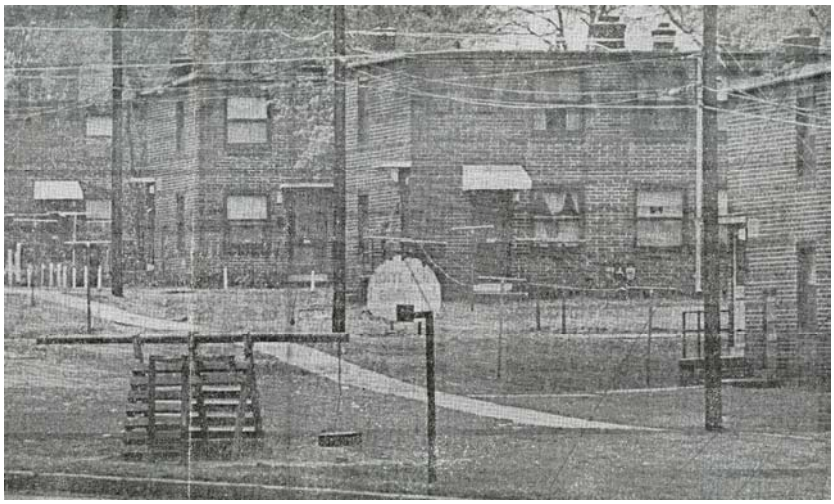

Figure 9.1: Fairview Homes in Charlotte, North Carolina. Photograph taken from a 1983 *Charlotte Observer* story (Martin 1983). Photograph's source: Davie Hinshaw.

Figures 9.2 and 9.3: The expanse of dirt and the sign of things to come. Photographs taken by Ellen Hostetter.

Figures 9.4 and 9.5: The disjuncture – McAden Park Apartments and the Belmont neighborhood. Photographs taken by Ellen Hostetter.

These scenes, these landscapes, are material moments in an ongoing negotiation of emotion: the negotiation of disgust, fear, shame, and enjoyment. But they are also landscapes that, for me, during the research and writing of this dissertation, raised questions about social justice, what is morally right and fair. It was unsettling, for example, to stand in the empty lot that used to hold the Piedmont Court community. All of those buildings, all of those people were simply gone – the bricks hauled off and the people dispersed. It was startling to come upon the yellow and blue townhouses down the block, the unexpected disjuncture between them and the surrounding neighborhood.

When I saw them I assumed they were the first wave of ripple effects from HOPE VI: a market rate project by a private developer changing the aesthetic and income-mix of Belmont. Even though they are part of the CHA's portfolio and are being rented at affordable rates, they are a harbinger of landscapes to come. But it was also unsettling to remember walking by Piedmont Courts, which looked very much like the bleak scene in the newspaper photograph – neglected in its poverty and racial-mix.

This epilogue, however, is not intended to make a statement about social justice and HOPE VI; it is meant to explore the possibility that an understanding of emotion in housing policy can "advance the *production* of a more just, less degenerate landscape" (Mitchell 2003, 789). I argue that the wide range of human emotion must be kept in mind when thinking about and negotiating public housing policy. The dissertation provides a framework for this approach. Chapter 4 is organized around how outsiders and residents relate to the public housing landscape through three key emotions – disgust, fear, and shame. Applied to the negotiation of housing policy, I envision a type of 'emotion charrette' modeled after the design charrettes used in HOPE VI planning. The charrette would begin with a simple list of emotions written on a large easel – disgust, fear, shame, enjoyment – with photographs of the landscape in question at the center. The room would discuss each emotion, coming to a consensus on their characteristics. Stakeholder groups – residents, public housing authority employees, architects, HUD officials, politicians, etc. – would split off and outline how they relate to each emotion and in what way.

Policy conversations that adopted this framework, that took emotive reactions to landscape seriously, have the potential to:

1. Deal with the comprehensive complexity of public housing. Conversation would have to deal with a wide variety of perspectives on and understandings of public housing. Arguments, for example, that only focus on one perspective – such as 'romanticizing the ghetto' – would be challenged to recognize and mediate other points of view. Uncomfortable topics, such as the disgust and fear that circulate around public housing, would be discussed frankly instead of standing as elephants in the middle of the room. And policy solutions, for example, that only dealt with the disgust-fear of outsiders would have to also consider outsider and resident shame.

2. Result in more productive conversations by recognizing the points of convergence as well as divergence between different groups. Conversations that begin in

> antagonism have a difficult time moving forward; establishing points of emotive agreement and disagreement has the potential to provide a stable foundation for thinking about the future and a higher probability that proposals will try and mediate all perspectives.

This is untested ground, but I believe a critical humanist framework has lessons for those involved in housing policy, as well as practical applications. The history outlined in Chapter 7 – the cycles of destruction and construction based on powerful emotions surrounding race and class – is not inevitable.

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Vita

Ellen Hostetter

Born May 20, 1977 in Colonia, New Jersey

Education

MA University of Kentucky
Department of Geography, 2004
Thesis: Planned Exclusion: The Roadside Strip as Abject Landscape, the Case of Lexington, Kentucky

BA Douglas College, Rutgers University
American Studies and Landscape Architecture, Summa Cum Laude, 2000
Honors Thesis: Gender in the Grass: Representations of Men and Women in Lawncare Advertising of the 1950s

Professional Experience

Ainsworth Visiting Scholar, Professor in the American Culture Program and American Culture Department, Randolph College
Courses: American Culture 202 – The U.S. Cultural Environment
Geography 203 – Survey of World Geography
American Culture Program 272 – Images
American Culture Program 302 – Voices I
American Culture Program 304 – Voices II
Spring 2007-Current

Instructor, Geography Department, University of Kentucky
Course: Geography 160 – Lands and People of the non-Western World
Fall and Spring 2006

Instructor, Geography Department, Morehead State University
Course: Geography 100 – Fundamentals of Geography
Fall 2005 and Fall 2004

Teaching Assistant, Geography Department, University of Kentucky
Courses: Geography 152 – Regions of the World
Geography 222 – Cities of the World
Fall 2005

Teaching Assistant, Geography Department, University of Kentucky
Course: Geography 160 – Lands and People of the non-Western World
Fall 2003 and Spring 2004

Honors and Awards

Doctoral Dissertation Research Improvement Grant
National Science Foundation, 2006

Dissertation Enhancement Award
Graduate School, University of Kentucky, 2006

Best Graduate Instructor Award
Department of Geography, University of Kentucky, Spring 2007

Travel Award
Graduate School, University of Kentucky, Spring 2005, 2006, 2007

Kentucky Opportunity Fellowship
Graduate School, University of Kentucky, Fall 2002-Spring 2003 and Fall 2004-spring 2005

Highest Honors
American Studies Department, Rutgers University – Douglass College
Spring 2000

American Studies Prize
American Studies Department, Rutgers University – Douglass College
Spring 1999 and Spring 2000

Honor Award
New Jersey Chapter of the American Society of Landscape Architects
Spring 1999

Publications

2007. A Story of Disgust. *disClosure. A Journal of Social Theory.* 16: 15-22

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Ellen Hostetter
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