HEAR OUR VOICES: THE INTERSECTIONS OF RACE, CLASS, AND GENDER IN A MIXED-INCOME COMMUNITY IN CHICAGO

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ABSTRACT

HEAR OUR VOICES: THE INTERSECTIONS OF
RACE, CLASS, AND GENDER IN A MIXED-INCOME COMMUNITY IN CHICAGO
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The Chicago Housing Authority (CHA) plans to eliminate all public housing high rises by the year 2009 a project that local newspapers report will affect approximately 40,000 residents and could potentially leave more than 14,000 people displaced. Under the *Plan for Transformation* the CHA, which is the third largest public housing system in the nation, undertook the task of redeveloping and rehabilitating 25,000 housing units. The agency maintains that it is their goal to end the concentrated poverty and the social difficulties that currently plague their housing projects. The logistics of the *Plan* call for the majority of the residents to relocate to the private market through the Housing Choice Voucher program. However, a small percentage of the residents will have the opportunity to relocate to newly constructed condominiums ranging in market values between $300,000 to $500,000 in newly developed mixed-income communities. Private companies will develop and manage the properties and the CHA will help facilitate the transition of public housing residents into these new communities. Generally speaking, these developments will consist of one-third public housing, one-third affordable housing, and one third-market rate homes.

The purpose of this study is to examine the lived experiences of nine low-income Black women who transitioned out of public housing into a newly constructed mixed-income community under the CHA's *Plan for Transformation*. This is accomplished by first, examining the historical and contemporary factors that shape the sociopolitical

aspects of the *Plan*; and second, by capturing the voices and experiences of the participants in order to understand their relocation experiences. The study is grounded in qualitative methods that allow for naturalistic-inductive forms of inquiry, thus allowing the voices and experiences of the participants to shape and guide exploration of this topic. Such an approach shifts the discussion away from dominant mainstream views of poor Black women and privileges forms of organic knowledge and intellectual traditions that come from outside of the academy. Furthermore, this framework facilitates a micro and macro examination of structural inequality, allowing for the full consideration of how race, class, and gender shape one's relationship with systemic forms of oppression and power.

While there are several studies, which evaluate the *Plan*, few provide a detailed analysis of the residents' experience with the relocation process. Furthermore, by and large, the voices of Black women has either been excluded or left out of the larger narrative that shapes and informs this issue. Black women who live in public housing offer a perspective on housing programs that seek to deconcentrate poverty through the creation of mixed-income communities that is not currently available. Their unique social location provides them with a view of this process that administrators, city officials, and employees at the CHA simply do not have.

The women's stories not only reveal the inherent flaws in the structural aspects of the *Plan for Transformation* but their stories also provide valuable insight into the relationship between macro structural public policies and everyday lived experiences.

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CHAPTER I

Introduction

The Chicago Housing Authority (CHA) plans to eliminate all public housing high rises by the year 2009, a project that local newspapers report will affect approximately 40,000 residents and could potentially leave more than 14,000 people displaced. The CHA, which is the third largest public housing system in the nation, is redeveloping and rehabilitating 25,000 housing units for families and senior citizens. The agency maintains that it is their goal to end the concentrated poverty and social difficulties that currently plague their housing projects. The logistics of the plan call for the majority of the residents to relocate to the private market through the Section 8/Housing Choice Voucher program (HCV). However, a small percentage of the residents will have the opportunity to relocate to condominiums ranging in market values between $300,000 to $500,000 in newly developed mixed-income communities located on or near the site of their former housing project.

The Chicago Housing Authority's *Plan for Transformation* is the first large scale housing poverty deconcentration program of its kind in the nation. An agency brochure states, "The plan represents the largest reconstruction of public housing in the nation's history. Under the *Plan*, the CHA seeks to: Renew the physical structure of CHA properties, promote self-sufficiency for public housing residents and reform the administration of the CHA" (Authority, 2002, p.1). Of the 25,000 units the agency is redeveloping or rehabilitating, 6,100 family units or roughly 25 percent are slated to be redeveloped as mixed-income communities. Private companies will construct and manage the properties and the CHA will help facilitate the transition of public housing

residents into these new communities. Generally speaking, these developments will consist of one-third public housing, one-third affordable housing, and one third-market rate homes. City officials have labeled theses new communities as an "experiment" in mixed-income living.

There is a great deal of controversy surrounding the doctrine of mixed-income living as a poverty deconcentration strategy. Opponents argue that this type of housing strategy pushes lower income workers and the poor out of choice neighborhoods to meet the needs of the wealthy and set up a market that is highly profitable for politically connected urban land speculators (Ranney & Wright, 2000, p.6). Proponents of this approach stress that these new communities eliminate concentrated poverty, reintegrates marginalized groups back into mainstream society, and give the working poor the opportunity to change their lives and social capital (Great Cities Institute, 1999). To complicate the issue, the concept of mixed-income communities, as presented by the CHA, contradicts previous studies that show the tendency for White middle class, financially secure families to distance themselves from low-income families, specifically racial minority groups, a phenomenon more commonly known as 'White Flight' (Darden, 1995; Hirsch, 1983; Massey & Denton, 1993; Rubinowitz & Rosenbaum, 2000). In addition, stark racial residential segregation has been prevalent in Chicago since European immigrant and Black migrant groups first began entering the city in large numbers. Hence, the very concept of mixed-income communities challenges the city's long standing housing patterns rooted in forms of de facto segregation. This housing experiment raises a number of questions about effective ways to deconcentrate poverty, housing choice, social mobility, and marginalization based on social constructions of

race, class, and gender. The purpose of this study is to examine the lived experiences of nine low-income Black women who transitioned out of public housing into a newly constructed mixed-income community under the CHA's *Plan for Transformation*. This is accomplished by first, examining the historical and contemporary factors that shape the sociopolitical aspects of the *Plan*; and second, capturing the voices and experiences of the participants in order to understand their relocation experiences.

Statement of the Problem

Numerous studies have outlined the rise and fall of public housing in Chicago, noting the sociopolitical and economic factors that led to segregated communities (Hirsch, 1983; Massey & Denton, 1993), rise of 'problem families' (Hunt, 2000), harmful effects on children (Kotlowitz, 1991), guerrilla gang warfare (Popkin et al., 2000), and overall social difficulties public housing residents face (Rubinowitz & Rosenbaum, 2000). Moore (1969) described the high-rise project as a "vertical ghetto" where residents were living on "segregated islands of poverty." While these examinations provide a clear understanding of the multifaceted problems that the CHA is trying to address through the *Plan for Transformation*, first hand experiences gathered during the investigators' field research crystallized the severity of the problem. A description follows.

The fieldwork for this dissertation began in the heart of Chicago's inner city, an area some might call the ghetto, but a place better known to CHA residents as home. Walking through Cabrini Green for the first time on a hot summer day in July, I was overtaken by the total and complete disrepair of the buildings and I questioned how anyone in their right mind could say that they were safe places for people to live. Graffiti covered the walls, and garbage littered the side walks, buildings, and streets. Though it

was the middle of the afternoon and sunny, the community seemed dark and gloomy; years of dirt and grime covered the buildings, inside and out, from top to bottom, and settled over the area like a thick fog. Rodents, the size of small dogs, staked out their territory, and the breezeways underneath the buildings were crowded with young Black men openly selling drugs, posturing, shooting dice, and playing the dozens. The summer heat raged in the courtyard, where the cement playgrounds housed broken-down play equipment, and the stench of urine hung in the air. The community school looked more like an abandoned haunted house than an educational facility for young minds, and I was unnerved by constant reminders from my guide to beware of random gunfire. I soon came to realize that the physical deterioration that plagued the buildings was among the least of the problems residents dealt with on a daily basis. Aside from the internal threats associated with constant gang activity and violent crimes, forms of abuse from external agents also intruded into their daily lives. During one of my visits, I sat with a resident, a Black woman, who appeared to be in her late thirties. She described a horrifying incident that had occurred between her and two male police officers. She reported that the police officers, after pushing their way into her apartment, forced her to strip naked in front of them in order, according to them, to ensure that she was not hiding a weapon. After complying, she was repeatedly assaulted by the men who grew increasingly frustrated by her inability to give any information about their suspect, her son, whom she had not seen in over six months. While the woman is pursing legal action against the officers, the reality is that her environment is unstable and unsafe, and positions her in a place that many of us could never fathom. My fieldwork often left me feeling like I was

in a parallel universe experiencing something that was completely foreign, yet somehow familiar.

Popkin, Gwiasda, Olson, Rosenbaum, and Buron (2000) describe public housing in Chicago as among the worst in the nation, asserting that it now serves as 'housing of last resort' for vulnerable families. The authors vividly describe CHA properties as urban guerilla war zones. Popkin et al., state "A complex layering of problems has left the people who live in these developments mired in the most destructive kind of poverty. These problems include extreme racial and economic segregation and inadequate public services, particularly police, schools, sanitation" (p.1). The problems that saturate CHA properties are not new phenomena, but rather are rooted in a history of systemic neglect and calculated marginalization. Despite the communal relationships and the supportive networks some residents have formed over the years (Feldman & Stall, 2004; Williams, 2004), it is overwhelmingly clear that public housing in Chicago must change. The CHA's *Plan for Transformation* seeks to rectify these problems by facilitating housing options for their residents.

Through in-depth interviews, document analysis, and field research, this embedded case study investigates the lived experiences of nine Black women who formerly lived in Cabrini Green and who now live in North Town Village. The study is grounded in qualitative methods that allow for naturalistic-inductive forms of inquiry, thus allowing the voices and experiences of the participants to shape and guide the exploration of this topic. Such an approach shifts the discussion away from dominant mainstream views of poor Black women, and privileges forms of organic knowledge and intellectual traditions that come from outside of the academy. Furthermore, this

framework facilitates a micro and macro examination of structural inequality, allowing for the full consideration of how race, class, and gender shape one's relationship with systemic forms of oppression and power.

Since the inception of the *Plan for Transformation*, it has received considerable attention from scholars, activists, public policy makers, and the public. While there are several studies, which evaluate the *Plan*, few provide a detailed analysis of the residents' experience with the process. Furthermore, by and large, the voices of African American women have either been excluded or left out of the larger conversations that shape and inform this issue. The absence of their voices indicates that Black women's concerns are not seen as important, immediate, or worthy of investigation. However, to the contrary, Black women who live in public housing offer a perspective on housing programs that seek to de-concentrate poverty through the creation of mixed-income communities that is not present in the discourse. Their unique social location provides a view of this process that administrators, city officials, and employees at the CHA simply do not have.

Overview of Chapters

Chapter two reviews the previous and current literature that shapes and informs housing mobility initiatives that seek to de-concentrate poverty through the creation of mixed-income communities. This includes studies that focus on urban race relations, concentrated poverty, gender and poverty, and the effects of concentrated poverty. In addition, chapter two presents the theoretical underpinnings of Intersectionality and Black Feminist Thought in order to situate the conceptual framework and research questions that guide this study. Chapter three discusses the methodological components of the work, situating qualitative methods as the approach that provides the greatest

heuristic value for this study. In addition, in the tradition of reflexivity, this chapter presents the researchers background so that the reader might understand factors that may have shaped or influenced the design and analysis of the study. Finally, chapter three describes the informant groups and outlines the project design, including the collection and analysis of the data.

Chapters four, five, and six represent the data chapters that shape and inform this study. Specifically, chapter four introduces the CHA's *Plan for Transformation* and as such reveals the logistical and structural aspects that organize subjugation, which in this case is largely exhibited through the federal housing polices and legislative mandates. The chapter begins by briefly contextualizing the CHA's *Plan for Transformation* and then situates the problems the agency seeks to address through their deconcentration efforts. The *Plan for Transformation* was conceived during an era of public housing reform; hence, it is important to understand how federal mandates that emerged from the National Commission on Severely Distressed Public Housing and Housing Opportunity for People Everywhere (HOPE VI) initiatives have shaped the sociopolitical aspects of the *Plan*. The data in this chapter comes from CHA documents, primary source materials, and information gathered from interviews with CHA administrators. In order to understand the complexity of the participants' lives and their various experiences, it is important to understand the structural components of the *Plan* and the historical context that it exists within. Chapter five presents the participants' voices as they describe their experiences with the relocation process. The chapter begins with an overview of the participants. The discussion then shifts to focus on the women's experiences in Cabrini Green and their relocation experience in order to capture their reactions to various site-

specific policies and procedures that they are required to follow in order to remain lease compliant. The chapter highlights how the women construct notions of homeplace and gives critical consideration to what happens when the state revamps public policies while at the same time withdrawing social services, thus leaving poor women 'embounded'. Chapter six explores how a 'New Politics of Containment' has legitimized policies that allow management in North Town Village to monitor and regulate virtually every aspect of the participants lives. In addition, the chapter examines the relationship between social interaction and improved social capital. This chapter concludes with the women's reflections about the impact their transition into this new community has had on their lives. Finally, chapter seven summarizes the major findings of this study specifically pointing out the value of an intersectional analysis and the contribution the women's stories make toward further understandings of the nature of structural inequality.

CHAPTER II

Literature Review

Forms of economic, political, and social marginalization based on social constructions of race, class and gender has resulted in a racialization and feminization of concentrated poverty, most readily seen in public housing communities across the nation (Feldman and Stall, 2004, Spain, 1995). Low-income women head nearly eighty-five percent of public housing households across the nation, many of which are located in inner city communities, overwhelmed by high levels of concentrated poverty (Gotez, 2003; Hirsch, 1998; Kotlowitz, 1991; Massey & Denton, 1993; Wilson, 1980, 1987). Daphne Spain (1995) argues that while scholars have paid attention to how race relations, de-industrialization, and institutionalized racism have impacted inner city ghettos and created neighborhoods of concentrated poverty, little attention is given to how these areas have become predominately female-headed households. Spain posits that "public housing residents are among, 'the truly disadvantaged' who face problems of racial and gender discrimination, marginal economic position, and isolation in concentrated areas of poverty from which more prosperous families have escaped" (Spain, 1995, p.361). However, the scholarship that focuses on concentrated poverty, especially in public housing communities, has not considered how interconnecting systems of stratification differently situate people based on social constructions of race, class, and gender. Furthermore, to date few studies represent the everyday lived experiences of low-income Black women who live in public housing.

The multiple macro-structural and sociopolitical factors that have created concentrations of racialized and feminized poverty in public housing communities across

the nation, are not new phenomena, but rather, have roots in a history of systematic neglect and calculated discrimination. Scholars across disciplines have explored a number of issues associated with urban poverty, particularly as they relate to housing discrimination (Drake & Cayton, 1945; Hirsch, 1983), segregation (Danziger & Gottschalk, 1987; Darden, 1981, 1995, 2001, 2004; Darden, Bagaka, & Li, 1997; Davis, Gardner, Gardner & Warner, 1941; Hirsch, 1983; Massey, Gross, & Eggers, 1991), the creation of public housing (Hirsch, 1983; Hunt, 2000; Zkoylowitz, 1991; Massey & Denton, 1993; Vale, 1997; Venkatesh, 2000), gentrification (Lang, 1982; Mohl, 1993), urban renewal (Rankin & Quane, 2000; Spear, 1967; Trotter, 1985, 1991), and the feminization and racialization of concentrated poverty (Davis, 1981; Feldman & Stall, 2004; Freeman, 1980; Miranne, 2000; Peak, 1997; Spain, 1995; Williams, 2004). Essentially, previous studies on urban poverty have separated race, class, and gender, as individual units of analysis, focusing on either race relations, economic restructuring, or the feminization of poverty. Conversely, this study employs the principles of Intersectionality in order to consider the interlocking nature of race, class, and gender, in order to understand how these variables simultaneously interact with systems of domination that perpetuate structural inequality. The purpose of this chapter is to review the literature that shapes and informs this study. To accomplish this I first examine the pivotal debates and frameworks that initially situated Blacks in the urban environment including discussions on urban race relations and the culture of poverty thesis. I then closely examine the contemporary scholarship on concentrated poverty, Black women in public housing, the effects of concentrated poverty, and housing mobility programs. The latter part of the chapter situates Intersectionality and Black Feminist Thought as the

guiding conceptual frameworks that shape and inform the study. Finally, the chapter concludes with a presentation of the research questions followed by a list of key terms.

Urban Race Relations

Several scholars (Trotter, 1985; Kusmer, 1991) trace the beginning of urban studies that focused on the Black experience to the publication of W.E.B. DuBois' (1899) *The Philadelphia Negro: A Social Study*. DuBois quantitatively explored virtually every aspect of life for Black residents in Philadelphia and was specifically concerned with how the large migration of southern Blacks to the city affected social issues such as housing, neighborhood conditions, and race relations. One of his primary goals was to move discussions on race away from the biological determinist definition of Black inferiority toward an examination of the social issues that impacted the Black community, in hopes of revealing how systematic forms of discrimination perpetuated oppression. Utilizing interdisciplinary perspectives to shape his scientific analysis, DuBois helped to situate the issues affecting Blacks as not only quantifiable but also worthy of investigation. For the first time, housing issues and concerns that faced the Black community were viewed through a lens of race relations, rather than logic that rested on the inherent inferiority Blacks.

During the 1920s, a distinctive race relations paradigm emerged among the sociologists at the University of Chicago, which shaped the direction of urban studies for nearly a decade. Most notable was sociologist Robert Park's four-stage model of race relations, which explained the assimilation process for ethnic immigrant and racial migrant groups that settled in large urban centers. Park contended that most European immigrants experienced some level of confrontation and conflict with the dominant

group in a society. However, he felt that after the period of initial strife problems would subside and immigrants would assimilate into mainstream society. With regard to Black migrants, Park asserted that their migration experience had changed their standing in society from that of a lower caste, which they experienced in the South, to that of a racial minority. Therefore, Park perceived the violence and race riots[1] that were occurring in urban centers across the nation, as a representation of the initial second stage of his assimilation model, and eventually like other immigrant groups, Blacks would peacefully assimilate into mainstream society. However, contemptuous relationships between Blacks and Whites impacted the social, economic, and political standing of Blacks and constrained virtually every aspects of life, especially with regard to housing issues. Zoning laws, restrictive convents, federal and state legislation, and neighborhood composition rules established rigid patterns of housing segregation, often limiting Blacks, regardless of class standing, to the impoverished and rundown slums and ghettos of the inner cities.

While most of the scholarship at this time identified race relations as the primary impediment to full social, economic, and political incorporation of Black Americans; eventually others, both within and outside of The Chicago School (Park, Burgess, & Wirth, 1925; Park, 1950), started to question the framework. Critics highlighted the lack of consideration given to intra-racial class distinctions in the Black community (Drake & Cayton, 1945; Frazier, 1932) and the lack of consideration given to structural inequalities

[1] There were many urban riots throughout the nation particularly during the summer of 1919. Raymond Mohl notes that racial and ethnic tension increased throughout the 1920s, as reflected in the national resurgence of the Ku Klux Klan. There were vicious race riots in East St. Louis and Houston in 1917, in Philadelphia in 1918, in Chicago, Washington D.C., and elsewhere in 1919, and in Tulsa in 1921 (Mohl, 1993, 5). See William M. Tuttle, Jr., "Race Riot: Chicago in the Red Summer of 1919" (New York: Athenaeum, 1970); Arthur Waskow, "From Race Riot to Sit-in: 1919 and the 1960s" (New York: Doubleday, 1966).

that provided different life chances for European immigrants and Black migrants; particularly as it involved issues related to housing discrimination and racism (Hirsch, 1983; Massey & Denton, 1993). Still others challenged the notion of Blacks as merely another ethnic minority group that would eventually assimilate into mainstream society; but rather positioned the group as a separate 'caste' asserting that there could be intra-class movement but not inter-caste movement among groups (Davis, Gardner, & Gardner, 1941; Warner & Srole, 1945), thus, shifting the conversation to factors beyond personal bias that impeded social and economic mobility, towards an examination of systematic forms of discrimination that had a direct impact on job and housing opportunities in urban centers across the nation.

It was from this perspective that a group of scholars, led by Gunnar Myrdal (1944), examined race relations in America. The findings, published in a multi-volume work entitled *An American Dilemma*, indicated that Blacks were locked into a social caste primarily because of the economic and political constraints that they faced in society. The researchers found that as a result of systematic and institutionalized racism, Blacks experienced greater deprivation and social isolation in comparison to European immigrant groups. Scholars argued that this was evidenced through segregated schools, racial zoning laws, housing discrimination, and unfounded violence toward Blacks in the city (Drake & Cayton, 1945; Hirsch, 1983; Massey & Denton, 1993; Mohl, 1993). Likewise, Drake and Cayton's (1945) seminal work, *Black Metropolis; A Study of Negro Life in a Northern City,* focused on the Black urban experience, evoking a multi-layered analysis of Black urbanization. The authors considered the complexity of Black life in Chicago by exploring the lower, middle, and professional classes, thus problematizing

how socioeconomic status complicated one's experience with racism. Furthermore, the authors' thoroughly discussed the development of the 'Black Ghetto' and the impact of housing covenants on the overall plight of the Black community. Drake and Cayton persuasively argued that Black "pathologies" were a product of race and class discrimination influenced by irregular employment and job discrimination, thus also positioning external factors as the primary impetus for the current condition in the Black ghetto. The authors reconstituted the caste-class model into a discussion on the 'color-line' and adopted the term "ghetto"[2] to illustrate the systematic and involuntary segregation of the Black community. Drake and Cayton challenged the previous scholarship that focused on personal behaviors and bias, moving researchers toward a deeper understanding of the sociopolitical and economic factors that created and sustained structural inequality. It is important to note that during this period, particularly in the social sciences, African-American women's experiences remained embedded in the literature on race and thus reflected its assumptions (Garber & Turner, 1995; Miranne & Young, 2000). Likewise, the examinations that focused on gender worked from the stance of White women (Freeman, 1980; Lerner, 1993; Peake, 1988). Thus, the experiences of Black women were not represented in the literature nor considered as a necessary unit of analysis at the time.

Culture of Poverty

Despite the advancement of macro-structural arguments, between WWII and the 1960s, the 'culture of poverty' thesis dominated urban literature specifically targeting the social ills of poor families. Myrdal (1963) described an "underclass" population

[2] Wirth, L., & Geller, T. (1928). *The Ghetto*. Chicago, Ill.: The University of Chicago Press. Were among the first to address the concept of the ghetto as it related to American neighborhoods.

comprised of unemployed and unemployable persons at the "bottom of society." Lewis (1966) advanced his thesis, which focused on the "defective subculture" of people living in the slums. His work essentially focused on the emergence and perpetuation of cultural patterns that he felt promoted behavior inconsistent with socioeconomic advancement that led to generational patterns of deviance. In *The Black Family*, Daniel Patrick Moynihan (1965) argued that the disorganization or breakdown of the Black family, particularly the female-headed structure, had created a "tangle of pathology," which was responsible for most of the problems in the Black community. He asserted that Black families do not ascribe to certain fundamental American values, which are necessary for economic stability and social mobility. He went on to argue that these predispositions are passed onto children and this essentially creates generational cycles of deviance. Moynihan concluded that the number of improvised Black families would continue to grow due to the overall cultural deficiencies these families exhibited. Sociologist Robin Jarrett (1994) notes that while several distinct groups were identified as comprising the underclass, including criminals, hustlers in the underground economy, the chronically unemployed, and the long-term working poor; it was the households headed by women that were most frequently cited as key contributors to the growth of the underclass.

The assertions made by Myrdal, Lewis, and Moynihan about a culturally deficient underclass, responsible for their own poverty, guided the scholarship at the time. Hence, conversations shifted away from race relations between Whites and Blacks and macro structural factors that limited social mobility, towards discussions about the predispositions and characteristics of the inhabitants of the "Ghetto". Including: the effects of absent fathers (Hartnagel, 1970; Hunt & Hunt 1975; Ladner, 1973; Rosen,

1969; Schulz, 1968); empirical assessments of female-headed families, which were found to be heavily represented in impoverished, highly urbanized, and disproportionately Black populations (Rainwater, 1970); and the reasons why teenage pregnancies were strongly associated with being reared in poverty-stricken female-headed households, (Berger & Simon, 1974; Hannerz, 1969; Hyman & Reed, 1969; Rosen, 1969). These studies tended to conclude that it was the disposition and composition of Black families particularly the matriarchal structure that perpetuated the problem.

These negative depictions demonized Black women and essentially worked to legitimize the discriminatory policies and practices that sought to regulate their personal behavior. Angela Davis (1981) stated:

> Creating controlling images of the welfare mother and stigmatizing her as the cause of her own poverty and that of the African-American communities shifts the angle of vision away from the structural sources of poverty and blames the victims themselves. The image of the welfare mother thus provides ideological justification for the dominant group's interest in limiting the fertility of Black mothers who are seen as producing too many economically unproductive children. (Davis, 1981 as cited in Collins, 2000, p. 80)

As such, Black women became the problem: not sexism which prevented women from earning equal wages or securing well-paying jobs, not racism, not poverty, not the state (Williams, 2004). The depiction of Black women as a drain on public resources and persons engaged in socially destructive culture set the stage for welfare reform that

imposed moral conformity, instead of addressing economic disadvantage and protecting the social rights of the poor.

In her discussion on the urbanization and production of African-American culture, Carby (1992) argues that since Black women first began migrating to urban cities, public officials have sought various ways to controls their actions, behaviors, and morality. These modes of "policing the Black women's body," often occurred through forms of planned socialization, such as exposing "social misfits" to respectable and law abiding women of good moral character, controlling their housing arrangements, and creating 'training schools' that indoctrinated the women with constructs of acceptable behavior for both the private and public spheres. Thus, characterizations that represent poor Black women as deviant supported public policies that focused on moral conformity rather than correcting structural inequality.

The culture of poverty thesis provided one of the first examinations of the Black female in the urban environment. As such, works that followed tended to focus on the Black family, thus neutralizing gender and de-politicizing the struggle against oppressive systems that limited social and economic mobility of poor Black women (Ritzdorf, 2000). Furthermore, framing the discussion within context of the family, led to analysis that focused on the relationship between family structure, race, and poverty (Katz, 1989; Piven et al, 1987; Wilson and Aponte, 1985). This again shifted the discussion away from an understanding of the systems of stratification that marginalized poor Black women.

While some offered counterattacks against claims of Black family deviance (Stack, 1974) it was not until much later, when feminist revisionist

(Baca Zinn, 1990; Collins, 1989) encouraged social scientists to move away from examinations of the individual and toward a re-conceptualization of stratification, that the scholarship began to change.

Concentrated Poverty

While, debates between the cultural determinist and the structuralist continued well into the early 1990s macro-structural arguments eventually began to take center stage, with examinations of urban poverty and the Black family focusing on the social, economic, and political factors that led to the creation and persistence of concentrated urban poverty. Goetz (2003) comments that the concentration of poverty paradigm was developed and refined during the height of the nation's anti-poverty strategies and war on drugs. He stresses that this framework seeks to explain the factors that have contributed to the increasing prevalence of concentrated poverty in American inner cities and the effects such poverty can have on individuals and neighborhoods.

Massey, Gross, & Shibuya (1994) note that there are three basic hypotheses associated with the creation, persistence, and concentration of urban poverty. The first, advanced by Wilson (1980, 1987, 1996) connects the problem to the out migration of the Black middle class, and class selective in-migration of poor migrants that join already poor communities. Next, Hughes (1990) and Jargowsky and Bane (1991) assert that trends connected to the concentration of poverty reflect the general overall downward social mobility for all groups who stayed in urban centers across the nation when the jobs left. Finally, Hirsch (1993) and Massey and Denton (1983) advance the idea that concentrated

poverty is the direct result of racial segregation in urban housing markets. Massey, Gross, and Shibuya find that these three perspectives are not mutually exclusive and it is likely that all three operate to some extent to influence the class composition of specific neighborhoods.

William Julius Wilson's (1980) work in many ways set the stage for the examination of the systematic factors that contributed, sustained, and perpetuated urban poverty. Wilson asserted that different systems of production, in combination with state policies, affect race relations in two aspects; they produce dissimilar contexts, firstly for the manifestation of racial antagonisms, and secondly for the racial groups' access to rewards and privileges (Wilson, 1980). His discussion considered how both racial discrimination and class standing affected one's life-chances. Furthermore, Wilson noted that the onset of de-industrialization and the transfer of companies to the suburbs resulted in a mass exodus of the Black middle class. He concluded that these factors produced a Black "underclass" that has fallen behind in every aspect.

Later in *The Truly Disadvantaged* (1987), Wilson examined the effects of Black joblessness asserting:

> The growth in joblessness has in turn helped to generate a rise in the concentration of poor Blacks with accompanying increases in single parent families, and the receipt of welfare. Particularly noticeable in the inner-city ghetto neighborhoods of large cities. (Wilson, 1987, p.31)

Thus, multiple factors converged to create "the underclass" which was characterized by its geographic concentration, its social isolation from the middle class, and its joblessness.

While Wilson situated out-migration and joblessness, as the primary factors that led to concentrated poverty in the inner city, others focused on the effects of housing segregation. For instance, Arnold Hirsch (1983) impugned government policies and White resistance as the primary cause for the creation and maintenance of concentrated poverty. Hirsch explored the systematic devices that perpetuated housing segregation in the Chicago, which, he argued, ultimately led to the containment of poor Blacks. He was one of the first scholars to discuss the notion of a "second ghetto," marked by the institutionalization of public housing. Hirsch identified a number of factors that contributed to the creation of the second ghetto highlighting the rigid enforcement of housing segregation, which the federal government and local public housing authorities helped enforce. In addition, he identifies the lack of a strong Black political leadership, as a key variable, which he ascribes to a willingness to accommodate White segregationists' policies in exchange for token power. Furthermore, Hirsch asserts that urban renewal policies that influenced the actual design of public housing high-rises, roads, and highways separating and isolating communities were other important factors. However, he vigorously attributes the creation of the second ghetto to the violence Whites exhibited towards Blacks who would try to integrate predominantly White neighborhoods and predominantly White public housing developments.

In *American Apartheid*, Douglas Massey and Nancy Denton (1993) take the discussion one-step further and specifically identify residential segregation, specifically, as the institutional apparatus that supports other racially discriminatory processes. In their analysis, they argue that concentrated poverty creates social predicaments that make it

extremely difficult for the underclass to change their social, economic, and political standing. Massey and Denton posit:

> Residential segregation systematically undermines the social and economic well-being of Blacks in the United States. Because of racial segregation, a significant share of Black America is condemned to experience a social environment where poverty and joblessness are the norm, where majorities of the children are born out of wedlock, where most families are on welfare, where educational failure prevails, and where social and physical deterioration abound. (2)

The authors note that prolonged exposure to such an environment limits and reduces one's life choices. Hence, they establish that racial segregation and housing location is directly related to how one will experience other structural forms of racial discrimination. Weather the conversation focused on the effects of economic restructuring, urban renewal, or housing segregation the work of Wilson, Hirsch, Massey and Denton shaped key debates in the field, especially as it related to understanding the creation, maintenance, and persistence of concentrated poverty in urban center across the nation.

Public Housing

Public housing communities have been main foci for studies that examine various aspects of concentrated urban poverty. Specifically, scholars have focused on the problematic aspects of public housing communities addressing issues associated with location and design (Hirsch, 1983; Massey & Denton, 1993; Moore, 1969; Vale, 1997), tenant selection policies (Hirsch, 1983; Hunt, 2000), the increase of "problem families"[3]

[3] Problem families were identified as those, which were completely dependant on public aid, exhibited behavioral, mental or physical disorders, which included children born out of wedlock, husbands or son in jail for assault, problems of rape, narcotics, alcoholism, vandalism, or more seriously mental illness. (Hunt, 2000, p. 401)

and changing demographics (Spain, 1995; Massey & Denton, 1993), and the devastating effects of crime, drug activity, and gang violence (Kotlowitz, 1991; Popkin et al., 2000; Venkatesh, 2000). When public housing programs in America first began in the 1930s, they were designed to provide temporary relief to working class families who needed assistance. Over time, the tenant population of public housing became primarily composed of low-income, single parent families, headed by Black women. During the Great Depression, central cities experienced problems associated with extreme poverty, deplorable housing, and joblessness. In order to handle these emerging and omnipresent social ills, slum reformers called for large-scale government intervention that would facilitate "social upliftment" for all people. In 1937, the Wagner-Steagall Housing Act passed and instituted public housing as a permanent national program. Initiatives were designed to provide financial assistance toward slum clearance and the development of adequate, safe, and sanitary housing for low-income families. The idea was that the program would specifically target the lowest third of the population. In many cities throughout the nation, the first public housing project was undertaken by the Public Works Administration's housing division. However, over time, the responsibilities shifted over to local authorities. By 1940, there were over 450 local housing authorities across the nation.

The Chicago Housing Authority. In 1933, the CHA assumed responsibility for the leasing and management of three housing projects, which had previously been under the management of the Public Works Administration. The Authority was fully incorporated into the city structure in 1937 after the Illinois General Assembly State Housing Board identified the need for an agency to administer the construction and management of

public housing in Chicago. Daphne Spain (1995) notes, "The demographic composition of public housing has changed significantly in the last 40 years. Three-quarters of all households living in public housing in the 1950s consisted of married couples and three-quarters of households had an employed head. By contrast, in 1989, three quarters of all public housing households were maintained by women and only one-third of households had an employed head" (p. 358). Spain argues that "welfare regulation, site decisions, and eligibility criteria are all examples of ways in which deliberate government actions contributed to the feminization of public housing" (p.8). The changes that have occurred in public housing over the years reflect the result of national and local policies that have neglected and marginalized low-income women who live in public housing.

In Chicago, the CHA fought political, social, and economic battles that mirrored the sociopolitical battles over race, housing, and poverty occurring throughout the nation. When the authority was fully incorporated in 1937, the first CHA director, Elizabeth Wood, and the board chairman, Robert Taylor, envisioned integrated public housing communities that provided relief for the city's most distressed residents. Newspaper reports from the 1930s note that the CHA was devoted "to improving people's lives by building subsidized housing for low-income urban families unable to obtain decent, safe, and sanitary dwelling units within their income-paying ability" (Wit, 335). However, the political imprudence exhibited by many of Chicago's Aldermen and City Council members, along with resistance from predominantly White communities, and institutional racism impeded the agency's ability to select public housing sites outside of slum and ghetto areas that already existed in the city. Despite Wood's and Taylor's efforts, the City Council repeatedly and effectively blocked many of the agency's initiatives and site

selection plans in order to maintain the segregated housing patterns already in place. An Illinois state law, applicable only in Chicago due to its large population, necessitated that the City Council approve each public housing site which the CHA was considering, thus allowing the city government to manipulate and orchestrate the agency's every move. If and when an Alderman did allow public housing construction in their ward, it was made clear that he/she did not want the CHA to use the project as leverage to integrate the community. In order to protect against such acts the city adopted a "neighborhood composition rule" which required any public housing development to retain the racial composition already present in the community (Hirsch, 1998; Hunt, 2000). Under this mandate, the first public housing projects in Chicago were predominantly White. When Wood and Taylor tried to integrate all White public housing developments, Black residents repeatedly faced extreme resistance that often escalated into violence.

For example according to an inter-office memo sent to Carol Wood in 1953 by Albert G. Rosenberg, Supervisor of Community and Tenant Relations, the Howards, a Black family, faced a slew of violent acts that culminated on November 11, 1953. Rosenberg outlined the problems the family had been experiencing, starting with an incident that occurred on November 7, when the rear kitchen windows of the Howard apartment were broken after rocks were thrown. Four days later after being called to the scene, Rosenberg observed a mob of approximately 200 people surrounding the apartment. He writes:

> I observed clusters of people across the street from the Howard apartment around 11:30 p.m. loudly jeering and shouting about how they were going to get the "niggers" out of the project. Some were also shouting that they were going to

> blow up the project. The also called out all kinds of abuse to the police detail in front of the Howard unit—"nigger lovers," "you haven't seen anything yet". (Rosenberg, 1953)

Similar acts of terror continued into the 1960s. Whenever the CHA would try to integrate public housing projects, various forms of mob violence would erupt (Hirsch, 1998). A culture of violence and resistance against Black residents gained legitimacy in the city as such efforts received support from the city government and community vigilantes. As Hirsch notes, this inherent and institutionalized racism impeded the progress the CHA was able to make toward changing the plight of the urban poor. Given city politics and the ingrained housing discrimination that permeated the city, Blacks in need of safe and affordable housing found little solace from the CHA. In fact, of the first 2400 public housing units built in 1938, Blacks gained access to only 60 units (Rubionoiwitz and Rosenbaum, 2000, p.19). Later when developments were built in predominantly Black communities with the primary objective to serve Black residents, the demand far exceeded the supply. The Ida B. Wells Homes, completed in 1940, was the first all Black development located in the heart of the city's Black belt. The site received 18,000 applications for 1660 apartments (Hunt, 2000, p.387). The earlier patterns of housing segregation, which had contained Blacks in the south side and small pockets on the near north side, resulted in continued segregation and isolation during an era of reform. Massey and Denton and (1993) and Hirsch (1983) point out that the early decisions about the location and design of public housing in Chicago laid the foundation for what has become a preponderance of concentrated poverty in public housing today. By 1960, little inroads toward integration had been made. City politics had effectively kept housing

projects segregated and for the most part, dictated that any new buildings for Blacks would have to be built in already existing Black communities.

An agency brochure reveals that from 1955 to 1968, the CHA built nearly 19,000 low-income residences in high-rises across the city. These high-density projects were erected in low-income, African American neighborhoods on the city's Near West and Near North sides, as well as along South State Street. The large-scale construction of public housing in impoverished neighborhoods did little to dismantle the structural aspects of the ensuing ghettos; instead, horizontal ghettos were replaced with vertical ghettos (Hirsch, 1983; Massey & Denton, 1993; Mohl, 1993). Hirsch contends that the politics and policies enforced by the city council, the CHA, and neighborhood vigilantes in White communities ultimately controlled the workings of public housing, leading to the creation of a "second ghetto." Hirsch goes on to state, "Whites in outlying residential neighborhoods were able to shape the policies of the CHA and transform that agency from one that tinkered with the status quo into one that served as a bulwark of segregation" (Hirsch, 1998, p. 213). All of these factors culminated into what Hirsch identifies as "ghetto maintenance" where "resistance to desegregation, from both the public and the private sector, prevented any fundamental alteration in Chicago's established residential patterns" (Hirsch, 1998, p. xvi).

Ghetto maintenance tactics perpetuated structural inequality and further marginalized public housing residents in Chicago. While public housing initially served the working poor, by 1948, 60 percent of new CHA tenants reported no wage earner. CHA administrators claimed that this new clientele was maladjusted and exhibited undesirable social behavior and thereafter labeled this clientele as "problem families."

Problem families were identified as those, which were completely dependent on public aid, exhibited behavioral, mental or physical disorders, which included: children born out of wedlock, husbands or sons in jail for assault, problems associated with rape, narcotics, alcoholism, vandalism, or more serious types of mental illness (Hunt, 2000, p. 401). As late as 1959, the agency enforced evictions of single mothers who had more than two children born out of wedlock. An excerpt from a letter sent to a resident in 1959 reveals the agency's position:

> According to our records you and or another member of your family have given birth to at least one child out of wedlock or while there was supposedly no husband legally in your household. As you know, we cannot tolerate this type of conduct because it tends to corrupt the reputation of the community and invites adverse criticism of public housing. We are, therefore, warning you that if you or any member of your household again become involved in such a situation, your dwelling lease will more than likely be terminated and you will be asked to vacate your apartment. (CHA, letter, 1959)

Different entities throughout the city voiced their concern about the CHA's policy. In particular, an advisory committee to the CHA from the Welfare Council of Metropolitan Chicago noted:

> Illegitimacy is a social fact, and its incidence is not likely to be affected by a family living within a housing project. From the general community point of view, action to evict tenants for illegitimacy makes the same sense as trying to cure a headache by decapitation. It should also be recognized whereas the general public has a highly moralistic and negative attitude about illegitimacy; it is not

> viewed as a problem by the vast majority of housing project tenants. The cultural pattern, particularly among much of the Negro community, is more one of general acceptance and certainly does not place onus of any kind upon an illegitimate child. (Ballard, 1959, p.2.)

While the CHA changed its policy toward illegitimacy in the 1960s, the ideological constructs that depicted single mothers who relied on public assistance as deviant and problematic, had already taken root in the public psyche. These images contributed to demoralizing portrayals of low-income Black women, thus helped to legitimize their subjugation.

Due to a number of factors including corruption, neglect, and the lack of building upkeep and maintenance, residents found themselves trapped in deteriorating, rat infested buildings, suddenly overwhelmed by gang warfare. Much of the scholarship focused heavily on the troubled environment in public housing communities (Kotlowitz, 1988, Popkin et al., 2000) painting a picture of the social ills and public malice poor people were subjected on a daily basis. Scholars explored the complex layering of problems public housing residents experienced, highlighting the ways in which gangs and criminal activity governed the residents and undermined efforts of grassroots organizers who fought for change. For instance, Popkin, Gwiasda, Olson, Rosenbaum and Buron (2000) found that public housing residents in Chicago often would not discuss criminal activity or report crimes because of fear of retaliation. Furthermore, the authors found that residents tended to only associate with a small group of trusted friends as a way to protect themselves and their families from gang activity. The authors characterize these behaviors as necessary coping strategies but ones that ultimately undermined the CHA's

attempts to organize a community crime-prevention program. Their study revealed that a unique set of circumstances govern public housing communities in Chicago, thus problematizing the examinations of structural inequality by revealing both internal and external structural impediments that influenced the lives and daily activities of public housing residents. While studies such as the above-mentioned provide a much-needed understanding of public housing communities, the analysis often situated residents as passive objects, enduring the trials and tribulations of life.

Black Women in Public Housing

Works focusing on the examination of the social, political, and economic factors associated with urban poverty have convincingly proven the necessity for situating race and class within the larger discussion of the creation and maintenance of concentrated poverty. However, little attention is given to the examination of how gender also operates as an organizing principle. Current works (Feldman & Stall, 2004; Williams, 2004) that seek to give voice to the experiences public housing residents are primarily corrective, in that the authors seek to dispel popular stereotypes and reframe the lives and daily activities of low-income Black women through a framework of agency and activism. Rhonda Williams' (2004) book, *The Politics of Public Housing* is one such contribution.

Through the presentation of the collective biographies of Black women who lived in Baltimore's public housing, Williams recasts the historical understanding of the relationship between cities, poverty policy, poor people, and activism. She incorporates the voices of low-income Black women into the historical narratives of Black liberation, as well as the women's and working-class movements. Williams also challenges public conceptions of low-income Black women by showing their tenacity, strength,

compassion, and morality as it relates to grassroots community activism. She states, "Poor Black women in Baltimore not only engaged in battles for daily subsistence, but also fought against societal marginalization and dehumanization" (Williams, 2004, p.229). Williams discusses the activist spirit of low-income Black women who lived in Baltimore's public housing, noting that each generation from 1940-1970 fought for a humanistic agenda, social rights, progressive change, and fairness. She highlights the fact that during the 1930s most public housing tenants were working class families, many of whom were concerned about the public images associated with public housing and its residents. Williams argues that in order to counter negative stereotypes, Black women who lived in public housing participated in social organizations throughout the city. She asserts that participation in the "Black Women's Club Movement"[4] not only helped these working class women maintain the appearance of middle class moral standards, but involvement in the organizations also provided a platform for them to politicize their concerns. Evoking a radical feminist framework, Williams argues that both Black and White women who lived in public housing politicized their private lives through their public struggles for necessities such as heat, hot water, and sanitary living conditions. She highlights the gender and class alliances between Black and White women, briefly noting how race differently situated working class Black women, as their fight included a mission to be recognized as full citizens.

During the 1950s, the tenant population in public housing changed as did the public's perception about the perceived values and morality of public housing residents. Williams argues that due to the influx of problem families even upstanding women were

[4] For further discussion on the Black Women's Club Movement, see Belinda Robnett (1997) "How Long? How Long?" (New York: Oxford) and Stephanie Shaw (1996) "What A Women Ought to Be and to Do: Black Professional Women Workers During the Jim Crow Era" (Chicago: University of Chicago).

forced to carry the 'daily baggage of poverty' in which they were portrayed to outsiders as incorrigible and dangerous. Williams states, "Social scientists and politicians increasingly described poor black people as participants in a culture of poverty and black single motherhood as a quintessential sign of cultural pathology" (p.127). Some of the women sought to distance themselves from the labels of disrupt by becoming tenant activist, role modeling effective parenting and moral standards to young teenage mothers, and setting up community policing committees to protect the residents. Furthermore, the Baltimore Housing Authority started a Resident Aide Program, utilizing a number of the older residents to evoke a sense of self-help among the younger and newer residents. However, Williams notes that this tactic focused on rehabilitating poor people's behavior without also examining the structural impediments that affected people's daily lives. The systematic marginalization of poor Black people, coupled with acts of corruption that sphenoid off federal money allocated for building repairs and maintenance, prompted the further decline of public housing communities.

During the 1960s, the battles for basic life necessities was fought primarily through the organized Resident Management Councils, which formed food and economic cooperatives, participated in welfare rights protests, formed welfare rights chapters, and became the leaders in the struggle for daily subsistence. Williams comments that many of the confrontations and battles with management were intra-racial conflicts, thus highlighting how class differences shaped the nature of the relationship and interactions with management and administrators at the housing authority. In her analysis Williams dismantles essentialist ideology of Black deviance among poor Black women and reconstructs the narrative to include generational pictures of agency and activism. She

demonstrates that even though social, political, and economic impediments did not subside over the years, activist leaders evoked the power and resources they had at their disposal to influence change in their communities.

Working from a similar framework, Feldman and Stall (2004) present a comprehensive case study covering four decades of public housing residents' grassroots activism. The study focuses on the activities of women who lived in the Chicago Housing Authority's Wentworth Gardens development. In their examination of resident activism, the authors identify two modes of resistance, which include everyday resistance that expanded into the private sphere; and transgressive resistance, largely demonstrated in the public sphere (p.11). Everyday resistance included crusades for internal community improvements such as youth programs, tenant security measures, local fund raising, preschool and daycare programs, a new play area for children, a Laundromat, and local grocery store, all of which resident activists fought for, developed, and in some cases, eventually managed. Feldman and Stall argue that through these acts, the women activists pressed for social reproduction needs and in doing so extended their household labor into their community. The leadership's transgressive resistance is more readily identified as the fight to save the community from gentrification. The authors contend that the skills and experience resident leadership gained during their everyday acts of resistance, shaped and influenced their approach to transgressive resistance. Feldman and Stall state "With each new act of everyday resistance the activist gained new skills, obtained new information, and increased their resources, demonstrating their growing strategic capacities as grassroots organizers. They increased their self-confidence, built upon and expanded their social bonding and social-bridging capital and augmented their leadership

and management skills" (p. 346). Feldman and Stall conclude "In resisting the destruction of their home place and community, Wentworth activists have contested the dominant ideologies of their identities as poor Black women and defied the boundaries that separated them from the white male-dominated public sphere" (p. 12). The authors focus on the importance of "homeplace" noting that it connects and bonds a person to the ideology and emotions that are attached to the environment. So much so, that one's home place becomes the channel or filter for a variety of life experiences.

Feldman and Stall also build on previous works (Saegert, 1984; Leavitt & Saegert, 1990; Stack, 1974) that highlight the importance of social networks and the link between domestic activities and community activism. The authors contend that in these, 'community households,' personal concerns grew into larger concerns about the overall community. Feldman and Stall connect women's work in extended family networks like cooking and sharing food, neighboring, and information sharing in order to demonstrate how community households served as the foundation for everyday resistance. The authors argue that social networks are rooted in experiences of domestic and social organization therefore rearing children, cooking, laundry, and grocery shopping all lead to norm setting and conflict resolution skills, which the women used to build relationships and cohesiveness in the community. Feldman and Stall once again demonstrate that low-income Black women were not simply passive objects, but rather active participants in changing situations for their families and their communities.

Feldman and Stall situate grass roots activism as their primary analytical device from which to examine how groups of women in a public housing community fought against forms of systematic oppression. In a similar effort, Jarrett (1994) focused on how

African-American women, who live in high poverty or economically transitional neighborhoods in Chicago, adapted to conditions of poverty. Through focus group interviews with 82 never married low-income Black women, she explored four issues pertaining to marriage, the ideal; marriage, the reality; economic impediments to conventional marriage; and alternatives to conventional marriage. Jarrett found that these women responded to poverty in three ways: they extended domestic and childcare responsibility to multiple individuals; they relaxed paternal role expectations; and they assumed a flexible maternal role. Specifically Jarrett's finding supported those of other scholars (Anderson, 1990; Burton, 1991; Feldman & Stall, 2004; Holloman & Lewis, 1978; Liebow, 1967; Stack, 1974) that have commented on the importance of domestic kin networks that allow for the extension of domestic and childcare responsibilities beyond the nuclear family. Furthermore, Jarrett's analysis revealed that single women often lowered their expectations of men and extended the paternal role to non-biological fathers as a way of facilitating the involvement of men in childcare. Finally, she noted that the women who participated in her study demonstrated strength and levels of high competency as mothers, able to provide for their families under extreme circumstances, a trait and characteristic that was highly revered throughout the community. Jarrett contends that macro-structural frameworks can document changes in households and family formation patterns as they relate to economic factors, however, this approach ignores alternative family arrangements and omits the role of personal agency in understanding poverty among the poor. Williams, Feldman, Stall, and Jarrett all work from a revisionist standpoint and ultimately seek to correct the historical narrative and redefine the life experiences of poor Black women through their examinations. Their

work provides a new scaffolding for understanding the lived experiences of poor Black women through a framework of agency, activism, and personal efficacy.

The scholarship that reflects the experiences of Black women in urban centers is just beginning to unfold. Many of the contributions come from disciplines other than urban studies. Miranne and Young (2000) contend that the field of urban studies has long reflected a gender bias in both the construction of theory and avoidance of research that directly addresses women's lived experiences. In addition, Judith A. Garber and Robyn S. Turner (1995) note that urban scholars are greatly unaccustomed to thinking about gender, let alone uncovering cities as sites of institutionalized patriarchy"(xv). Neglecting the role gender marginalization plays in the creation and maintenance of urban concentrated poverty leads to policies and practices that do not adequately consider the needs of low-income Black women.

Neighborhood Effects

Currently, scholarship that focuses on the urban environment is still concerned with issues of concentrated poverty, however rather than debates surrounding its creation and persistence; conversations now focus on the long-term effects of living in said communities. Danziger and Gottschalk (1987) define concentrated poverty as existing in neighborhoods in which more than 40 percent of the population is below poverty level. Scholars note that the prevalence of widespread concentrated poverty in urban centers across the country began to increase in the 1980s and by 1990; the problem was ever-present (Jargowsky, 1996; Goetz, 2000; Rankin & Quane, 2000). Jargowsky (1996) states that from 1970 to 1990, the number of persons living in neighborhoods of concentrated poverty increased from 4.1 million to 8 million. Given the prevalence of the

problem, current scholarship focuses on bridging the macro/micro chasm in order to consider how macro-structural barriers impact the daily lives and choices of individuals confined to these areas. This approach shifts the discussion away from cultural determinism toward an examination of systems of domination that perpetuate inequality. Hence, rather than placing the blame on the individuals or family structure, neighborhood effects scholars argue that where one lives influences his/her economic, social, and political standing as well as opportunities for social advancement.

For instance, urbanist Ingrid Gould Ellen and Margery Turner (1997) advance a neighborhood effects argument, which asserts that neighborhoods with high levels of concentrated poverty are plagued with problems associated with school delinquency, withdrawal from school, teenage pregnancy, out of wedlock childbirth, violent crime, and drug abuse. The authors find that neighborhoods impact residents in a number of ways including: the quality of public services available; the socialization of young people; peer influence; social networks; and physical distance from employment. In addition, Goetz (2003) comments that impoverished communities suffer from aggregate community effects, which manifest themselves as disinvestments from private companies, ultimately leading to dysfunctional communities (p. 3). Rankin and Quane (2000) also assert that when a critical mass of the social stratum, such as the middle class, is lacking, as is the case in many high-poverty neighborhoods, key community institutions such as businesses, schools, churches, social clubs, voluntary associations, and community organizations, decline and often disappear, leaving residents cut off from the benefits of institutional resources (p. 141).

Neighborhood effects scholars also suggest that there is a positive relationship between neighborhood characteristics and: employment rates and earnings (Datcher, 1982; Case & Katz, 1991; Massey, Gross, & Eggers, 1991), sexual activity, and teenage pregnancy (Hogan & Kitagawa, 1985; Crane, 1991; Mayer, 1991; Brooks-Gunn, Duncan, Klevanov, & Sealand, 1993), the percentage of female headed households in the community (Hogan & Kitagawa, 1985; Crane, 1991; Massey, Gross, & Eggers, 1991; Brooks-Gunn, Duncan, Klevanov, & Sealand, 1993), joblessness (Massey, Gross & Eggers, 1991), school drop out rates (Crane, 1991; Brooks-Gunn, Duncan, Klevanov, & Sealand, 1993), IQ (Brooks-Gunn, Duncan, Klevanov, & Sealand, 1993), annual earnings (Corcoran, Gordon, Laren, & Solon, 1990), and participation in politics (Cohen & Dawson, 1993). These scholars ultimately conclude that there is strong evidence that growing up in a poor neighborhood shapes individual experiences at both the macro-structural and personal level of development.

Sampson, Morenoff, and Gannon-Rowley (2002) suggest, "One of the driving forces behind much of the research on neighborhood mechanisms has been the concept of social capital, which is generally conceptualized as a resource that is realized through social relationships" (p. 457). In addition, Lin (2000) states that inequality in different types of capital, such as human capital and social capital, contributes to social inequality, in aspects such as socioeconomic achievement and quality of life. Social capitalist are concerned with the level of density or social ties between neighbors, frequency of social interaction among neighbors, and patterns of neighboring. Xavier de Souza Briggs (1997) discusses the importance of social capital leverage in building social networks for

job opportunities and other activities that might lead to economic stability. He notes that the key is to increase one's social capital without undermining sources of social support.

Small and Newman (2001) contend that there are several limitations to trying to define and measure neighborhood effects. First, they argue that people are not randomly distributed across neighborhoods; next, it is difficult to define and measure neighborhoods; and finally they contend that scholars find it challenging to define what characteristics should be employed to measure disadvantage (Small & Newman, 2001, p. 30). In the same vain Sampson, Morenoff, & Gannon-Rowley comment that studies on neighborhood effects "overwhelmingly measure social processes at the individual rather than neighborhood level, making it difficult to offer a summary assessment of which, if any, neighborhood-level mechanisms are important" (p. 459). The authors go on to note that the study of neighborhood effects presents several methodological challenges, among which is the differential selection of individuals into communities, indirect pathways of neighborhood effects, measurement error, and simultaneity bias. (p. 465).

While there are still some theoretical and methodological concerns with regard to the neighborhood effects framework, policy makers at both the federal and state levels have embraced the idea that neighborhood composition, especially as it relates to high poverty neighborhoods, influences quality of life. As such recent housing programs are now focusing on income mixing with the assumption that exposing low-income families to mixed-income communities will increase their social capital and provide economic stability, which will ultimately lead to sustained self-sufficiency. To a large extent poverty deconcentration housing programs today are modeled after the Gautreaux

relocation program, which was one of the first large-scale race based relocation initiatives to test neighborhood effects arguments.

Gautreaux

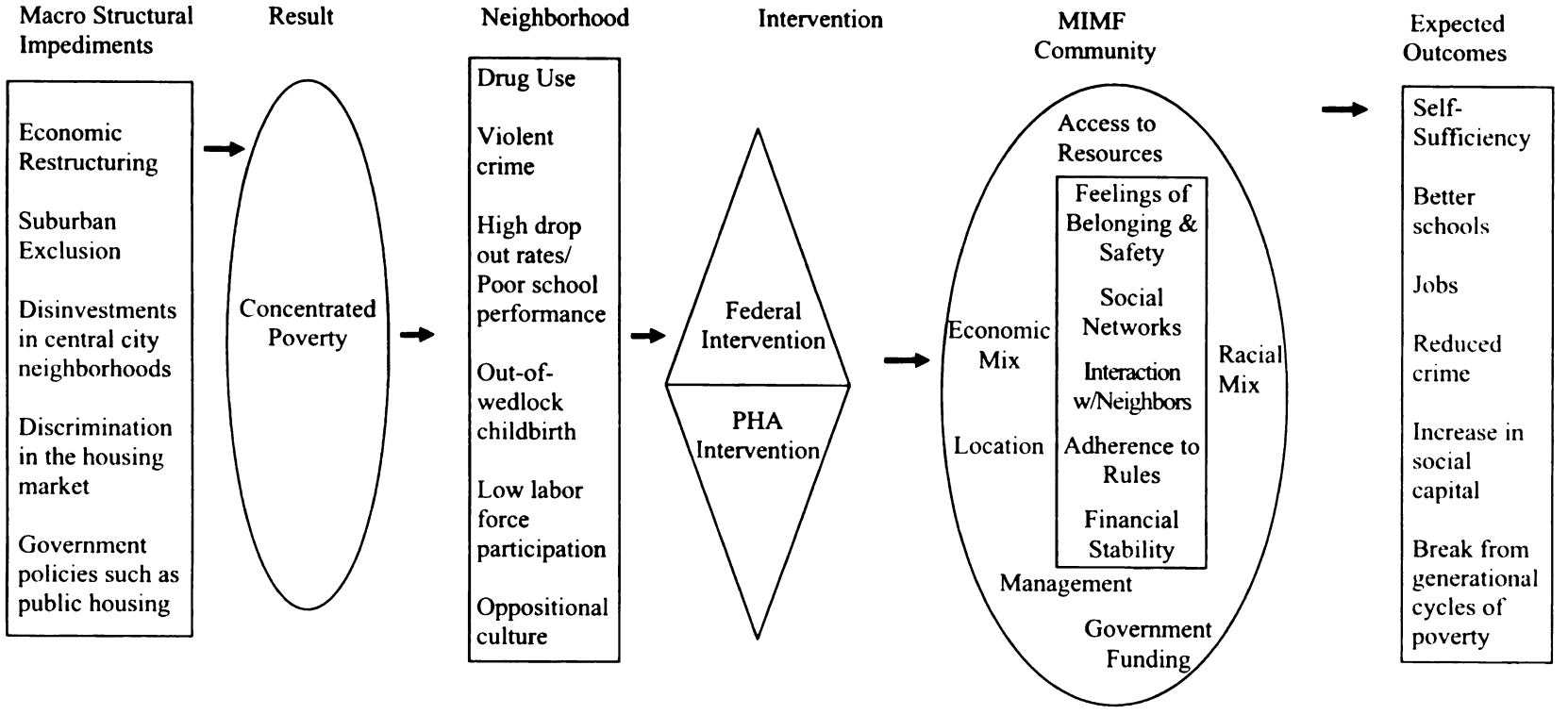
In 1966, public housing residents in Chicago sued the Chicago Housing Authority and the department of Housing and Urban Development, claming that the agencies employed racially discriminatory polices in the administration of Chicago's low rent public housing program. The lawsuit charged that public housing residents were forced to live in segregated areas of the city by virtue of the CHA's tenant assignment and site selection plan. Dorothy Gautreaux, a Black community activist and public housing resident who lived on the south side of Chicago, lent her name to a class action suit filed on behalf of more than forty thousand African-American families who were residents of, or applicants for, Chicago public housing (Rubinowitz and Rosenbaum, 2000). In 1969, the court ruled in favor of the Gautreaux plaintiffs, making the case one of the largest court-ordered desegregation efforts in the nation's history. Over the course of twenty-five years, seven thousand low-income families moved out of public housing; while some moved within the city limits, the majority, most of whom were women and children, moved to surrounding suburbs. Rubinowitz and Rosenbaum (2000) examined resident experiences based on location. The findings suggested that children of families moving to less segregated suburban locations saw measurable improvements in their lives. The children were less likely to drop out, more likely to take college track courses, and attend a four year college than their counterparts who remained in the inner city. Furthermore, the authors asserted that for the most part, suburban movers were able to adapt to the middle class communities they relocated to and experienced varying degrees of social

interaction with their neighbors. The authors note, "When asked about the frequency of contact on specific activities, the suburban mothers reported significantly more interaction with neighbors than the city group. Compared with reports by city movers, suburban movers reported more frequently visiting with neighbors, talking on the telephone with neighbors, sharing babysitting with neighbors, eating at a neighbor's home and having a neighbor over to their homes for lunch or dinner" (Rubinowitz & Rosenbaum, 2000, p.105). The findings lead one to conclude that overall, suburban movers had more contact and interaction with their neighbors than the city movers did. Rubinowitz and Rosenbaum state, "Some women who moved to the suburbs reported finding a sense of community that they felt was lacking in their city neighborhoods. The participants noted that they often felt isolated in the city, had withdrawn from the community and had even become suspicious and fearful of their neighbors.

While the authors note that most of the participants reported positive outcomes, they also highlight some of the problems suburban movers experienced, which included indirect and overt forms of racism. Some women commented that neighbors maintained a "social distance" from them and often obstructed friendly relationships. The authors' state, "While the exclusion that mothers felt was unpleasant, their most painful experiences were seeing their children encounter racial prejudice and exclusion" (p. 114). Much of the overt racism and discrimination that children who moved to the suburbs experienced came from adults. Rubinowitz and Rosenbaum's examination represents one of the only longitudinal mobility studies that thoroughly considers the reaction and experiences of low-income Black women who have transitioned into predominantly white middle class communities.

Building on the reported success of the Gautreaux program, within the last decade Congress has aggressively advanced the notion of de-concentrating urban poverty through resident relocation to less improvised neighborhoods. It is important to note however, the philosophy behind recent initiatives focuses on income mixing rather that racial integration. The relocation of public housing residents has taken primarily two forms: movement into the private market through the Section 8/ Housing Choice Voucher program (HCV) and movement into newly created mixed-income mixed financed communities (MIMF). Figure 1 is a graphic representation of the MIMF response to concentrated poverty.

Figure 1 Causes, Consequences, and Response to Concentrated Poverty[5]



[5] Panels 1-3 in figure 1 are adopted from Edward Goetz's Model of the Causes and Consequences of Concentrated poverty. Edward Goetz (2000). The Politics of Poverty Deconcentration and Housing Demolition. *Journal of Urban Affairs* 22, 2, 157-73.

As depicted in the figure on the previous page, analysts have identified a number of factors that will influence the type of "success" public housing residents will experience in MIMF communities. These factors include the ability to maintain or establish social networks and social cohesiveness with new neighbors, adherence to rules and regulations, financial stability, and overall comfort in the new community. In addition, several macro-structural factors also influence one's success in a mixed-income community including the location of housing, government funding, access to resources, available social services, management, racial and economic mix of the neighborhood, and the physical design of the community.

Mobility Programs

There are two types of deconcentration strategies, which the federal government and local public housing authorities have implemented to promote resident mobility, housing choice, and poverty de-concentration. The first initiative, and most widely utilized, is the Section 8/Housing Choice Voucher (HCV) program, which Congress created in 1974. Serving approximately 1.7 million households in 2000, the program provides tenant based assistance in the form of a voucher, which then allows residents to transition from public housing into the private market. Program participants pay 30 percent of their monthly income toward rent and the government subsidies the remainder of the rent, as long as the resident's house or apartment falls within the fair market value range for the area and meets other specified criteria. The second deconcentration strategy ultimately seeks to create mixed-income communities through a number of different approaches. The three most common include the Mixed-Income New Community (MINC) strategy;

Move to Opportunity experiment; and Housing Opportunities for People Everywhere (HOPE VI) initiatives.

Congress authorized MINCS to promote economic integration in public housing as part of the National Affordable Housing Act of 1990. The philosophy behind this strategy is to lure working and middle class families into public housing developments in order to create a greater income mix. Thus, public housing authorities are given the leeway to modify income limits in order to target moderate and low-income working families.

Drastically different from the MINC approach, Move to Opportunity (MTO) was designed to test many of the neighborhood effects arguments. The Move to Opportunity for Fair Housing Demonstration Program, a $234 million dollar HUD initiative, which began in 1994, was a 10-year experimental study that included five cities (Baltimore, Boston, Chicago, Los Angeles, and New York). Using the poverty rate of the receiving community as the operating variable, residents in each of the five cities were given the opportunity to move to less improvised neighborhoods using housing choice vouchers. After indicating their interest in the program, residents were randomly assigned to one of three groups. In the *experimental group*, they were offered a housing voucher that could be used only in census tracts with poverty levels below 10 percent. This group also received housing mobility counseling and housing search assistance from a counselor. The second group, *Section 8*, included families that were offered a regular Section 8 certificate with no additional support. As a result, they could relocate to any community. Finally, the *control group* remained in their current housing and received no Section 8 assistance at all (Popkin et al, 2000b, p. 930). The experiment was designed to measure

the effectiveness of housing mobility counseling and the effects of placement in low-poverty neighborhoods in order to assess what factors contribute to resident mobility and self-sufficiency.

The last strategy, HOPE VI, emerged from recommendations made by the National Commission on Severely Distressed Public Housing.[6] Under the HOPE VI program, public housing authorities in large metropolitan areas can apply for grants to cover revitalization efforts in three general areas, which include physical improvements, management improvements, and social, and community services. The flexibility of the grant allotments enables public housing authorities to rehabilitate old buildings or create newly developed mixed-income communities. The first HOPE VI grants were awarded in 1993 and reports from HUD indicate that at the end of 2003, approximately 5.5 billion dollars was awarded to revitalize 217 developments nationwide.[7] Table 1 presents HOPE VI funding allotments for the Chicago Housing Authority, identifying funds, which are being used to finance The *Plan for Transformation.*

Table1: Hope VI Funding for the Chicago Housing Authority 1994-2001

Chicago Housing Authority	Development	Year	Funding
	Cabrini Green	1994	50,000,000
	Henry Horner	1996	18,435,300
	Robert Taylor	1996	25,000,000
	ABLA Brooks Extension	1996	24,483,250
	Madden/Wells Darrow	2000	35,000,000
	Robert Taylor	2001	35,000,000
	Rockwell Gardens	2001	35,000,000
Total			198,435,300

Source: Department of Housing and Urban Development Chicago Housing Authorities HOPE VI grants through November 2004

[6] Findings from the National Commission on Severely Distressed Public Housing are discussed in chapter four.

[7] HUD's FY 2005 budget does not include any funding for HOPEVI initiatives.

Several studies have examined the overall success and failure of the three above-mentioned housing mobility strategies from various perspectives (Cunningham, Popkin, Godfrey, & Dendnaz, 2002; Goering & Feins, 2002; Popkin & Cunningham, 2002; Rosenbaum, Harris, & Denton, 2003). For instance, Rosenbaum, Stroh, and Flynn (1996) examined the degree and type of social interaction among residents at Lake Parc Place, a MINCS community in Chicago. This rehabilitated housing project targeted very low-income residents, who fell below 50 percent of the area median income, and low-income families with at least one working adult with an income between 50 to 80 percent of the area median income. The study revealed that an economically diverse but racially homogeneous tenant group was attracted to the site, and initially housing was safer and better maintained than other CHA properties. In addition, researchers discovered that residents interacted, but often on superficial levels. While the situation for very low-income residents at Lake Parc Place improved initially, over time and after a change in management, that was more lax with enforcing the rules, the social environment began to deteriorate. Rosenbaum, Stroh, and Flynn assert that in order to maintain an economic mix in such communities' external factors such as, building upkeep, attention to safety, and strict enforcement of policies and procedures are needed in order to keep higher income families in the development.

In addition, focusing on factors needed for successful mixed-income communities, Paul Brophy and Rhonda Smith (1997) analyzed seven mixed-income communities across the country. The authors concluded that: developments must be well located and have attractive design features; must have a sufficient number of units aimed at higher income residents; there can be no difference in the type of units for low-income residents.

Furthermore, activities are needed to help engage the upward mobility of low-income residents, and income mixing is simply not enough. Their findings indicate that the success of these communities for low-income residents is determined by not only the type and quality of the housing available but also depends on the amount and type of social cohesiveness that develops among the residents in the community.

In addition, MTO researchers have found that public housing residents who move into the private market with the assistance of housing counselors experience better neighborhoods (Rosenbaum, Harris, Denton, 2003; Popkin, Harris, Cunningham, 2002), and safer housing (Rosenbaum, Stroh, & Flynn, 1996). Emily Rosenbaum, Laura Harris, and Nancy Denton (2003), surveyed the Chicago MTO participants in order to measure differences in neighborhood improvements for the *experimental*—those who had housing assistance—and *comparison or Section 8* —those who did not have assistance—groups. Special attention was given to participants' ability to adjust to their new neighborhoods. The evaluation revealed, that almost all MTO families and Section 8 families reported housing problems, neighborhood problems, and fears for personal safety while residing in Chicago's public housing projects. However, reports of such problems dramatically declined after families moved to their new neighborhoods (p. 301). The data also show that all participants improved their housing and neighborhood condition, with experimental groups obtaining greater improvements. The authors note that "while all of the families originated in tracts that were highly isolated, in terms of racial composition, and social and economic opportunities, the tracts to which they moved appear to differ greatly depending on the group they were assigned to," with the experimental families moving to the most potentially advantageous environments (p. 284). It was determined

that the experimental families ended up settling in neighborhoods where there was greater ethnic and economic diversity than the section 8 relocatees. Finally, Rosenbaum, Harris, and Denton (2002) concluded that the adjustment process played a key role in the overall comfort residents' experienced in their new neighborhood. This included receptivity of new neighbors, social interaction, and the maintenance or creation of supportive networks.

Popkin, Harris, Cunningham, (2002) also found that the type of supportive services residents utilize correlates to their placement in 'opportunity neighborhoods' or neighborhoods with low levels of poverty. However, the authors' findings from their qualitative study with 97 participants from all three MTO groups, experiment, section 8, and control, in all five cities, also found that those who relocated were having difficulty paying rent and utility costs, and frequently experienced personal conflicts with management. With regard to the social environment, participants often commented on the differences between the social world in their new neighborhoods and the public housing communities they had left behind, stating that while they felt safer, they also felt less connected to their neighbors and as a result, preferred to keep to themselves. Specifically, the authors find that "Racial, language, and cultural barriers sometimes prevent respondents from forming relationships, often leaving them feeling isolated and lonely" (p vii). This could explain why the authors found that a number of the respondents maintained contact with friends, family, and supportive networks from their old neighborhoods.

While there are a several studies that focus on MINC communities and the MTO experiment there are, far fewer studies that examine poverty de-concentration through the

creation of newly developed mixed-income communities. Current studies primarily focus on the type and quality of supportive services public housing authorities offer to residents who are going through the relocation process and even still tend to focus on the HCV program. The National Opinion Research Center at the University of Chicago (NORC) surveyed public housing leaseholders in the second phase of the CHA's *Plan for Transformation*. The study was designed to inform the CHA about areas for future improvement and to assess housing preferences. In addition, the study sought to understand which services leaseholders found most helpful and what areas could be improved. Respondents included more than 900 leaseholders relocating in 2002 and early 2003, representing approximately 83 percent of the total target population. The survey revealed that over two-thirds of the respondents decided to relocate through the Housing Choice Voucher program. Additionally, more than two-thirds of the respondents attended a "Good Neighbor Clinic",[8] which over 90 percent found helpful. Results also indicated that over two-thirds of the respondents had contact with the Service Connector program, of which 85 percent found helpful. One-third of the respondents thought the relocation process was difficult citing as primary factors, confusion about the process, insufficient time to pack, difficulty in finding a suitable apartment, and lack of assistance.

In another study that examined tenant services, Mary Cunningham, Susan Popkin, Erin Godfrey and Beata Dendnaz (2002), in collaboration with researchers at the University of Chicago and the Urban Institute, undertook two baseline surveys to

[8] Good Neighbor Classes are facilitated workshops that provide guidance and instruction to participants on managing a household and the importance of remaining lease compliant. Workshop topics include moving to a new neighborhood, getting established, budgeting for a new environment, understanding neighborhood values, adopting neighborhood etiquette, understanding your responsibilities as a neighborhood resident, and being of service to the community. The program is a one-day workshop that most residents are required to attend prior to signing their lease.

evaluate the CHA's relocation counseling and mobility assistance programs. Researchers found a number of areas where counselors needed to do a better job of providing services to residents. For instance, it appeared that a number of residents repeatedly got "lost in the system," and improper tracking made it difficult for counselors to follow-up with residents that they placed. Furthermore, time constraints limited the amount and quality of relocation counseling advisors were able to provide to residents thus, the authors suggest that many of the neighborhoods that public housing residents relocated to shared many of the same characteristics and problems as the communities that they left. Hence, the authors express concern that "voucher clustering," is occurring in low-income neighborhoods throughout the city, thus the agency is simply redistributing poverty, not deconcentrating it.

Popkin and Cunningham (2002) also examined the CHA's relocation counseling services focusing on residents who went through the relocation process from 1999 through 2001. The data reveals that many residents face personal and institutional barriers that exacerbate the relocation process. These include health-related issues, low levels of personal efficacy, and very low expectations of their ability to improve their circumstances. Popkin and Cunningham identified several key issues in their examination. First, lease compliance issues were widespread among residents to a point where qualifying for assistance became a labor-intensive process. Second, it was important to track residents who had the right to return. Third, many residents needed more intensive preparation for the private market. Fourth, there needed to be consistency and coordination among service providers. Finally, ongoing evaluation, more intensive services and long-term follow-up were needed (p. 4). The authors indicate that while the

CHA has made a number of improvements and adjustments to their relocation process, there are still many serious challenges, "including the pace of relocation and demolition, the adequacy and effectiveness of services, and the complex needs of the remaining residents-including those who are living in CHA developments illegally" (p.5). With regard to the logistics of the CHA's plan, the authors questioned whether there was adequate funding to carry out the entire plan and meet the needs of the residents. The authors express concern about the pace of the demolition exceeding the creation of new housing, relocation assistance, and development of needed support systems for residents. Furthermore, the findings illustrate that "CHA relocatees face substantially more barriers, particularly substance abuse, depression, gang affiliation, domestic violence, and lack of private market experience" (p. 9). In addition, there is increasing concern about the thousands of illegal residents, either homeless squatters or people living "off the lease,"[9] that will be impacted by the demolition of CHA high-rises. Finally, programmatically speaking, there is widespread concern about the lack of accurate information regarding residents' status including information about the number of remaining residents, their lease compliance status, and their status in the relocation process. Popkin and Cunningham note that these problems seem to be connected to the issue of coordinating unified services among the multiple agencies that provide counseling to CHA residents. The authors conclude, "Lack of coordination creates the potential risk that families will get lost in the process and not receive the services to which they are entitled" (p. 9). While the above-mentioned evaluations provide useful information about the type and quality of relocation services available to residents in Chicago, there is a need for more

[9] Off the lease refers to people who live with CHA leaseholders that are not listed on the lease. This could include significant others, family members, and friends.

information about what residents' experiences after they relocate to mixed-income communities.

Furthermore, it is important to note that poverty deconcentration programs that relocate low-income residents to the suburbs, versus those that place them in mixed-income communities at the site of their former public housing communities, present a very different set of circumstances with the potential for vastly different outcomes for families, a factor, which has received little attention. Furthermore, public housing residents who relocate to mixed-income communities at the site of their former public housing units often find themselves in the midst of revitalizing neighborhoods with many new amenities; however, they are still challenged by the same macro-structural impediments. Notwithstanding institutional discrimination and structural oppression, placing public housing families in mixed-income communities at the site of their former public housing developments changes their physical living space; however, this does not change the social problems that exist in the community such as exposure to violence, gang activity, and the omnipresent issues associated with poverty. Providing an overall assessment of mobility programs, Rosenbaum et al. (1997) states, "Given the preponderance of structural factors that have not changed, these innovations may not be enough to stem the poverty, joblessness, poor education and violence and vandalism that characterize public housing in Chicago and the nation (Rosenbaum et al., 1997, p.712).

It is evident that more research is needed on the various aspects of mixed-income living especially as it relates to residents who remain at the site of their former public housing development. Goetz (2003), contends that "as the country's most recent antipoverty strategy, de-concentration raises a number of public policy controversies,

ranging from the federal government's culpability in prevailing patterns of racial and class-based residential segregation to the proper role of public authority in shaping residential communities for both the poor and non-poor" (p.1). As such, continued research on mixed-income communities is necessary in order to determine the extent to which these new policies actually reverse the structural inequalities that have plagued public housing residents over the years. Furthermore, there is a need to analyze this issue from the residents' perspective so that one might fully understand their experiences. It is important to keep in mind that that the experiences of women in high poverty urban environments differ from the experiences of men, and as such calls for examinations and reforms that consider their unique social location. Therefore, it is necessary to embrace a framework that considers not only the impact of racism, but also reveals how gender discrimination and economic marginalization in the housing market continues to funnel low-income female heads of households into areas of concentrated poverty.

Miranne (2000) asserts that welfare and public housing reforms leave poor women vulnerable to further subjugation especially when federal reforms do not consider the "in between spaces" that poor women occupy; as such, public policies present more challenges for these women in caring for themselves and their families. She suggests that poor women, particularly those who receive welfare and live in public housing are "embounded"; they are isolated when the state revamps policies and withdraws resources. Miranne notes that federal housing programs are essentially "women's programs" because "more than 80 percent of non-elderly public housing residents live below the poverty line and female-headed households now constitute 85 percent of the families with dependent children in public housing, in some cities this number exceeds 95 percent" (p.

127). While it is true, that public housing across the nation has become racialized and feminized spaces of concentrated poverty, very little is written about the lived experiences of low-income Black women who live in these communities.

Conceptual Framework

The CHA's *Plan for Transformation* is guided by a set of federal directives that have a direct and immediate impact on the lives of low-income Black women who live in public housing. As such, this program exemplifies the relationship between social, political, economic, and cultural factors that shape public policy and the impact on individuals at both the macro structural and micro level of personal biography. Therefore, this study calls for a conceptual framework that allows for a structural analysis of macro systems while still providing enough flexibility to consider an individual's place within this structure. Such a framework must take into consideration how macro structural elements influence everyday interactions and how individuals relate to and influence the structure. An intersections framework allows for such an examination.

Intersectionality. Intersectionality examines the interlocking nature of race, class, and gender and considers how these variables are socially constructed and simultaneously interact with systems of domination that perpetuate systematic forms of inequality. This framework considers how representations of race, class and gender are simultaneously experienced, as it refuses to separate or categorize oppression into hierarchies (Andersen & Collins, 2001; Brewer, 1999; Zinn & Dill, 1994). Furthermore, the framework is transgressive in that it goes beyond traditional universalizing and essentializing perspectives and reveals the unseen hegemonic assumptions that perpetuate inequality. An intersections approach asserts that depending on one's social location, his or her

experience with the system will differ. Aida Hurtado (1996) states that an intersections approach refuses to place oppression in hierarchies or fragmented identities. She posits that it emphasizes personal and collective accountability, and subject-positionality.

One of the greatest strengths of this approach is that it allows one to consider how power is organized, maintained, and experienced in what Patricia Hill Collins (2000), Maxine Baca Zinn, and Bonnie Dill (1994) identify as the Matrix of Domination. The authors advance the Matrix of Domination as an organizing mechanism that considers the structural, disciplinary, hegemonic, and interpersonal domains of power, thus allowing for an examination of how individuals are differently situated and interact with various forms of power and subjugation.

Race, class, and gender are overlapping and cumulative variables, different but interrelated axes of social structure. Therefore, Collins and Anderson state, "thinking about race, class and gender need not entail thinking about all groups at one time. Rather it means understanding the experiences of only one group in context" (p. 3). They assert that an analysis grounded in race, class, and gender can be complete even when centered on the experiences of a single group as long as the framework recognizes the influence of race, class, and gender on the group's experience (p.7). Thus, by acknowledging how the structure operates, it sheds new light on the nature of structural inequality, revealing how inequality can be replicated for various groups, repeated across different structures, and repeated in many different contexts.

Sociologist Assata Zerai (2000) notes, "One cannot understand domination and resistance, social inequality, and thus the social world without considering the ways race, class, and gender operate as interlocking systems of domination"(p.184). Since

intersectionality does not compartmentalize race, class, or gender as separate units of analysis, the framework provides heuristic value in that it allows scholars to gain a more accurate picture of how individuals interact with social systems. Intersectionality challenges urban scholars to engage in a more critical form of inquiry by recognizing that race, class, and gender are social constructions that are experienced simultaneously.

There are several overarching principles associated with Intersectionality. First, it deconstructs and challenges dominant paradigms. Second, scholars contemplate how individuals simultaneously experience and negotiate race, class, and gender and in so doing generate new forms of critical analysis. Third, Intersectionality is concerned with the structure of systems that grant and deny privilege. The framework recognizes that systems are constantly changing and that race, class, and gender are social constructions with meanings that can change across time and space depending on social, economic, and political factors. In addition, the framework critiques negative hegemonic images and assumptions associated with gender and race. Next, intersectionality embraces non-traditional forms of knowledge. Finally, this approach is committed to social activism and building coalitions across communities. Specifically focusing on Black women, Rose Brewer (1999) posits that an intersectional analysis also: critiques dichotomous, oppositional thinking; reconstructs the lived experiences, historical positioning, cultural perceptions and social construction of Black women; and develops a feminism rooted in class, culture, gender and race interaction as its organizing principle (p. 33). These principles challenge social scientists to engage in a more holistic form of inquiry, presenting complete rather than fragmented depictions of social relations. It is only by employing an Intersections framework that one can adequately examine the interlocking

nature of race, class, and gender and consider how these variables are socially constructed, and simultaneously interact with systems of domination that perpetuate systematic forms of inequality. Since this framework does not compartmentalize race, class, or gender as separate units of analysis, intersectionality allows scholars to gain a more accurate picture of how individuals interact with social systems, thus helping scholars and practitioners reassess how they view the relationship between public housing reform and its impact on the lives of low-income Black women.

One of the important principles of Intersectionality is the consideration of social location. In recognizing the interconnectedness of race, class, and gender, scholars pay particular attention to how social location is shaped by both privilege and oppression (Andersen & Collins, 2001; Collins, 2000; Zinn & Dill, 1994; Mullings, 1997; Webber, 2001). An intersections approach asserts that depending on one's social location, his or her experience with the system will differ. Thus, how one interacts with the system is relationally determined by social location (Andersen & Collins, 2001a; Brewer, 1999; Lerner, 1993). Social location refers to one's position in society; it is a place where one is located in the social order based on race, class, and gender. It takes into consideration hierarchal systems that grant or withhold social opportunities. In addition, social location is fluid and depends on context. It refers to where one stands in the world and determines how he/she sees, experiences, and explains it. Andersen and Collins (2001) note that one's interaction with a structure of different systems of domination, results in different systems of privilege and disadvantage. Intersection scholars note that recognizing one's social location forces one to realize that there are no pure victims or oppressors. Depending on the context, the socially constructed variables that define one's privilege in

one situation might implicate one's subjugation in another. Hence, acknowledging that social construction of race, class, and gender create hierarchies that grant and deny access to social, political, and economic resources based on social location is highly important.

Collins (1998) asserts that Black women's social location signals a new politics of containment, but not in the historical sense of being hidden away in racially segregated neighborhoods with their inferior public services but rather a system that relies much more heavily on surveillance tactics that fix Black women in the public eye. Collins states, "What we now seem to have is a curious reversal: practices of racial segregation that foster Black women's subordination seem increasingly hidden and invisible, where as poverty and other effects of racial segregation on Black women become increasingly subject to public scrutiny. In this context, freedom represents not the move *into* the public sphere but the move *out* of it" (Collins, 1998, p. 35). She goes on to say, "Surveillance seems designed to produce a particular effect- Black women remain visible yet silenced; their bodies become writings by other texts, yet they remain powerless to speak for themselves" (Collins, 1998, p. 38).

As a result of systems of privilege and disadvantage that are regulated by social constructions of race, class, and gender, groups that share similar characteristics gain different perspectives about the nature of inequality. Collins (1991) states that the "outsider within" status has provided African American women a special perspective on self, family, and society. Systems of domination require Black women to know the language, norms, and culture of the dominant society. However, individuals who control access to resources do not necessarily have knowledge of the language, norms and culture of marginalized groups. Thus, oppressed groups have a different worldview than

privileged groups. Moreover, although every interaction has an element of power, power dynamics are not seen by everyone, especially those who benefit from their position. As such, those in power or privileged positions who cannot "see" systems of domination are unable to fully explain social reality. It is for this reason that Collins (2000) advances the use of "Black Feminist Thought" as a way to reveal the unseen hegemonic assumptions that shape and design the structure of privilege and subjugation.

Black Feminist Thought. Collins, describes 'Black Feminist Thought' as a critical social theory that relies on a paradigm of intersecting oppressions to analyze Black women's experiences. She emphasizes that Black feminist thought's purpose is to foster both Black women's empowerment and conditions of social justice (Collins, 2000, p. x). Collins notes that the theory contains the following six distinguishing features. First, it recognizes that the experiences of African American women provide scholars and practitioners with a unique angle and vision concerning Black womanhood unavailable to others. Second, the theory acknowledges that experiences with struggle or oppression encompass all Black women, and even though it might manifest itself in different ways, these experiences create a particular worldview of structural dynamics. Third, employing this theory manifests the power of self-determination, which Collins notes is the key to empowerment. Fourth, Black feminist thought allows Black women to create their own political, scholarly, and social agendas. Next, it recognizes that change is inevitable and conditions cannot remain static. Finally, Black Feminist thought works toward the upliftment of humanity (p.41). It is important to note that Black feminist thought does not seek to universalize the experiences of Black women. Collins herself acknowledges that there is a great deal of diversity among Black women. However, she argues that there are

commonalities among Black women, grounded in experiences with struggle, and it is these commonalities, which generate a unique "Black consciousness." Collins asserts, "Oppression creates a reoccurring pattern of experience." Thus, for Black women in the United States, the legacy of struggle forms Black women's collective consciousness and as such, views and standpoints African American women occupy allows them to see things differently (p. 25). Collins notes that not all Black women experience things the same way and that some U.S. Black women suppress others, but generally this common experience with struggle encompasses three interdependent dimensions. The first dimension relates to exploitation in the labor market; the second identifies systematic barriers that withhold equity in the political realm; and the third dimension addresses the social construction of Black women. Collins maintains that the subjugation that occurs in the labor market and political realms are supported and sustained by negative images such as the mammy, jezebel and welfare queen, that denigrate Black women as a whole. Furthermore, Collins (1998) states:

> The fluidity that accompanies intersectionality does not mean that groups themselves disappear, to be replaced by an accumulation of decontextualized, unique individuals whose personal complexity makes group based identities and politics that emerge from group constructions impossible. Instead, the fluidity of boundaries operates as a new lens that potentially deepens understanding of how the actual mechanisms of institutional power can change dramatically even while they reproduce long-standing group inequalities of race, class, and gender." (Collins, 1998, p. 205)

In this sense, African-American women's group history and location can be seen as points of convergence within structural, hierarchical, and changing power relations. A Collins (1998) asserts that the construct of intersectionality works well with issues of individuals' agency and human subjectivity and thus has surface validity in explaining everyday life. Black feminist thought offers two important contributions to the way that one views micro and macro levels of structural inequality. First, it establishes a fundamental paradigmatic shift in how one thinks about unjust power relations. Second, it challenges current ideas about what counts as knowledge (Collins, 2000, p.273). Collins includes the voices of women who are not usually considered scholars, such as musicians, artists, and community leaders. She notes, "Developing Black feminist thought as critical social theory involves including the ideas of Black women not previously considered intellectuals many of whom may be working-class women with jobs outside academia... The ideas we share with one another as mothers in extended families, as other mothers in the Black communities, as members of Black churches, and as teachers to the Black community's children have formed a pivotal area where African American women have hammered out a multifaceted Black women's standpoint (Collins, 2000, p. 17). She also states:

> As critical social theory, Black feminist thought encompasses bodies of knowledge and sets of institutional practices that actively grapple with central questions facing U.S. Black women as a group. Such theory recognizes that U. S. Black women constitute one group among many that are differently placed within situations of injustice. What makes critical social theory "critical" is its

> commitment to justice for one's own groups and for other groups. Within these parameters, knowledge for knowledge's sake is not enough. Black Feminist Thought must both be tied to Black women's lived experiences and aim to better those experiences in some fashion. When such thought is sufficiently grounded in Black feminist practice, it reflects this dialogical relationship. Black feminist thought encompasses general knowledge that helps U.S. Black women survive in, cope with, and resist our differential treatment. (Collins, 2000, p. 31)

This study employs the concepts of Intersectionality and Black Feminist Thought in order to reveal the lived experiences of low-income Black women who have transitioned from public housing into a mixed-income community in Chicago. Such an analysis shifts the discussion away from dominant mainstream views and focuses on the experiences of Black women. It also embarrasses organic knowledge and intellectual traditions that come from outside of the academy. Furthermore, this framework allows for a micro and macro examination of structural inequality and for the full consideration of how race, class, and gender shape one's relationship with systematic forms of oppression and power.

Systems of Domination. Zinn and Dill (1994) contend that patterns of hierarchy, domination, and oppression based on race, class, gender and sexual orientation are built into the structure of our society. Thus, inequality is grounded in social constructions that are used to create hierarchies of power and privilege. The authors work from a social constructionist framework as they posit that race, class, and gender hierarchies situate people differently, where those at the top of the hierarchy are dependent on the exploitation of those at the bottom (p.5). They go on to state that race, class, and gender

create a Matrix of Domination that women of color experience at the levels of personal biography, group cultural levels, and social institutions.

In *Black Feminist Thought* Collins (2000) presents the Matrix of Domination as a way to analyze the structural components of intersectionality. She stresses that intersectionality refers to particular forms of intersecting oppressions, for example race, class, and gender. However, the Matrix of Domination refers to how these intersecting oppressions are actually organized regardless of the particular intersections involved. The Matrix of Domination reveals four domains of power: structural, disciplinary, hegemonic, and interpersonal. The structural domain organizes oppression, for example federal housing policies at the legislative level. Disciplinary domains manage oppression through forms of surveillance and social policies. This domain is most readily seen in policies and procedures that regulate the lives of public housing residents. The hegemonic domain justifies oppression as natural and controls ideology, culture, and consciousness as evidenced by the images and perceptions of low-income families, their neighborhoods, and assumptions about their moral character. Finally, the interpersonal domain refers to the influence of everyday interactions at the micro level of social organization, for example looking at the everyday lived experiences of public housing residents. Each domain is interrelated, reappears across different forms of oppression, and serves a particular purpose (p.18). Collins points out that the configuration contains few "pure" victims or oppressors (287). The Matrix of Domination positions power, not as something that groups possess, but rather as an intangible entity that circulates within a particular Matrix of Domination and to which individuals stand in varying relationships.

An intersections framework grounded in the principles of Black feminist thought changes how African American women are studied because it places Black women at the center of analysis, deconstructs racist and sexist images of African American women, and allows for self-definition. Andersen and Collins (2001) provide several reasons why it is important to shift the center of inquiry in order to reconstruct knowledge. First, learning about other groups helps one realize the partiality of his/her perspective. In addition, when people have misleading or incorrect knowledge, this leads to the formation of bad policies, and when this happens marginalized groups do not receive the social, economic, and political resources needed to maintain a quality standard of living. Finally, what you know frames how you behave, think, and feel about yourself and others (p.15). Examining the lived experiences of Black women who formerly lived in Cabrini Green and now live in North Town Village in order to reveal their relationship with the process of policy reform, contributes to the work that is being done on mixed-income communities. It considers how structural, disciplinary, hegemonic and interpersonal domains of power intersect race, class, and gender to shape the everyday lived experiences of these women. Furthermore, grounding the study in an Intersectional framework challenges research that isolates race, class, or gender as independent variables and thus, acknowledges the need for continued scholarship that examines the interconnectedness of race, class, and gender oppression.

The purpose of this study is to examine the lived experiences of nine low-income Black women who transitioned out of public housing into a newly constructed mixed-income community under the Chicago Housing Authority's *Plan for Transformation*. This is accomplished by first, by examining sociopolitical factors that influence logistical

aspects of the *Plan*; and second, by capturing the voices and experiences of the participants in order to understand their relocation experiences. The study is guided by the principles of Intersectionality and Black Feminist Thought.

Research Questions

1. How does viewing low-income Black woman as agents of knowledge inform one's understanding of the Chicago Housing Authority's *Plan for Transformation*?
2. How do logistical and programmatic aspects of the Chicago Housing Authority's *Plan for Transformation* impact the participants of this study?
3. What strategies do the participants employ to overcome the structural inequalities and limitations they may face as a result of recent housing policy changes?
4. Do the participants relocation and transition experiences align with the Chicago Housing Authority stated goals and objectives as presented in the *Plan for Transformation*?

Key Terms and Concepts

Central Advisory Council (CAC) - The CAC is comprised of the presidents of the local residents councils at each CHA development. This council serves on the behalf of all CHA residents in an effort to mediate residents' concerns with the CHA administration.

CHA- Chicago Housing Authority

Concentration of Poverty- A term used to describe a community that consists primarily of low-income, poor, and improvised individuals and families where 40 percent or more of the population is impoverished. These are generally communities that have been isolated from vital resources including social services, jobs, and infrastructure. Theorists contend that prolonged exposure to such an environment limits and reduces one's social capital and life chances (Goetz, 2003).

Coping Strategy- Behaviors or acts that individuals or groups engage in to subvert dominate systems and discriminatory practices.

Domains of Power - Intersections theorists acknowledge that inequality is grounded in social constructions that are used to create hierarchies of power and privilege. The Matrix of Domination reveals four domains of power: structural, disciplinary, hegemonic, and interpersonal. The structural domain organizes oppression; the disciplinary domains manage oppression through forms of surveillance and social polices; the hegemonic domain justifies oppression as natural and controls ideology culture, and consciousness; and the interpersonal domain refers to the influence of everyday interactions at the micro level of social organization (Collins, 2000; Zinn & Dill, 1994).

Good Neighbor Class – This program was established in 1999 as part of the CHA's *Plan for Transformation*. The purpose of the class is to help residents make a successful transition from public housing into their new communities. Workshop topics include: Moving to a new neighborhood, getting established, budgeting for a new environment, understanding neighborhood values, adopting neighborhood etiquette, understanding your responsibilities as a neighborhood resident, and being of service to the community.

General Area- Defined as an area where less than thirty percent of the population is Black. This definition emerges from the Gautreaux court settlement.

Emboundment – A concept that explains what happens federal reforms do not consider the "in between spaces" that poor women occupy. Thus leaving them vulnerable to further subjugation especially when the state revamps policies while also withdrawing resources (Miranne, 2000).

Everyday Resistance – Daily acts of community activism that marginalized groups engage in, that challenge forms of oppression and domination (Feldman & Stall, 2004).

Housing Opportunities for People Everywhere (HOPE VI)- A housing program sponsored by the federal government which covers expenses related to public housing demolition, construction, and social services for public housing residents. The first HOPE VI grants were awarded in 1993.

Intersectionality- A theoretical framework that examines the interlocking nature of race, class, and gender and considers how these variables are socially constructed and simultaneously interact with systems of domination that perpetuate systematic forms of inequality (Collins, 2000; Zinn & Dill, 2000).

Limited Area- An area where more than 30 percent of the population is Black.

Matrix of Domination - An organizing mechanism that considers the structural, disciplinary, hegemonic, and interpersonal domains of power (Collins, 2000).

Mixed-Income Communities – A current housing strategy that seeks to reduce concentrated poverty through the creation of housing developments where varieties of social economic groups are represented. Generally speaking, these developments consist of one-third public housing, one-third affordable housing, and one third-market rate homes

North Town Village – (NTV) A newly created 70 billion dollar mixed income community located in the Near North Section of Chicago adjacent to Cabrini Green, bordering the Gold Coast and Lincoln Park.

Open Gallery Style High-Rises – Public housing building with eight or more stories with hallways and elevator entrances that are fully or partially exposed. These buildings have no internal hallways.

Plan for Transformation- The Chicago Housing Authority's housing initiative that seeks to deconcentrate poverty by redeveloping and rehabilitating 25,000 units of their public housing stock.

Private Management Company (PMC) – Under the *Plan for Transformation*, the CHA transfers responsibility and governance of their properties and residents to private management companies. As such PMCs are now responsible for screening public housing residents in order to determine if applicants will make suitable community members.

Scattered Site Public Housing - Projects of fewer than 15 units located in non-minority concentrated neighborhoods.

Section 8/Housing Choice Voucher Program - A government subsidy program that provides tenant-based housing assistance to low-income families in order to facilitate housing choice. The program was originally entitled Section 8; however it is now referred to as the Section 8 Housing Choice Voucher Program. Section 8 and HCV are used interchangeably throughout the text. While under the Section 8 system individuals were limited to finding an apartment listed at the determined fair market value, under the Housing Choice voucher system, individuals can rent a place that exceeds fair market rent as long as they are willing to pay the difference between the government subsidy and the management determined rent.

Social Capital- Defined as the investment and use of embedded resources in social relations for expected returns. This may include the quantity and/or quality of resources that the actor or a group can access or use through its location in a social network (Lin, 2000).

Social Location – Social location refers to one's position in society; it is a place where one is located in the social order based on race, class, and gender. It takes into consideration hierarchal systems that grant or withhold social opportunities. In addition, social location is fluid and depends on context. Where one stands in the world determines how he/she sees, experiences, and explains it (Andersen & Collins, 2001; Collins, 2000; Zinn & Dill, 1994; Mullings, 1997; Webber, 2001).

CHAPTER III

Methodology

Through in-depth interviews, document analysis, and field research this embedded case study investigates the lived experiences of nine Black women who formerly lived in Cabrini Green, a Chicago public housing development, and now live in North Town Village, one of the newly created mixed-income communities created under the Chicago Housing Authority's *Plan for Transformation.* The study first, examines factors that shape the logistical aspects of the *Plan* and then presents the voices and of the participants in order to understand their experiences and reactions to the *Plan.* The following questions shape the study: (1) How does viewing low-income Black woman as agents of knowledge inform one's understanding of the Chicago Housing Authority's *Plan for Transformation*? (2) How do logistical and programmatic aspects of the Chicago Housing Authority's *Plan for Transformation* impact the participants of this study? (3) What strategies do the participants employ to overcome the structural inequalities and limitations they may face as a result of recent housing policy changes? (4) Do the participants relocation and transition experiences align with the Chicago Housing Authority stated goals and objectives as presented in the *Plan for Transformation*?

The purpose of this chapter is to discuss the methodological framework and investigative approaches used in this study. To accomplish this I first highlight the importance of using a method that allows for naturalistic forms of inquiry. I then discuss the importance of viewing the researcher as a tool that shapes and informs the study thus,

stressing the need for reflexivity. The latter part of the chapter unpacks the study design highlighting data sources, collection, and analysis.

Since its inception, the CHA's *Plan for Transformation* has received considerable attention from scholars, activists, public policy makers, and the public. While there are several surveys that evaluate the program and tenant satisfaction (Popkin, Harris & Cunningham, 2002; Rosenbaum, Stroh & Flynn, 1996; Rosenbaum, Harris & Denton, 2002), very few studies provide a detailed analysis of the impact the *Plan* has had on residents nor do other assessments seek to understand the residents' experience with the process. By and large, the voices of African-American women have either been excluded or left out of the larger conversation that shapes and informs this issue. However, Black women who live in public housing offer a perspective on this topic that transcends other forms of inquiry. Their unique social location gives them a view of this process that administrators, city officials, and employees at the CHA do not have.

Patricia Hill Collins (2000) highlights the importance of viewing Black women as agents of knowledge. She discusses how African-American women have developed their own worldview from interactions in family, community, jobs, and from their outsider within social location (p.11). Since people create and negotiate meanings based on their social location, others can only come to know and understand these meanings when the person discloses or reveals these meanings to another. Thus, it is important to collect and present the voices of these women so that one might form a more complete and holistic view of the CHA's *Plan*.

Qualitative Approaches

A research method that allows for the consideration of reality as a social construction is an essential part of the project. Furthermore, the method must recognize that there are multiple constructed realities that cannot be understood in isolation from their contexts. Clough and Nutbrown (2002) note "Qualitative researchers stress the socially constructed nature of reality, the intimate relationship between the researcher and what is studied, and the situational constraints that shape inquiry" (p.19). Researchers note that qualitative methods permit the investigator to engage in an in-depth and detailed study of selected issues and real people. In addition, the method allows the investigator to structure the study in such a way that valuable data is produced while still maintaining enough flexibility to allow for a creative process of re-constructing meaning. Michael Patton (1990) asserts that a qualitative inquiry emphasizes and builds on several interconnected themes. First, qualitative inquiry concerns itself with naturalistic inquiry, studying real world situations as they unfold naturally. It is also an inductive analysis, immersed in the details and specifics of the data to discover important categories, dimensions, and interrelationships. Furthermore, it assumes each case is special and unique as it respects and captures the details of the individual cases being studied. Furthermore, qualitative research is also concerned with situating findings in a social, historical, and temporal context. In addition, the approach recognizes that complete objectivity is impossible and pure subjectivity undermines credibility. Patton asserts that the researcher's passion is understanding the world in all its complexity—not proving something, not advocating, not advancing personal agendas, but understanding. An important part of the process is the personal experience and empathic insight that the

researcher includes. Finally, in qualitative investigations the design of the study is flexible, open to adapting inquiry as understanding deepens or the situation changes. The researcher avoids being locked into rigid designs that eliminate responsiveness and pursues new paths of discovery as they emerge (Patton, 1990).

Over the years feminist scholars have readily employed qualitative methods to raise consciousness about women's subjectivity (MacKinnon, 1982) and also acknowledge that there are multiple forms of knowledge (Anzaldúa, 1987; Chow, 1987; Collins, 1990; Davis, 1981; Dill; 1979; Green, 1990; hooks, 1990) generated by an individual's unique social location. Writings by and about women of color (Collins, 1986; Hurtado, 1989; Zinn, 1990; Zinn & Dill, 2000) moved feminist research toward a greater recognition of the interplay of race, class, and gender in shaping women's oppression. Scholars assertively addressed the absence of women's experiences from mainstream discourse noting that the importance of situating individual experiences rather than perpetuating essentialist assumptions. Olsen (2000) contends that the concept of the essentialized, universal women disappeared as standpoint theorist articled the need to examine various perspectives within context. Researchers (Smith, 1974; Collins, 1998; Hartsock, 1983; Harding,1997) argued that all knowledge claims are socially located and that some social locations, especially those at the bottom of social and economic hierarchies, are better than others as starting points for seeking knowledge.

Qualitative methods best fit the scope of this study because they allow for the consideration of multiple social realities and privilege the rich data that comes from an in-depth analysis. In addition, these approaches do not seek to provide generalizations but rather find value in the representation of individual experiences. Qualitative approaches

employ inductive analysis meaning that the patterns, themes, and categories of analysis come from the data; they emerge out of the data rather than being imposed on them prior to data collection and analysis (Patton, 1990). Furthermore, organizing the project as an embedded case study allows these women's stories to be placed in their proper context and understood in relation to the sociopolitical processes that shape their experience. The embedded case study design acknowledges the primary program, in this case the CHA's *Plan for Transformation*, but also seeks to understand how additional aspects, or subunits, are influenced or influence the program. Thus, this approach allowed the researcher to use the experiences of the participants in the program as a way to understand and evaluate aspects of the program's overall effectiveness. Patton notes that case studies become particularly useful when one needs to understand some special people, particular problem, or unique situation in great depth, and where one can identify cases rich in information where a great deal can be learned from a few exemplars of the phenomenon in question (Patton, 1990). A case study can be a person, an event, a program, an organization, a time period a critical incident, or a community. Regardless of the unit of analysis, a qualitative case study seeks to describe that unit in depth and detail, in context, and holistically (Patton, 1990). Utilizing in-depth interviews, document analysis, and field research, this embedded case study embraces the principles and strategies of qualitative inquiry.

Qualitative studies generally consist of three kinds of data collection: (1) in-depth, open-ended interviews; (2) direct observation; and (3) analysis of written documents (Patton, 1990, p.10). Interviews generate unique data, which is based on people's experiences, opinions, feelings, and knowledge. These allow the researcher to

collect more nuanced information about the lives and experiences of the participants. Furthermore, informants are not locked into a closed question with predetermined answers, but are given the opportunity for openness and uninhibited discovery. Specifically, McCracken (1988) advocates the use of the long interview for data collection in qualitative studies:

> The long interview is one of the most powerful methods in the qualitative armory. For certain descriptive and analytic purposes, no instrument of inquiry is more revealing. The method can take us into the mental world of the individual, to glimpse the categories and logic by which he or she sees the world. It can also take us into the life world of the individual, to see the content and pattern of daily experience. The long interview gives us the opportunity to step into the mind of another person, to see and experience the world as he/she do themselves. (p. 9)

This form of interviewing can be implemented in structured, semi-structured, or unstructured formats. Hence, depending on the subject and the context, individual interviews allow for optimal adaptability. This approach helps investigators recreate individual experiences so that they may be shared and understood by others. In addition, anchoring interviews with in-depth critical document analysis, which yields excerpts, quotations, or entire passages from organizational, records, memoranda, and correspondence, allows the researcher to present a more holistic assessment of the issues under evaluation.

Role of the Researcher

An essential component of qualitative approaches is acknowledging the researcher as an instrument that directly and indirectly shapes and influences the study

(Frankenberg & Mani, 1993; Millen, 1997; Phoneix, 1994; Reay, 1998; Rissman, 1987). Understanding the researcher as an instrument is a useful metaphor in that it emphasizes that the investigator cannot fulfill qualitative research objectives without using a broad range of his or her own experiences, imagination, and intellect in ways that are various and unpredictable (Denzin & Linclon, 2000; Miles, 1979; Patton, 1990). Maxine Baca Zinn (1979) considers the problems and advantages minority investigators face when researching minority groups, especially when they are an "insider" or member of the group. There are two prevailing opinions regarding insider-outsider usefulness and validity when it comes to research with minority populations. Opponents argue that non-minority researchers are better qualified for such investigations because minority scholars may lack the required objectivity. Baca Zinn notes however, that this view fails to consider issues such as minority people's distrust and resistance to research in general, more specifically when this involves White researchers. Baca Zinn acknowledges that researchers who are insiders can fall into the same trap of exploiting their participants; however, minority scholars have some empirical and methodological advantages in the situation. One of the unique advantages of insider field research is that it is less apt to encourage distrust, hostility, and exclusion from the community. It also prevents researchers from "seeing" only what the participants want them to see (212). With regard to critiques about insider researcher subjectivity, Baca Zinn states that "as long as researchers follow established procedures and logically relate their conclusion to the data, they are systematically guarding against bias, whatever their background" (213). The overarching idea is that researchers must carry out research with ethical and intellectual integrity.

Focusing specifically on Black female researchers that interview Black female informants Few, Stephens, Rouse-Arnett (2003) note that even when researches share race and gender with their informants, barriers are still possible because of differences in class, sexual orientation, ethnicity, or nationality. The authors contend that the 'isms' of daily life—racism, sexism, and classism, for example, must be negotiated with informants throughout the research process. They argue that sharing certain identities is not enough to presume an insider status because idiosyncrasies are embedded in our identities that inevitably create moments of intimacy and distance between informant and researcher. Few, Stephens, Rouse-Arnett (2003), offer five suggestions for researchers to consider when interviewing Black women. These include (a) contextualizing research, (b) contextualizing self in the research process, (c) monitoring symbolic power in the representation of the process, (d) triangulating multiple sources, and (e) caring for the informants in the research process.

Given that the researcher is a critical part of the study design, data collection, and analysis in qualitative studies, it is important for the investigators to engage in processes of reflexivity in order to critically examine and explore the analytical nature of the research process (Collins, 1998; Fonow & Cook, 2005; Few, Stephens, Rouse-Arnett, 2003). Collins asserts, "Qualitative researchers must take care to develop and maintain an informed reflexive consciousness. To contextualize skillfully their own subjectivity in the data interpretation and the re/presentation of metanarratives in the research process" (as cited in Olesen, 2000, p.219). Likewise Few, Stephens, Rouse-Arnett (2003) contend that the researcher must be reflexively attuned to dynamics of the informant-researcher relationship with the goal of minimizing the hierarchies of differential power. The

authors declare, "As Black women who study Black women, we must remember that our informants are not mere subjects of research but active agents in defining who we are and have been and why we do things the way we do as a diverse yet collective group" (Few, Stephens, Rouse-Arnett, 2003, p.210). The tradition of reflexivity has roots in feminist traditions especially those approaches that allowed for the examination of women's 'lived experience,' as a way to recover what had been omitted or distorted in academic knowledge about women and gender thus giving women a voice in the construction of new knowledge (Allen, 2000; Bell-Scott, 1982; Collins, 1998, 2000; Dilworth-Anderson, Burton, & Johnson, 1993; Fonow & Cook, 2005; McAdoo, 1991). Furthermore, Fonow & Cook (2005) comment that reflexivity also allows researchers to consciously write themselves into the text and reflect on the meaning of the research. Therefore, understanding the researcher's social location helps to reveal the process of knowledge production. It is within these above-mentioned traditions that I take the time to acknowledge my social location so that reader might understand how my position shaped the design of this study.

Background of the Investigator. I was born in South Bend, Indiana and at the age of five, my family moved to Cedar Rapids, Iowa. Both cities are similar in that they are small urban cities, comprised primarily of working and middle class families, and situated in predominantly White communities. In Iowa, my family lived in a predominantly White neighborhood where I attended a predominantly White school, and had mostly White friends. Looking back, I do not recall any overt incidents with racism, yet I do recall inherently understanding that there was a "difference" between Black and White people. My parents had a strong support system comprised primarily of other

Black people in the city and my father was extremely active with civil rights issues and the local NAACP. Thus, even though I was surrounded by Whiteness, early on I developed a racial consciousness and was able to recognize forms of differential treatment based on race.

My parents divorced when I was twelve and when I turned fourteen, my mother, sister and I moved to Cincinnati, Ohio. For the first time, I was exposed to a large urban community with a substantial Black population. However, despite, or maybe in spite of, the fact that there was more ethnic diversity in Cincinnati, the city was riddled with more obvert forms of institutional racism, most evident in the segregated school system, and housing patterns in comparison to Iowa. In Cincinnati, I distinctly recall the Klu Klux Klan holding several rallies in a popular downtown area known as "The Square," located just a few blocks away from my high school.

Not only did my racial awareness change as a result of sociopolitical factors in the city, I was also exposed to a type of poverty that I had not known before. We lived in a working class section of the city known as Mt. Airy and the high school I attended, *The School for the Creative and Performing Arts*, was located in downtown Cincinnati, an area surrounded by poverty, blight, and buildings that had fallen into disrepair. The move to Ohio and separation from my father also placed a great deal of financial hardship on my mother who was able to secure a job as an assistant manager at McDonalds, a drastic change from the professional accountant position she held in Iowa. When we first moved to Cincinnati, we initially leased a room in a house from a family friend. Later, we moved into a three-bedroom apartment in a low and moderate-income housing complex where rent varied according to income. At that time, I did not recognize the "hazards" of the

community such as the unkempt property, the drug dealers in the park, or the security issues connected with the other part of the complex just around the corner. From my teenage perspective, our apartment seemed nice, especially when I compared it to the area that surrounded my school. Reflecting back now, I can appreciate my family's delicate financial situation and I now realize how close to the poverty line we lived. While I understood the difference between wealth and poverty, I never felt like my family was poor. However, sociologists today would certainly characterize our situation as such. Thanks to my mother's direction early in life, I developed an appreciation for books and the type of opportunities an education afforded. After high school, I went on to attend Ohio University and from there pursued both a Master's and Doctorate degree at Central Michigan University and Michigan State University respectively. My socioeconomic standing throughout my educational pursuits did not change; however, the prestige associated with attaining educational degrees shifted my social capital and the opportunities afforded me. As a Black woman who grew up in a single parent working class family and who later in life was immersed in the world of academia, my social location influences the insight and perspectives that I bring to the study.

Project Design

I first became aware of the public housing changes occurring in Chicago after viewing an episode of 60 minutes II. Detailing the CHA's *Plan for Transformation*, the show tackled the agency's intention to tear down all public housing high-rises in the city and create new mixed-income communities where residents would live next to homeowners who paid full market value—more than $300,000— for their home. I was intrigued by the documentary and left with a number of questions about the impact that

this new policy would have on public housing residents, communities, and race relations in general. I started discussing the issues with friends, family, and colleagues and soon the research possibilities began to materialize.

After some initial investigation, I was overwhelmed by the sheer amount of information on the topic. However, I also began to notice that the voices of the residents and their reactions to and experience with the changes that were occurring were missing from the discussion. While there was a great deal of information about the programmatic aspects of the Plan provided by the CHA and news reports, the residents' voices were obscured.

The CHA's transformation is a ten-year project that was approved in 1999 and formerly began in 2000. When I started my field research, the agency was in its third year of the plan and at the time that I was making critical decisions about which community I would focus on, there were only five mixed-income developments completed. North Town Village, the first community completed under this plan, emerged as a better choice because of its size, the number of years it had been in operation, and the fact that the community was being held up as a national model for other mixed-income communities.

Prior to going into the field, I had done a great deal of secondary reading and had a good understanding of the issues that surrounded the topic and the questions I would have wanted addressed. However, because I wanted to honor the principles of qualitative investigation, I also wanted to allow enough flexibility to let the issues emerge from my discussions with the informants. Therefore, I did not want to limit or set parameters to the research questions.

Initially my focus was on the tenant selection process for mixed-income communities. Given the limited amount of space available in these communities for public housing residents, I was interested in how some residents were selected over others. While I was able to secure a number of documents that detailed the policies and procedures associated with tenant selection from the CHA, I was not able to observe the process nor interview residents who had recently undergone the process. After I recognized that I would not be able to gain direct access into this part of the program, I decided to triangulate the data sources with documents from the CHA, newspapers, and reflections that residents could offer during interviews. It was not until the actual interviews unfolded that I quickly realized that participants were more interested in discussing their present day experiences and concerns, rather than the tenant selection process and transitions that had occurred several years prior. Rather than try to configure their narratives to my predetermined categories, I let their stories emerge and unfold so that the essence or totality of their experiences could be understood.

Gaining Entry

Gaining access to the project site was one of my greatest concerns, especially since I was not from the Chicago area and had no established connections in the city. While researching the subject, I kept a list of key people and organizations that might be able to help facilitate access to the residents I was interested in interviewing. Since I was not able to obtain contact information about the residents from the CHA, I decided to send letters to these possible liaisons. I explained the nature of the project and asked for their assistance. Out of the twenty letters sent, I received one response from a housing activist who while not affiliated with the CHA worked from on of

their properties. My conversations with this individual provided a great deal of information about key people to contact and public meetings that I could attend. I started attending the CHA committee and board meetings that were open to the public and during these meetings; I took notes on the discussion and observed the interaction among board members and residents. These efforts provided valuable information about the *Plan* and the administration's attitude toward the *Plan*.

The CHA estimates that by the *Plan 's* completion, they will have rebuilt or rehabilitated 25,000 units of public housing. Given the enormity of the project, the agency divided work functions into timeframes according to project site. During various aspects of the work plan, the CHA is required to hold public comment periods where residents or other interested parties can ask questions or voice their concerns. While in Chicago, I attended a number of these meetings and while the meetings did not specifically relate to the project site that I was investigating, it gave me the opportunity to conceptualize the larger issues that were influencing the CHA's decisions and the community response to the initiative. Furthermore, I was able to make contact with administrators at the CHA, which later proved to be beneficial in connecting with residents at North Town Village.

During the summer of 2003, I lived in Chicago so that I could conduct interviews and field research. I returned to the project site in May of 2004 and remained until October of the same year. Even when I was not living in Chicago, I frequently made extended trips to the city to continue my investigations. The extended stays in the area gave me the opportunity to immerse myself into the community and become more familiar with the project site. As part of my field

research, I frequented the community library, parks, grocery stores, and participated in community activities like National Night Out and community block parties. These events gave me the opportunity to experience the community, make connections with residents and identify participants for the study.

I first gained full access to the community through the assistance of an administrator at the Chicago Housing Authority. Her assistance proved to be invaluable as she helped arrange interviews with employees at the CHA and residents who had relocated. Furthermore, she answered a number of questions I had about the *Plan* and its process, and escorted me to a number of CHA sites that were undergoing revitalization. My interactions with her helped me understand her commitment to the *Plan* and her sincere desire to make a difference in the lives of the residents.

Sources of Data

Multiple data sources shape and inform this study. However, the most salient data comes from interviews conducted with former Cabrini Green residents who now live in North Town Village (NTV). In order to place the participants' stories in their proper context, I used primary source material from the CHA, which includes memos, brochures, meeting minutes, annual reports, and policy and procedure manuals to supplement the interviews. In addition, I also used articles from local newspapers, field notes and additional interviews conducted with CHA employees, a housing activist, and homeowners in North Town Village. The study moves from a macro to micro level of analysis in order to provide a more holistic view of the issues under investigation.

North Town Village is a 70-million dollar development with 261 condominiums ranging in market value from $300,000 to $500,000. The housing mix consists of 1/3 market rate homes, 1/3 affordable housing, and 1/3 public housing, which means that 79 units in North Town Village are specifically earmarked as public housing. I conducted in-depth interviews with nine Black women who relocated from Cabrini Green to North Town Village. Ambert, Adler, Adler and Detzner (1995) note, "An adequate sample depends on the type of questions poised, the complexity of the model studied, and the availability of informants or of text... and the purpose of the study" (p. 885). Since the project does not seek to represent the totality of the experiences of all residents who have transitioned, the sample size works well for the purposes of this study.

Quantitative and qualitative evaluations inherently seek to answer different questions. Over the years scholars have worked vigorously to establish and justify the credibility of qualitative approaches (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000, Patton, 1990) arguing that significant difference in epistemological constructions negating comparison or discussions about the effectiveness of one approach over the other. Nonetheless, qualitative studies continue to be criticized for the lack of objectivity and generalizabilty (Stake, 1980) or the degree to which the findings can be generalized from the study sample to the entire population.

However, it is important to note that qualitative studies are not generalizable in the traditional sense of the word, nor do they claim to be (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000; Donmoyer, 1990; Patton, 1990). Partial generalizations may be possible to similar populations however, Myers (2000) notes that this is not the primary concern of qualitative research, for the knowledge generated by qualitative research is significant in

its own right. Furthermore, Denzin & Lincoln (2000) contend that the value of the case study is its uniqueness; consequently, reliability in the traditional sense of replicability is pointless. The experiences of the participants in this study are not intended to represent the experiences of all low-income Black women who have gone through the Chicago Housing Authority's *Plan for Transformation*. Rather their stories are meant to provide valuable insights about the *Plan* that are not available from other sources and more importantly to honor the perspectives, insights, and knowledge that these women offer to the discussion of the viability mixed-income communities as poverty deconcentration strategy.

The women who are included in the study indicated an interest in participating by responding to a flyer that was circulated in the community, thus representing a convenience sample. Going into the study, I knew that in order to honor these women's stories given my resources, I would need to work with a small sample size. By the time that I reached interview number nine, I knew that the data I had collected was rich in detail and provided a level of understanding about the topic that I had not garnered from other sources. Furthermore, this was a manageable number to work with, given my resources. Ambert et al., (1995) note that evaluators should consider the fact that qualitative research generally requires a great deal of time expenditure on the part of the researcher. The authors go on to assert, "the problem with qualitative research is not that of limited data generated from a small sample but rather the sheer quantity of the data that must be analyzed.... Resources, time, depth and purpose of the research place practical limitations, often on sample size requirements" (p. 886). Patton (1990) notes the validity, meaningfulness, and insights generated from qualitative inquiry have more

to do with information richness of the cases selected and the observational/analytical capabilities of the researcher than with the sample size. It should be noted however that the researcher made repeated efforts to try and ascertain demographic information about the public housing residents living in North Town Village in order to better understand the context of the study. However, despite numerous attempts she was never able to gather this information from the Management company.

A total of 17 interviews with participants in four different categories were conducted. The categories are as follows: nine interviews with public housing residents who had transitioned into North Town Village; five interviews with homeowners and renters that live in North Town Village; two interviews with CHA administrators; and the final interview was with housing activist. The interviews ranged in length from 30 minutes to two hours. When necessary, follow-up telephone interviews were conducted. The participants in the first group were given $25.00 for their participation; the other interviewees were not monetarily compensated, but rather were offered copies of the final analysis if they so desired.

The first interview that I conducted with a participant from the first category helped to refine the interview schedule and my interview techniques. I found that a number of my questions were too broad; it helped the participants get started if I identified a specific aspect of the *Plan* or incident for them to talk about. (Interview schedules for all groups are presented in the appendix). Furthermore, after this first interview, I discovered that because I was extremely concerned with building common ground and connecting with the participants, I did a great deal of the talking. While I was not opposed to sharing my story, the goal of the project was for me to elicit the

participants' stories. In later interviews, I became more aware of what I was contributing to the discussion and worked at building trust and rapport in a way that supported the participant in sharing their story. This involved taking time to interact with them before the interview through activities that included walking around the neighborhood, playing with their kids, looking at family photos, and talking with grandchildren. I found that these interactions allowed me to step out of the story and allow the participants' experiences to come to the forefront.

All nine participants in the first group were African-American women who had formerly lived in Cabrini Green and now live in North Town Village. They ranged in age from 31 to 62. Each of them has children; five were employed; two were on disability, and one was working toward completing her GED. The second group consists of three homeowners and two renters who live in North Town Village. All are White and range in age from 26 to 35. One is an investment banker in his late twenties who lives with his fiancé. One woman is a homemaker in her mid-thirties who lives in the community with her husband. Another woman in her late thirties has two jobs, which she did not specify. The two renters are graduate students in their late twenties. I talked with two CHA administrators[1]—Kate Murray a White woman in her mid-thirties, and Lisa Jones a Black woman in her mid thirties. Finally, I also spoke with investigative reporter who was also a public housing resident advocate.

Data Collection

All interviews took place during a fifteen-month period between July 2003 and October 2004. At the beginning of each interview, I went over the participant consent

[1] Pseudonyms are used to protect the participants' identities.

form, which explained the nature of the study, the manner in which confidentiality would be handled, and the name of the person they should contact if they had any questions or concerns about the procedure. Consent forms were divided into two categories, resident and non-resident, both of which are included in the appendix. The University Committee on Rights Involving Human Subjects at Michigan State University approved the study and consent forms. All of the interviews were audiotaped in order to ensure accuracy when reviewing and transcribing the interviews. While an interview schedule was used, the questions were designed to be open-ended in order to allow participants to go into depth and detail with their responses. In addition, there were a number of items discussed, which were not part of the original questions but those which participants were encouraged to explore. With almost every interview, after the tape recorder was turned off, regardless of the individual, people became more candid and "comfortable" with the discussion. To accommodate this, I took notes after each interview, often recording my own thoughts, reactions and summaries of what the participants shared. Finally, thank-you cards were sent to the participants within two weeks of each interview.

Primary source materials were collected from agency materials including meeting minutes, reports, brochures, and published materials. In addition, historical documents were collected from special collections at the Chicago Historical Society and the Harold Washington Library. Newspaper reports spanning the 1950s to the present also shaped and informed the study. Finally, while in the field, I kept a research journal where I recorded my observations, reactions, research challenges, and post interview reactions. When relevant, this information is presented in the analysis.

Analyzing the Data

Once the interviews were completed, each interview was transcribed in its entirety. When the initial transcription was completed, it was checked several times against the original audio recording to ensure accuracy. After all of the interviews in participant groups had been completed, each individual transcript was coded in order to identify themes, commonalities, and differences among stories that were shared.

For the initial coding, each transcript was examined separately. There were no predetermined categories that were created; rather the categories emerged from the participants statements'. For each statement, a summary phrase was assigned and this was based on the content of the statement. Summary phrases were broad in language, yet uniquely designed to fit the statement. Examples of the categories created include perceptions of self, motivating factors for staying on the North side, and home inspections. For the Black female participants who had formerly lived in Cabrini Green and now live in North Town Village, this initial process produced 133 categories for all nine transcripts. Each category was then checked for frequency to determine how many times the same category had been used to describe different statements among the interviewees. For the most of the items, there was a great deal of overlap. The next step was to reduce the number of categories in order to provide some organization to the data. Using the 133 categories, I created nineteen broad categories under which all of the statements could be organized. Examples of these categories include demographic information, community, and children. Once these broad categories had been created, each individual interview transcript was reorganized in order to group like-content statements together. Once this was completed for each individual, the same process was

used to group all of the women's statements together under the nineteen areas. There were statements, which were unique and did not relate to other statements. In such cases, they were not grouped, and instead, appear within the data chapters when appropriate.

The purpose of this study is to present the voices and experiences of low-income Black women who have been excluded from the public discourse on the CHA's *Plan for Transformation*. It has been previously noted that employing an Intersections approach helps one consider how individuals interact with systems of power. Therefore, the four domains of power represented by the Matrix of Domination provide a useful framework to help situate the data. Chapter four presents the logistics of the CHA's *Plan for Transformation* and as such reveals the structural domain, which organizes subjugation, which in this case is largely exhibited through federal housing policies and legislative mandates. The disciplinary domain, which manages oppression through forms of surveillance and social policies, is used to help situate chapter five and six, which presents the residents' experiences with the relocation process and site-specific policies and procedures. The interpersonal domain of the matrix that refers to the influence of everyday lived experiences at the micro level of social organization, also frames chapter six, which presents the women's experiences from a view of containment practices and social capital. The hegemonic domain of the matrix, which justifies oppression as natural and controls ideology, culture, and consciousness, is seen throughout chapters four, five, and six. It is important to note that the four domains of power represented in the Matrix of Domination are not mutually exclusive, but are rather interconnected and overlap, so that one may examine the multiple interlocking levels of domination that stem from societal configurations of race, class, and gender.

CHAPTER IV

Building New Communities
Shaping a New Vision of Public Housing in Chicago

The CHA *Plan for Transformation* was conceived of during an era of public housing reform; hence, it is important to understand how federal mandates that emerged from the Commission on Severely Distressed Public Housing and HOPE VI initiatives have shaped various aspects of the *Plan*. The purpose of this chapter is to present the logistical and programmatic components of the *Plan for Transformation*. To accomplish this CHA documents, primary source archive materials, and information gathered from interviews with CHA administrators are used to understand the multifaceted components of the *Plan* and the social political context that it emerged from and currently exists in.

Context for the Plan for Transformation

In Chicago, neglected maintenance and upkeep of public housing projects coupled with poor administration left residents trapped in deteriorating, rat-infested buildings, which eventually fell into disrepair (Feldman & Stall, 2004; Kotlowitz, 1988; Popkin et al., 2000). By the 1980s, gangs had overtaken a number of the developments, essentially imprisoning residents in their own communities (Popkin et al., 2000). The former chief executive officer of the CHA, Vincent Lane, proclaimed:

> In the late 1980s, the Chicago Housing Authority was the worst public housing authority in the country. Its crime rate was three times that of the city as a whole. It seemed as if public housing had a monopoly on nearly every example of inner-city rot: shootings, open-air drug deals, assault, poverty and fear. (Lane, 1994, p.1)

Faced with the task of reforming the public housing system, Lane asserted that

simultaneous attacks on several fronts including welfare reform, job training, education, and crime management were needed in order to create a change.

In 1980, the CHA began efforts to deconcentrate public housing residents through "scattered site" units placing residents in neighborhoods throughout the city. In addition, Lane recognized the need for mixed-income developments and self-sufficiency programs that would help integrate residents back into the city. He asserted that public housing provided its residents no choice in terms of location or type of housing. He disagreed with those who criticized the high-rise design and cited the numerous luxury high-rises on Lakeshore Drive as proof that the concept could work. Lane argued that the concentration of poverty in CHA high-rises was the primary reason for the failure of the projects, and called for a holistic approach to solving the CHA's housing problems. Lane (1994) asserted, "It's not enough to build these units and integrate them into neighborhoods that are socio-economically mixed. You can't just take a family out of an old apartment, put them into a new apartment, and expect them to make it on their own" (p.5). He envisioned a comprehensive reform for the agency that would not only provide a stable home but also help individuals change their lives. While Lane had a number of marked successes in his pursuits including the redevelopment of Lake Parc Place into a mixed-income mixed-financed community and the use of a private security force contracted through members of the Nation of Islam, these achievements were short lived. In 1995, the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) took control of the CHA's management and operations after claims of fraud forced Chairperson Lane and other board members to resign.[1]

[1] During Vincent Lane's tenure as CHA Chairperson from 1988-1995 he was praised for his visionary leadership and efforts to reform public housing which included mixed-income approaches and a crackdown

The Plan for Transformation

When the CHA was returned to local control on June 1, 1999, the new administrative team led by Chairperson Terry Peterson faced the challenge of reforming the agency. In addition, several new federal mandates forced the CHA to reevaluate its overall mission and the way in which they served residents. During federal policy reforms, beginning in 1989 under the first Bush administration, Congress established "The National Commission on Severely Distressed Public Housing." The commission was created to explore the problems plaguing public housing developments across the nation. As such, members of the commission were charged with devising a plan that would help eradicate the problems in public housing communities. The commission's investigation focused on the concentration of extremely poor and troubled families in neglected, high-crime developments and cited a number of factors that contributed to the problems. These included placing developments in poor isolated inner-city areas, poor design and construction that made buildings difficult to maintain and secure, and long histories of poor management and inadequate maintenance (CSDPH report, 1992). Members of the commission asserted that six percent or 86,000 public housing units were "severely distressed." Additional data gathered from the commission showed that public housing residents, excluding the elderly, were disproportionately comprised of long-term welfare recipients who were extremely poor and who lacked formal education and marketable skills. Congress and HUD's responded with the creation of Housing Opportunities for People Everywhere (HOPE) initiatives. Under the HOPE VI program, public housing authorities in the forty largest metropolitan areas were able to apply for

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on crime. In 2001 Lane was convicted by a federal jury on two counts of making false statements in connection with a 1.9 million dollar refinancing of the Continental Plaza shopping center, a project he

grants, to cover demolition and/or construction and social services. The first HOPE VI grants were awarded in 1993 and by 1999, HUD had awarded 3.5 billion dollars to revitalize 130 developments nationwide. The funding continued throughout 2003 at approximately 570 million dollars a year. However, according to HUD documents in 2004, HOPE VI funding was drastically cut to 149 million and under the FY 2005, budget President Bush initially zero-funded the program only to reinstate with substantially less funding at just 50 million dollar.

Furthermore, the 1998 Quality Housing and Work Responsibility Act (QHWRA) mandated the demolition of approximately 18,000 units of CHA housing. Section 537 of the QHWRA requires Public Housing Agencies (PHAs) to identify distressed public housing developments that must be converted to tenant-based assistance. The regulation asserts:

> If it would be more expensive to modernize and operate a distressed development for its remaining useful life than to provide tenant-based assistance to all residents, or the PHA cannot assure the long-term viability of a distressed development, then it must develop and carry out a plan to remove the development from its public housing inventory and convert it to tenant-based assistance. (Federal Register Online).

In addition, the act repeals the one-for-one replacement housing statue, which had mandated a one-for-one replacement rule, in order to maintain the number of public housing units, and provide protection to residents who could become victims of urban renewal projects and land grabs. Rather, the new mandate stated that for every demolished unit, there had to be a replacement unit, which could either be new hard units

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Pursued as a private developer. In 2001 Lane was sentenced to $2^{1/2}$ years in prison.

or soft units such as tenant-based Section 8 assistance through certificates, or vouchers, which transfer residents into the private market. As a result of this legislation, there has been a push toward the implementation of tenant-based assistance rather than project-based assistance. This approach fundamentally changes the nature of public housing and housing assistance in America. When hard units are present, there is at least the guarantee of a physical structure for low-income housing. However, the budget for Section 8 /Housing Choice Vouchers must undergo yearly scrutiny, increasing the likelihood of budget cuts that would essentially take housing subsidies away from low-income families and have a direct and profound impact on individuals who rely on this type of housing assistance.

The QHWRA also allows for stricter screening policies, advocating agencies to conduct criminal background checks and giving them the authority, under the federal 'one-strike and your out' provision, to evict any household with a member who uses illegal drugs or is involved in drug-related criminal activities. A CHA publication notes that the combination of new federal regulations, concerns about high concentration of extremely poor families, and owning a large stock of physically obsolete family housing plagued by crime and drugs, necessitated large-scale changes. Moreover, the new administration recognized that there were several internal problems such as excessive overhead costs, lack of competence among internal resident managers, and overlapping programs, which were poorly coordinated, and lacking substantive performance measures and outcomes. Acknowledging all of these factors and the inevitable need for change, the CHA developed the *Plan for Transformation* to address the staggering problems the agency faced (CHA Annual Plan Year 1, 2000).

Federal mandates and the CHA's *Plan* advocate movement away from project-based public housing toward private market rentals with vouchers and the creation of mixed-income communities. The transition from "public" to "private" spaces changes the structural dynamics of housing assistance, as well as the way low-income residents interact with systematic barriers. Massey and Denton (1993) argue that residential segregation is the institutional apparatus that supports and sustains other forms of discrimination. To some degree, the *Plan* embraces Massey and Denton's position and sets out to help facilitate housing de-segregation with the intention of changing the relationship CHA residents have with systematic forms of oppression. However, it is not clear if changing one's housing will change other sociopolitical factors that continue to marginalize low-income public housing residents.

Simply stated, the CHA's *Plan for Transformation* is a 1.5 billion dollar undertaking which intends to rebuild or rehabilitate 25,000 units of public housing. The agency expects a net loss of approximately 13,000 units. However, the CHA asserts that given the current conditions in their public housing developments and the recent federal mandates, there is no other alternative but the demolition of existing high-rises and redevelopment of new communities. An agency brochure contends that when the *Plan* is completed at the end of the decade, the new CHA will stand as the national model for public housing in the 21st century. The agency asserts that the *Plan* will offer people in public housing a better standard of living and greater economic opportunities. Their motto is "Building New Communities Shaping a New Vision of Public Housing in Chicago." Overall, it is projected that 6,000 households will need to be relocated to the private housing market through the Housing Choice Voucher program. While most of the

displaced residents will relocate under this program, some will have the opportunity to live in newly created mixed-income communities or rehabilitated public housing developments.

On October 1, 1999 the CHA owned and managed 38, 776 units of public housing, 24,500 (or 64 percent) of which were occupied, serving 50,321 residents. Out of the total housing stock, approximately 15,000 units were contained in open gallery style high-rises, defined as eight or more stories with hallways and elevator entrances that are fully or partially exposed. In addition to the residents living in CHA projects, there were 29,071 Section 8 vouchers serving 81,813 residents in place. Thus, there were approximately 132,134 people in 1999 utilizing CHA services. The *Plan* calls for 22,000 units to be demolished, including all "gallery style" high-rises and other units that cost more to repair than replace, leaving approximately 17,000 units. Approximately 7,000 units or a little more than 1/3 of the original stock is slated to be rebuilt as mixed-income communities throughout the city. In the midst of all of the changes and the reduction of actual hard units, the CHA maintains that there will be enough housing for every resident who was lease compliant as of October 1, 1999 and will be allowed to return to public housing following redevelopment (Annual Plan, 2000, p.13). These rights have been outlined in the Residents Right to Return Contract, a document resident leadership fought to obtain during the initial planning stage of the *Plan*. Table 2 lists the overarching goals and objectives of the CHA's *Plan for Transformation* as indicated by the agency.

Table 2: Goals and Objectives Outlined in the Plan for Transformation

1	Provide quality housing opportunities to very-low and low-income households in mixed-income settings.
2	Affirmatively further fair housing and assist in creating communities that are intolerant of discrimination.
3	Assure that residents have access to local, state, and federal resources for which they are eligible.
4	Contribute to the improvement of the neighborhoods and communities where public housing is located
5	Provide greater housing choice.
6	Assure a smooth transition for families relocating as part of the CHA's redevelopment activities minimize the disruption on the lives of CHA families.
7	Offer all lease compliant families the right to return to a new or rehabilitated public housing unit.
8	Achieve standards of excellence in the delivery of services and in the administration of programs
9	Expand the number of accessible units and comply with all applicable federal, state, and local disability laws.
10	Encourage business development opportunities for minorities and disadvantaged firms and job opportunities for residents, resident owned businesses and other low-income workers.
11	Maintain existing occupied units in a decent safe and sanitary condition during the implementation of the plan.

Source: The Chicago Housing Authority Plan for Transformation (2000) p.11-12.

In addition to the above-mentioned items, the agency was also determined to reintegrate public housing residents back into the city. In order to achieve this, one of the first steps the new administration took was to eliminate all CHA social service programs and rely on "service connectors" to help residents identify and utilize city resources. Agency documents state:

> Residents of public housing will be treated as full citizens of the City of Chicago and will have access to the same level of services. Rather than attempt to replicate those services, a strategy that only serves to isolate public housing and its residents, and for which the CHA has neither the resources nor the skill, the Agency will invest in development-based

> outreach workers who will help residents to access services in the community. (CHA Annual Plan Year 1, 2000, p.3)

The reorganization of services also extended to privately contracted security firms that used to govern their properties. Upon inception of the Plan, the agency transferred policing functions back to the Chicago Police Department. Furthermore, the agency also transferred all property management responsibilities to private management companies. By the end of the first year, the CHA had reduced its staff from 2,622 to 492. CHA documents report:

> This Plan contemplates much more than the physical transformation of public housing. It envisions a new role for the CHA. In the past, the CHA was primarily the owner and manger of public housing. In the future, the CHA will be the facilitator of housing opportunities. It will oversee a range of housing investments and subsidy vehicles. Where appropriate, it will own housing, but it will just as likely provide financial assistance to other private and non-profit development organizations to expand housing opportunities. (Annual Plan Year 1, 2000, p.6)

The CHA's *Plan* represents the largest housing mobility initiative undertaken by any public housing authority in the nation. The CHA is charged with managing the interests of a number of different stakeholders including the federal government, city officials, private development and management companies, and last but certainly not least, their residents. Balancing all of these interests, which often times are in contradiction with one another, has proven to be quite a challenge for the CHA.

CHA's Tenant Selection Process

The CHA estimates that approximately 7,000 of the hard units that are returning, as public housing will exist in newly created mixed-income communities. These sites will combine market rate homes, affordable housing, and public housing in the same development. In order for public housing residents to qualify for residency in a mixed-income community, they must undergo an intense screening and selection process, which is outlined in the agency's "Minimum Tenant Selection Plan for Mixed-Income/ Mixed Finance Communities." While the tenant selection plan for mixed-income communities establishes the minimum level of screening criteria for newly created communities, private management companies are also allowed to supplement the rules and apply stricter screening polices if desired. The CHA insists that, "each site specific screening criterion adopted by a mixed-income/ mixed finance developer must be applied equally to all applicants applying for public housing, affordable, and market rate rental units" (Minimum Tenant Selection Plan, 2002, p. 1). It is important to note however, that the screening criteria and subsequent policies for continued occupancy do not apply to individuals who purchase their homes; instead, this applies to only renters and public housing tenants.

The minimum criterion outlined in the document includes practical guidelines such as conditions for payment of rent and utility bills, and background checks. However, it goes a step further to explicitly outline expectations of acceptable behavior, employment requirements, and responsible parenting directives. Some aspects of the minimum criteria are listed in Table 3.

Table 3: Selected Aspects of the Minimum Tenant Selection Plan

1	Income can not exceed 80 % of the area median income (Which was 67,000 in 2001 for the Near North Side district).
2	Rent is based on 30 % of the residents' income or a tenant can claim a hardship exemption in which case the family is required to pay at least $25.00.
3	The head of house hold must be at least eighteen years old with a good credit and financial standing.
4	The head of household can not have any delinquent debts or have filed bankruptcy in the past two years.
5	Residents must care for and avoid damaging the unit and common areas.
6	Use facilities in a reasonable way, respecting the right to peaceful enjoyment of others.
7	Avoid damaging the property of others.
8	Refrain from any activity, including drug-related or other criminal activity that threatens the health, safety or right to peaceful enjoyment of other residents or staff.
9	Comply with necessary and reasonable property rules for health and safety codes.
10	All household members over the age of 18 must either work 30 hours a week or be engaged in some form of economic self-sufficiency, which may include: employment, enrollment and regular attendance in an economic self-sufficiency program, verified job search and/or employment counseling, basic skills training or enrollment and regular attendance in a program of education, including GED classes, secondary or post secondary education, or English proficiency or literacy classes.
11	All household members over the age of 18 must undergo a criminal background check.
12	The Property Manger is required to prohibit admission of an applicant for three years from the date of eviction if any household member has been evicted from any federally assisted housing for drug-related criminal activity.
13	A property manager must prohibit admission if it is determined that anyone in the household is engaged in: illegal drug use, drug production, is a sex offender, has patterns of irresponsible alcohol use, arson, or criminal activity.
14	Applicant must provide documentation that the family member over age six and through age sixteen who live in the household attend school regularly.
15	Fifty percent of all new admission will be for households with annual incomes of not more than 30 % of area median. 50 % will be for families between 31 % and 80 % of the area median income. (The CHA is permitted to skip families on the waiting list to assure that an income mix is achieved. The policy also includes preferences for upwardly mobile families thus, a family who 'meets' the work obligation will be considered before a family that is categorized as 'working to meet' the criteria).

Source: Chicago Housing Authority Minimum Tenant Selection Plan, 2002, p. 6 and Chicago Housing Authority Annual Plan, 2000, p. 32.

In addition to the above-mentioned stipulations, the CHA enforces the federal "One-Strike Policy" handed down on March 26, 2002 in the HUD v. Rucker verdict. This states that public housing agencies have the right to evict public housing tenants for criminal or "drug-related activity by *any* household member or guest, even when the activity takes place outside of the apartment and without the tenant's knowledge". The policy is broad in scope and is not limited to convictions, but also includes arrest. Since the enforcement of this policy, the number of evictions related to arrest has increased drastically. The CHA's *Arrest Statistic by Development* for FY 2000 reveals that the Cabrini Green development had the second highest arrest rate out of all of their developments and was the leading development for arrest on the North Side with 1,424 arrests made during the year. In the first year of the *Plan's* implementation, FY2000, the Sheriff executed 36 one-strike evictions and an additional 35 tenants moved out on their own because of a one-strike notification (Plan, December 2000, p.24). Popkin (2002) critiques the CHA's enforcement of the One-Strike Policy and asserts that the agency applies a liberal interpretation to the policy that may ultimately infringe on individuals' civil liberties.

One of the final aspects of the screening criteria includes participation in the "Good Neighbor Program," established in 1999 as part of the CHA's *Plan*. According to the CHA, "The purpose of the Good Neighbor Program is to help residents make a successful transition from public housing to new communities" (Plan, December 2000, p. 17). Good Neighbor facilitators conduct workshops that provide instruction to participants on managing a household and the importance of remaining lease-compliant. Workshop topics include moving to a new neighborhood, getting established, budgeting

for a new environment, understanding neighborhood values, adopting neighborhood etiquette, understanding responsibilities as a neighborhood resident, and being of service to the community. The program is a one-day workshop that residents are required to attend prior to signing their lease. All in all, if a CHA resident desires to live in a mixed-income community, the must remain lease-compliant, qualify under the criteria established by the Minimum Tenant Selection Plan, attend the Good Neighbor class, and then go on to meet the site-specific criteria of the development.

The CHA advances that rules for residency and continued occupancy in mixed-income communities are fair, flexible, and necessary if residents are going to thrive in these new communities. However, critics (Paulson, 2004) contend that the requirements are unreasonable for a population with little work experience, especially in an economy that is faltering. Other concerned parties see the *Plan* as a way of "creaming" off the most desirable residents for their model mixed-income communities while pushing the rest of the less desirable residents out into more isolated parts of the city. While it is not yet clear what type of benefits will accrue for public housing residents that decide to seek residency in newly created mixed-income communities, it is clear that there are a number of variables that determine who will live in these new communities.

Near North Side Redevelopment

Cabrini Green, one of the CHA's developments, was one of the first project sites in the city to undergo transformation. The agency received a HOPE VI grant in 1994 for the redevelopment of Cabrini Extension North. However, planning, demolition, and redevelopment were halted in 1996 when CHA residents filed a lawsuit claiming the

reconstruction violated their rights as outlined in the Gautreaux settlement[2]. Four years later, on August 15, 2000, the CHA entered into a settlement agreement with the plaintiffs allowing redevelopment to proceed. The Near North Redevelopment Plan, once completed, will provide 776 rental or homeownership units, 197 of which will be designated for public housing families. In addition, there will be new schools, stores, parks, and a library added to the community.

North Town Village (NTV) is one of the completed developments that currently exist in the community. As part of the negotiations for NTV, the city sold seven acres of its land to Holsten Real Estate Development Corporation and Kenard Corporation at a reduced rate of 5.5 million in exchange for their commitment to develop the property as a mixed-income community. Phase one of NTV, which was finished in 2001, consisted of 116 units: 39 CHA, 39 affordable and 38 market rate units. Phase II, which was completed in 2002, consists of 145 units: 40 CHA, 12 affordable and 93 market rate units. NTV is a 70-million dollar development with 261 condominiums; market rate units start at $146,900 for a one-bedroom condominium and climb to almost 500,000 for a three-story town house. While several of the Cabrini Green high-rises have already been demolished, a significant number of buildings still remain in the community and are located just a few feet away from the perimeter of NTV.

With just 79 units specifically earmarked for former Cabrini Green residents, applicants underwent an intense screening process in order to qualify for residency. Prior to relocation, they were subjected to home inspections, criminal background checks, mandatory drug tests, and "lessons" on appropriate community behavior. Under the Plan, the CHA transfers responsibility and governance of their properties and residents to

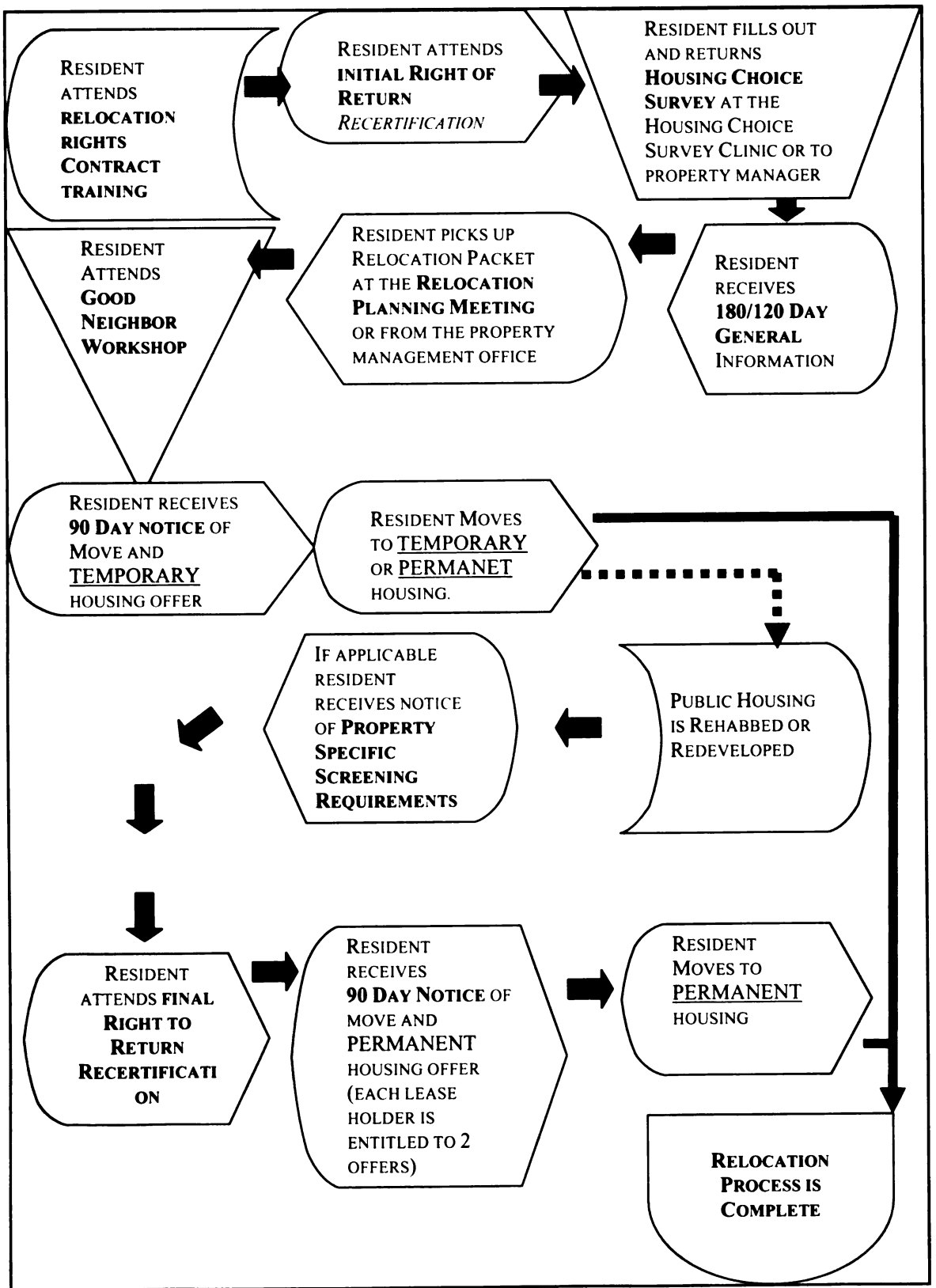
[2] The specifics of the settlement decree are outlined in chapter two.

professional property management companies. The agency requires professional property mangers and resident management corporations to screen residents in order to determine if applicants will make suitable community members. Therefore, in addition to CHA screening policies, North Town Village managers enforce their own site-specific rules for residents.

Relocation Process

At the end of the first year of the Plan, the CHA created the Relocation Department, "to ensure that the relocation process was conducted in a compassionate yet efficient manner" (MTW Annual Plan, 2001, p. 3). CHA documents assert that the Relocation Department provides residents with personal outreach, ongoing communication and support throughout the moving process. The agency's tracking system, The Relocation Management Tracking System (RMTS), was incorporated in FY2003, approximately three years into the *Plan*. The relocation process is divided into two stages, Move-out and Move-in. Figure 3 outlines this process by highlighting key steps.

Figure 2: Relocation Process



Source: Adopted from the CHA's MTW Plan for Transformation (2004)-Year 5 p. 33

One's relocation experience is directly related to her choice of permanent housing. If a resident decides to go into the private market through the Housing Choice Voucher program, it is possible that the first move that she makes will end up being her permanent housing. However, if one decides that they would like to live in public housing that has been rehabilitated or redeveloped, he/she will first move, either to a "make ready" public housing unit in a development not scheduled for demolition or to the private market with a temporary Housing Choice Voucher. Once units are completed, the resident will have to go through site-specific screening in order to qualify for tenancy.

In instances where the CHA is rehabilitating or developing a site, a work group comprised of representatives from the CHA, resident leadership, City of Chicago, community partners, the Gautreaux plaintiffs, and the development company oversees the project from start to finish. While the workgroups focus on getting the developments ready and outlining site-specific screening criteria, there are a number of city agencies charged with helping to facilitate a residents' transition into permanent housing.

In order to gain a better understanding of the relocation process, in-depth interviews were conducted with CHA administrators Kate Murray and Lisa Jones[3]. Murray described how the agency decides which properties to demolish.

> There is a decision made from the CHA perspective that is based on either operational issues, meaning that the buildings are in such bad repair, it is just not financially feasible to continue operating them through the winter season. Alternatively, from a development standpoint, which means that in order to redevelop the site there is a certain portion of the site that needs to be cleared. So once that decision is made, we go in and start working with

residents to move them out of the existing public housing.

The Relocation Rights Contact entitles every lease-compliant household that legally occupied a CHA apartment on October 1, 1999 the right to return to public housing following rehabilitation or redevelopment. To exercise this right, the resident must remain lease-compliant throughout the entire process until the time of return to a CHA unit which can take anywhere from one to seven years. The contract also requires the CHA to track residents through the relocation process (Annual Plan, 2003, p. 38). The tracking process begins with the Housing Choice Survey. Murray explains this process:

> They *(the residents)* have choices in the process, so they fill out a Housing Choice Survey (HCS) and they get to choose where they'd like to go temporally and that means basically while rehabilitation/redevelopment is occurring. And then where they'd like to come back to permanently after the redevelopment or rehabilitation has occurred. Their temporary choices are basically three: they get to choose to stay in other public housing; they get to choose to move into Section 8; or they can choose unsubsidized housing, which means they go live with a family member or friend. Most often that's not chosen. I would say maybe less than two percent of our people across the board have chosen unsubsidized housing.

With regard to permanent housing, residents can make three different development choices, which include mixed-income communities for which residents must meet site-specific criteria, rehabilitated public housing, which, for the most part, only encompasses senior housing, or public housing that has not been rehabilitated. If a resident does not select one of these three options, he/she

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[3] Pseudonyms are used to protect the identity of the participants.

will move into the private market through the Housing Choice Voucher program. While the agency tired to achieve one hundred percent completion of the HCS early in the *Plan's* implementation, an agency document reveals that two years into the plan, just 87 percent of the residents had completed the survey. Normally this would be considered a high rate of return; however, this survey is an important first step because it clarifies the residents' housing preferences and allows the CHA to assess how it should proceed with future revitalization efforts.

As of August 8, 2002 with 87 percent of the residents accounted for, the HCS reveals that 90.1 percent want to return to public housing after rehabilitation or reconstruction and just 9.9 percent want to use a Housing Choice Voucher in the private market. These findings indicate a much different trend than what was reported in the NORC study, which analyzed residents going through the relocation process at roughly the same time period. NORC data indicated that over two-thirds of the respondents indicated a preference to relocate into the private market through the Housing Choice Voucher program rather than return to public housing. This may simply be a case of residents changing their mind later in the process or representations of different data sets. However, it is important to know which depiction of resident preference is accurate. First, to help facilitate a smooth transitional process and second, while it is highly probable that residents will change their minds about the choices they make for permanent housing once they begin the transition process, it is still important to assess why they are changing their minds. It is extremely problematic that two years into the *Plan*, 13 percent of the residents still had not been asked where they wanted to relocate.

Given the actual number of hard units that are retuning in comparison to the total number demolished, it seems obvious that the CHA is relying on more residents deciding to move into the private market through the Housing Choice Voucher program. However, as long as a resident remain lease-compliant, it is their right to return to public housing and this right is protected in the Residents Right to Return Contract. In order to help residents make informed decisions about their housing choices, they are assigned a housing counselor. If there are areas of concern, which may make them ineligible for housing they have selected, then they are referred to a "Service Connector," which as Murray explains, is designed to help residents meet site-specific criteria:

> The vision is that all residents will have a case manager, regardless of where they are in relocation, but specialized in where they are in relocation. There are different buckets of where people fall in terms of services. All of those buckets will have variations based on where they are in the process but there will be a baseline of services all geared toward residents meeting the site-specific criteria. In cases of mixed-income communities, the service providers are contracted through the developers. So I give to a service provider a list of 100 people and say okay these 100 people want to return to your development. Now here's some funding, we want to agree your provider, we want to do the negotiations with your provider, but this is your contractor to get these people ready, and then their only paid on, the outcomes of the residents who move into the development.

Site-specific criteria will automatically exclude some residents from eligibility from certain developments, which then inherently seems to violate resident rights specified in the Right to Return contract. Essentially screening plans and developers can come in and effectively obliterate the guarantees of the residents' Relocation Rights Contract. Despite this, Murray maintains that residents have a variety of opportunities to work toward site-specific criteria; however, it is important to note that the onus is placed on the resident. He/she must initiate the process, attend all required meetings, and do *whatever* needs to be done to meet site-specific criteria and diligently follow up with their case manger. Murray revealed that a number of residents chose different options after learning about the site-specific criteria:

> We already are housing circumstance where residents are saying, I don't want to pay more rent so I don't want to go there. Or I had someone tell me yesterday, "I pay my rent and I don't want you to tell me that I can't be in my apartment eight hours a day if I want to so I don't want to go there." So ultimately, the services will be there but it still will be up to the resident to make that choice and that commitment to reach those levels of eligibility if they want to. If they don't, they can keep their voucher, so they still keep their subsidy, it's just that they keep it in the Section 8 program or there are other developments that are not going to have specialized site specific criteria, there will be public housing that has basic public housing eligibility. So they could potentially go to one of those locations. The service connectors, whole goal is to take this set of people and do two things with them; one get them ready to move in and then two

> help them navigate a choice that's best for them. So it may not mean that you come back to meet site-specific criteria, although we want people to and that's a choice that they have. It may mean that you enter into a supportive housing location because you've got some serious issues that you need to work on, and you need to be in a place that's going to support you working on that. Or it may mean that you get into a home ownership program and you don't come back to public housing. Or it may mean that you stay out on section 8, because the fact of the matter is, you don't want to work, you don't want to do this, and you know what, you should stay there and let someone leave you the hell alone. It's to support the decision that is best for that family as long as that decision will move you to a more stable and more permanent housing option.

While Murray notes that the goal of all concerned parties involved in the relocation process is to support the best decision for the resident, there are a number of logistical factors, which to this point, seems to contradict this objective.

First, the CHA has revamped a number of strategies and approaches to serve their residents. However, this has often occurred in retrospect rather than in initial planning stages. A prime example is the relocation department, which was not created until a year after the *Plan* had been implemented. Ideally, it seems like this would have been one of the key areas to focus on before building demolition began. In addition, this lack of foresight means that residents who underwent relocation during the first year received imperfect service or even worse, completely lost contact with the CHA and were not even aware of their rights in relation to the relocation process. Whenever any type of large-

scale systematic change of this magnitude takes place, it is expected that some adjustments are going to occur. However, the critical issue in this situation is that mishaps or lack of foresight impact people's lives at a very real and personal level. These mistakes and oversights have the potential to affect a resident's housing choice, which could ultimately determine the quality of education her children will receive, and the degree of social mobility that she will later achieve. As the impact of federal mandates and social reform materialize for CHA residents, it is evident that right now, the only safety net they have is the *Plan* as presented by the CHA. Therefore, if the system is flawed and more care is not taken with the process, the CHA will continue to marginalize their residents, further perpetuating the cycles of generational and concentrated poverty they report to be concerned about ending.

Service Connectors

Another factor that has prevented smooth transition for residents relates to the service connector program. As previously noted, the CHA has moved away from providing social services to residents, redirecting this responsibility back to the city in an effort to reintegrate residents back into the city. In order to help residents make the transition, the agency contracted "service connectors" to help residents identify and utilize city services. The service connector program has received considerable criticism from a number of different entities; however, the most comprehensive evaluation of the program comes from the Sullivan Reports.

Thomas Sullivan, an Independent Monitor hired by the CHA to examine the relocation process, oversaw the daily operations of the *Plan for Transformation* during phase II of the process in 2002. The provision to obtain a monitor was negotiated by the

Central Advisory Council (CAC), the governing body of resident leadership, in the residents' Relocation Rights Contract. The monitor's purpose was to ensure an objective critique of the CHA's relocation process. The first report was disseminated on July 24, 2002, two and half years after the implementation of the *Plan*, and the final report for phase II was presented on January 8, 2003, several months after the planning and budgeting for FY 2003 was completed. Sullivan identified several problems with the complex processes associated with the *Plan*, including: bureaucratic red tape that led to a breakdown in communication between the CHA, property managers, and the CHAC, the agency responsible for the placement of Housing Choice Voucher participants; inadequate number of housing counselors to effectively meet the needs of residents; a demolition plan that appeared overly aggressive and more concerned about buildings coming down than the "compassionate relocation of residents;" poor implementation of the HCV program with the potential to replace vertical ghettos with horizontal ghettos due to the lack of time and effort given to the placement of residents; and the safety of residents being compromised because of the placement of rival gang members in the same development. Sullivan concluded that the overarching problem stemmed from the CHA's unrealistic timetable for demolitions. The completion and demolition schedule by plan year is presented in Table 4.

Table 4: Total CHA Housing Units Completed and Demolished by Year

Plan Year	Calendar Year	Senior Housing Rehab	Family Housing Redevelopment/ Rehabilitation Mixed-Income	Family Housing Rehab	Scattered Site Housing Rehab	To Be Redeveloped or Rehabilitated	Units Demolished
1	FY 2000	No data	No data	No data	No data	Not Yet Decided	1308
2	FY 2001	1026	1120	0	750	Not Yet Decided	6019
3	FY 2002	4500	57	0	1090	Not Yet Decided	3781
4	FY 2003	1900	170	59	565	Not Yet Decided	2600
5	FY 2004	1000	292	438	71	Not Yet Decided	2,159
6	FY 2005 Projected	380	275	708	49	Not Yet Decided	2929
Total Projected for end of year 6		8,806	1857	1205	2525		
Number Projected at Project end		9446	6205	4691	2543	2115	22,000

Sources: Chicago Housing Authority Annual Plan Year 1 (2000); Chicago Housing Authority Annual Plan Year 2 (2001); Chicago Housing Authority Annual Plan Year 3 (2002); Chicago Housing Authority Annual Plan Year 4 (2003); Chicago Housing Authority Annual Plan Year 6 (2005).

As of January 1, 2005, 16,637 units have been demolished; however only about 9 percent of the hard units, or 1857 units, have actually returned. The agency projects that by the end of 2005, approximately 14,393 units will have been either rebuilt or rehabilitated, allowing the agency to reach 58 percent of its goal of rebuilding/rehabilitating 25,000 units.

Sullivan noted that the demolition schedule placed a great deal of strain on the people who were responsible for helping residents throughout the transition process. In order to meet the goals and objectives outlined by the CHA in the *Plan*, there were a number of critical steps that housing counselors were instructed to take in assisting residents with relocation to the private market. First, residents are extended help in obtaining lease compliance for the HCV program. Once compliance occurs, notification is sent to a relocation manger who in turn, forwards the information to the CHAC, the external contractor responsible for the Chicago Housing Choice Voucher Program. At this point residents are slated to meet with a housing counselor in order to begin reviewing possible rental units in the private market. Each resident is supposed to have at least five rental units shown to them and program rules stipulate that the apartments must pass predetermined safety criteria. Furthermore, the intention is to show residents rental units in "upwardly mobile" communities defined as less than 30 percent African American and a poverty index below 20 percent. Once a resident approves the unit and it has been determined that it meets pre-established criteria, the resident then receives assistance with the actual physical move out and move in.

Sullivan found that there simply were not enough staff members to handle the large demand of placing dislocated residents in a way that adhered to the above-

mentioned procedures. He discovered that staff members were cutting corners, which included placing large number of displaced residents in communities that were already overrun with poverty and not allowing residents to preview units before their placement. As a result of the time constraints, residents were often forced to either take whatever housing was offered them or relocate to ready-made public housing in developments that were not slated for demolition (Sullivan Report 4). The aggressive demolition schedule, transfer of CHA services to outside contractors, and the new responsibility placed on CHAC staff left residents subject to a failing relocation process. Moreover, city agencies were not able to meet the needs of CHA residents who sought their services. The responsibility of preparing residents to meet site-specific criteria either fell on city agencies or on companies sub-contracted by the developer to work with residents. This often translated into limited and poor execution of resident services, which ultimately limited housing options. The process caused a great deal of skepticism among residents, causing them to question the CHA's motives. Murray was asked to describe her perception of the residents' response to the *Plan*.

> Initially it was a lot more negative, there's a lot of distrust that the residents have about the CHA. Well I would say it's gone in phases, I think the first thing was outrage. One, people didn't believe it was going to happen, and two, certainly didn't believe that they were going to be relocated, they thought that it was a land grab. Then it went to people moving although not wanting to. "So we've accepted the fact that we're going to have to move, we see that were going to have to go, we're going to fight it but we're going to go". Then it went to, which I think is where it

is now, "okay I want to get the hell out of here, give me my Section 8 voucher, and I want to go now". I get more and more calls from people who want to leave public housing everyday, so I think it's at that stage.

When asked what she thought was stimulating the change of attitude among residents, Murray replied:

I think that it's a couple of things: one, people realize that it's for real. I mean I think if people had trust in CHA initially there wouldn't have been as much.... "You say you're going to relocate me and bring it back and I've lived in this shit hole my whole life, and you haven't done anything." I think anybody is going be like "No, I'm not leaving cause even though this is bad, this is the only thing I know." So I think people actually see that the Plan is happening so they're much more willing to take a chance on doing something different, and I think ultimately I believe in my heart I truly believe that taking Section 8 and getting out in the private market is a better thing for these families. I mean public housing is ridiculously disgusting and atrocious. I mean people knew this already, but not realizing that we were for real in terms of offering other housing. I think they were still willing to stay where they were. People probably still don't believe, even though right now people know that the buildings are coming down, and they know Section 8 is okay, and they want to go, they don't necessarily believe that the units are coming back still, I think that they still think that there's no public housing coming back or they think if it's coming back it's going to be so difficult to get in, that no one is going to

get in. I think that's probably the stage of where they are until people actually start moving in to the new housing.

A number of factors indicate that the CHA has not supported residents during the relocation process. Not only did the agency fail to implement proper safe guards to ensure that residents' rights are protected; the aggressive demolition schedule has left residents subjected to inferior counseling services.

Relocation

Despite systematic breakdowns, there are some CHA administrators, like Murray and Jones, who appear to be genuinely concerned about the lives and futures of the residents. Their comments about the relocation process illustrates the disconnect between the idealisms of helping residents relocate to better neighborhoods and the actual practice of making this happen. Murray shares this sentiment as she discusses her overall thoughts about the *Plan*:

> It's amazing, because really truly, the *Plan for Transformation* is happening. And it's sort of been this year that I've been like this *Plan* is going to happen and there's nothing that's going to stop it, and thank God it's going to happen. I think that we'll see an end to that fear when people start seeing their friends or their old neighbor in the community, or when people say "You know what, I'm fine I want to stay out here I like it out here, my kids are situated in school, they love it." Then people, everybody that says all the negative stuff they say because it's the easy stuff to say, are going to realize that this really was the plan, and people really came in and made the *Plan* happen. At the end of the day, it's going to be a

phenomenal thing. The Plan is going to happen and new units are going to come, but if the only thing was that those buildings come down and people end up in better housing. Because of that, that in itself is successful. And I say this and I believe it. Some people will slip through, some people will not benefit from the *Plan*, and I know that, and I would have to be ridiculous to claim to anybody that they are not going to, but the fact that the buildings are coming down and people have at least a half way if not a one hundred percent more decent place to live is like majorly successful, and that's frustrating when you have these people out there that just have no clue.

Addressing the criticism that the *Plan* has received, another administrator at the CHA, calls for skeptics to consider the set of circumstances that have come together to allow such a Plan to even be a possibility.

You can criticize the *Plan for Transformation* all you want, but let's look at this realistically. Never again in our lifetime will the stars align in the way that they have for the Plan for Transformation. So if you want to complain about all the things that you think are not right for the Plan for Transformation, I want you to come back and give me a list of things that you think we can do that will still allow us to move forward and make a difference in people's lives. Because if you complain about this enough and if all of your focus and attention is on the fact that there are some horrible, ugly, dilapidated, disgusting, buildings that are coming down, these buildings are absolutely deplorable, they are deplorable, and the idea

that anybody could adjust their mindsets, and not so much because they love these buildings. "I don't have anyplace else to go." Or even worse "I'm not good enough to have anything better.'" So when you talk about all of this stuff, my question is, if the *Plan for Transformation* had stopped when people wanted it to stop where would we be at this juncture? And at what point do you start to pay attention to some of the other issues? If you talk to Terry Peterson, Terry Peterson will tell you, the question is not whether or not the *Plan for Transformation* can succeed. The *Plan for Transformation* will move forward, as long as we have the dollars, we can do this, we can do this. So the people who are complaining are overlooking a major fact. This will never happen again because we were so far into it now that if we were to stop, if this were to go bye-bye, everybody would take a look at this and say, "Well, this obviously isn't the solution because we did this, we did this, we did this, we asked the city to get on board we did that, it didn't work." So that's what concerns me when I hear people who have nothing but negative things to say. I don't think they're looking at this holistically you know and what has occurred and what has happened, and the change in administrations in Washington and how much has been able to stay in place. We are on an incredible journey. So my question is, what is the alternative?

Acknowledging the fact that there has been a great deal of skepticism and criticism about the *Plan*, Murray echoed the words of CHA Chairperson Terry Peterson noting that not all of people who challenge the CHA have the residents' best intentions in mind.

> Terry Peterson so very eloquently tells the residents, "Don't let anyone keep you poor, don't let anybody keep you down." I mean I flat out call them poverty pimps, because there are some who make money on either keeping the residents there or trying to hold CHA's hands behind their back so that they can't move forward, and make money off it.

A number of CHA staff members see their job as much more than tearing down buildings and transitioning people into new homes. They see themselves more along the lines of helping people and their children change their lives. Six years into the *Plan* it remains to be seen if these adjustments will change the nature of discrimination, isolation, and segregation that has affected public housing residents over the years.

In the broader scope of things, the creation of new mixed-income communities, screening residents, and transitioning them into these communities may prove to be the easiest part of the task. Adjusting to new norms and expectations and remaining lease-compliant may prove to be a bigger hurdle for some residents than their relocation process. Every year the CHA produces an annual report to highlight the agency's achievements as they work toward their goals. In addition, outside entities have examined various aspects of the *Plan for Transformation*. However, there are very few studies that represent the impact the *Plan* has had on the residents who have moved into mixed-income communities or seek to understand the residents' experiences in these new communities. Black women who live in public housing offer a perspective on this topic that transcends other types of analysis. Their unique social location gives them a view of this process that administrators, city officials, and employees at the CHA do not have. Chapters five and six present the voices of nine Black women who have moved out of

public housing and into a newly created mixed-income community in order to provide a different view of the CHA's *Plan for Transformation*.

CHAPTER V

"Embounded"

Chapter four presented the logistic and a programmatic aspect of the Chicago Housing Authority's *Plan for Transformation*. This examination revealed the disciplinary domain of the Matrix of Domination, uncovering how structural barriers and organizational inefficiency place CHA residents in vulnerable positions. Chapter four also demonstrated how systems that support inequality are built into the tenant selection process. The purpose of this chapter is to present the experiences of nine women who have gone through the CHA's relocation process. To accomplish this I first provide the reader with background information on each one of the participants. I then present the conversations the women had about their former lives in Cabrini Green, highlighting the expressed connection to their homeplace. The discussion then focuses on the participants experiences' with the CHA's relocation process noting the difficulties the women experienced as a result of a system that revamped social policies while at the same time removing social services or what Miranne (2000) refers to as a state of emboundment. The chapter ends with a presentation of the coping strategies the women employed to subvert these barriers.

Profiles

Caroline: Caroline is thirty-one and has lived in North Town Village for three years in a three-bedroom two-bathroom town home. She has three children; two girls ages seventeen and thirteen, and one boy age fifteen, who has autism. Caroline had her first child at age fourteen and consequently did not finish high school. While she does not have a formal education, her demeanor would lead anyone to believe that she is a college graduate. Caroline is what the elders might call an 'Old Soul,' her relationship with her

mother is more parental than what one would traditionally consider a mother daughter relationship to be in that Caroline is the one who generally has to care for her mother. During the interview, she discussed her mother's drug addiction and the difficulties that she had protecting her family from her mother's reckless and careless behavior. During the conversation, Caroline frequently reverenced God, demonstrating her trust in a higher power to lead her and her family to a better life. At the time of the interview she was not working, however she was taking classes to earn her GED and spoke of aspirations of going on to pursue a college degree. Her oldest daughter goes to Lincoln Park High School, a good school where the students have performed well on state examinations. However, her youngest daughter attends Schiller, where students scored at less than a 20 percent proficiency rate in reading and math competencies on a recent state achievement examine. Caroline, who moved to Cabrini Green as a teenager, chose to take a Section 8 voucher during the relocation and moved into an apartment on the South Side of Chicago. She was not aware that North Town Village was an option until after she read an article in a local newspaper that was talking about the CHA's *Plan*. Due to a number of different circumstances, she had to move a total of three times before she finally settled into her place at North Town Village.

Tiffany: Tiffany is a kind person with a youthful and playful disposition. While she is thirty-one years old, however she could easily be mistaken for a teenager or a young woman in her early twenties. During the first part of the interview, she held back and was a little reserved and timid. However, as she became more comfortable she passionately shared a number of her life experiences. Tiffany works at the new White Sox stadium, US Cellular, formerly known as Comiskey Park, but at the time of the

interview, she was looking for a job that paid a better wage. She is a single mother with three children: two boys and one girl ages fourteen, thirteen, and eleven, respectively. She frequently goes back to Cabrini Green to visit with family and friends. One week before our interview, a man that she had been dating on a regular basis was murdered in a gang related shooting. Needless to say she was shaken by the event but noted that she found it comforting to have company and talk about the things going on in her life. Tiffany explained that living in this new community has given her a new lease on life and helped her to reevaluate her priorities. It took eight years for her to make the complete transition from Cabrini Green to her new town home.

Chante: Chante has lived in a town house in North Town Village for one year. She is thirty-four years old and cares for a total of five kids, two girls of her own, ages fourteen and seven and her fiancée's three children ages eleven, twelve, and thirteen that visit on the weekends. She is a preschool teacher at Sojourner Truth Elementary School, located in the middle of the remaining Cabrini Green high-rises. It took Chante a while to warm during the interview, it was easy to see that she questioned the interviewer's motives, and her body language communicated that she would rather not be bothered. However, once again, by the end of the interview, a rapport had been established and she had warmed up a great deal and openly talked about her life and experience in North Town Village. She currently lives in a three-bedroom, two-bathroom, two-story walk–up, condominium, and has a neighbor, who happens to be an African American male homeowner, who lives below her. Chante's mother and aunt also live in North Town Village and provide the crux of her social network and support system.

Roxanne: Roxanne is thirty-five years old, married, and has five children; however, she describes herself as a mother of nine. Unfortunately, after four miscarriages only five of her children survived. After her first pregnancy and miscarriage with twins at the age of sixteen, Roxanne turned to drugs as a form of self-medication. While her drug habit dominated her live for some time, she eventually stopped because she realized what her addiction was doing to her children. This year marks her thirteenth year of sobriety. Roxanne has four boys and one girl, her oldest son is nineteen and is in the U.S. Navy currently stationed in Saudi Arabia. The other boys are ages thirteen, twelve, and eight. Her daughter is five years old and named "Miracle," because it was miraculous that she was born after all the trauma Roxanne experienced during the pregnancy. Roxanne grew up in Cabrini Green with her mother, brother, and sister. Her mother moved there when she was one month old and Roxanne stayed there until she was forced to move at age twenty-six. Roxanne's mother, who suffered from sugar diabetes, high blood pressure and several strokes, almost lost custody of her and her sister and brother because authorities questioned whether her mother was healthy enough to take care of the children. Roxanne remembers her mother suffering from poor health all her life and says that the family did not have much, but her mother always made sure that the kids were taken care of first before she met her own needs. It is evident, from the way she cares for her own children, that Roxanne has carried this sentiment into her own life. Roxanne lives in a spacious three-story unit with four bedrooms and two bathrooms. The apartment furnishings are sparse, old, and worn, but it all belongs to her and it is easy to tell by how clean the apartment is that she takes pride in all that she does have.

Vate: Vate is forty-six years old and moved into Cabrini Green in 1964 when she was six. She has one grown up daughter, and is a recent newlywed. She and her husband live in a one bedroom unit in what is known as 'the quiet' part of North Town Village, she has lived there for over two years. Vate used to volunteer at a local church performing various administrative tasks but at the time of our interview, she was unemployed and looking for work. On several occasions, Vate walked me around the neighborhood, introducing me to people, pointing out things in the community and openly answering any questions that I had. At the end of the interview, she thanked me for coming and said that it was therapeutic for her to talk about these issues and get things off her chest.

Beverley: Beverley is forty-six years old and has lived in North Town Village for two years. She spoke of one son, a grandchild, and a husband and she works for the police department as a crossing guard. Beverley is a statuesque woman whose presence immediately commands a certain degree of respect. She is a watchful and observant woman who looks out for the best interest of her friends and family. She is well respected in her circle of friends and exudes a type of strength that one recognizes immediately upon meeting her. She is a woman who stands by her convictions and is not afraid to speak her mind. Our interview occurred outside after a neighborhood block party and as various neighborhood children played close by she kept a close watch on them, disciplining and consoling them when necessary. Her boisterous voice could be heard throughout the neighborhood commanding people to listen to her when she spoke.

Sharon: Sharon is fifty-four years old and has two daughters one, who is twenty-four and Chante, thirty-four, and also a participant in the study. Sharon lived in Cabrini Green since she was a teenager and recalls a time when the development was a much

different place, where people respected one another and took care of the community. She noted that even when the gang activity was going on in the 1980s the gangs would warn people before they started any trouble or shooting so that innocent bystanders could take cover. However, she stated that today, gang members do not care who is caught in the crossfire and shoot and kill without regard. Sharon is a very kind woman with a quite disposition, the type of woman who is happy to serve and give of herself without attention or reorganization. Sharon has lived in North Town Village for three years and previously had a job with the Board of Education but is now unemployed.

Louise: Until her relocation Louise had lived in Cabrini Green her entire fifty-seven years of life. She worked as a volunteer at a neighborhood school until just recently when she began to have trouble with her knees. Eventually the pain became so sever that she could not walk up and down the stairs or around the building. At the time that we talked she was scheduled to go in for knee surgery, the following week. She has one son that is thirty-four years old and he has two children. She was happy to announce that her oldest grandchild is graduating from high school next year. Louise suffers from arthritis, diabetes, and frequently has to visit the doctor. She receives SSI but notes that it is extremely difficult to make ends meet from month to month. She lives in a one-bedroom apartment in a two-story building, which has four units in the building.

Laura: Laura is the oldest participant in the study. At sixty years old she is commonly referred to as grandma by the neighborhood kids. Her mother was born in Mississippi and came to Chicago with her father, who also happened to bring along his mistress and all of the children he had fathered between the two of them, nineteen to be exact. Laura was born and raised in Chicago, she has two children a son and a daughter

and three grandchildren, two of whom currently stay with her. Her oldest grandson was present during the interview and participated in the discussion, offering some insightful perspectives, which have been included in the narrative when appropriate. Laura is in very poor health; she goes to dialysis three days a week and also has heart problems. She notes that her health began to deteriorate about three years ago; the same day that her mother passed away she experienced heart failure. Laura ended up receiving a heart pacer and during the procedure the doctors discovered several problems with her kidneys. She also volunteered at the neighborhood school as a parent helper for nine years and now she works for the summer food program sponsored by CHA in order to provide free lunches to low-income children who would not normally receive a meal when school is not in session. Laura mentioned that she would like to find a paying position; however, given the severity of Laura's health problems, it does not seem practical for her to try and pursue a job. Through our conversation and follow-up visits, it became apparent that Laura was a well-respected person in the neighborhood, very active in fighting for change and passionate about the community and the direction it was headed. I felt an immediate connection with her. The first time I meet her she had just returned from dialysis and was too tired to talk, but she took my information and called me a couple of days later to set up an interview. She invited me into her home, which was nicely furnished, clean, and well kept. Before the interview began we sat down and she showed me family pictures, gave me a tour of her home, and introduced me to her grandson after which she leaned over to me and said "do you think you can talk to him, help him out" to which I replied "sure no problem."

While all of the women formerly lived in Cabrini Green and now live in North Town Village, their histories and life experiences vary. In defining Black women as agents of knowledge, Collins (1990) states, "Each individual has a unique personal biography made up of concrete experiences, values, motivations, and emotions. No two individuals occupy the same social space: thus no two biographies are identical" (p. 224). Likewise, Miranne (2000) notes that even though women may share the same space they do not necessary share the same experiences. She argues that the multiplicities of their lives, as determined by the race, ethnicity, gender and class, require that we realize the unique nature of these relations. As such, it is important to examine the individual and unique experiences of Black women in order to deconstruct the nature of oppression. Evoking the principles of Black Feminist Thought allows one to understand a participants' standpoint and still understand how their experiences are shaped by systems of power that grant and deny privilege based on social constructions of race, class and gender. Collins notes, "standpoint theory argues that group location in hierarchical power relations produces shared challenges for individuals in those groups. These common challenges can foster similar angels of vision leading to a group knowledge or standpoint that in turn can influence the group's political action" (Collins, 1998, p.201). Collins acknowledges the importance of uncovering the unique social location and perspectives of Black women and also argues that there are commonalities among Black women, grounded in experiences with struggle, and these commonalities generate a unique Black consciousness. Collins (2000) asserts that for U. S. Black women, the legacy of struggle forms this collective consciousness. Thus, the relationship between personal biography and a collective consciousness are represented in the voices of the participants. Hence

examining individual voices ultimately helps one understand collective experiences. Collins asserts, "Group standpoints are situated in unjust power relations, reflects those power relations, and help shape them" (Collins, 1998, p. 201). While there are some ideas that seem to resonate with all of the participants, they each described their relocation experiences and life in North Town Village from their own standpoint. Thus, taken together the participants' descriptions provide an array of constructs that allow the reader to understand the multifaceted aspects of the *Plan* and its impact on low-income Black women. Figure 5 presents a summary of the demographic information listed in the participants' profiles.

Table 5: Characteristics of Primary Informants

Name	Age	Occupation Source of Income/ or Self-Sufficiency Activity	Years in North Town Village	Years in Cabrini Green	Immediate Family
Caroline	31	GED classes	3 years	15	Two girls 17, 15, and one boy 13 who has autism
Tiffany	31	Cominsky Park	$1^{1/2}$ years	27	Three kids: two boys ages 14, 13 and a daughter age 11
Chante	34	Preschool Teacher	1 year	28	Two kids age 14 and 7 (girls); fiancée has three kids ages 11, 12, and 13 which come and visit on the weekends. She is also Sharon's daughter
Roxanne	35	Osco Drugs	3 years	26	Husband, five kids, four boys ages 19, 13, 12, 8 and one girl age 5. She describes herself as a mother of nine only five survived. Oldest son is in the navy.
Vate	46	Was a Volunteer at Local Church but at the time of interview was unemployed	2 years	49	Recently married and has an older daughter who does not live with her.
Beverly	46	Crossing guard for the Chicago Police Department	2 years	40	Son, Several grandchildren and is also Sharon's younger sister
Sharon	54	Formerly with the Board of Education but now is unemployed	3 years	50	Two daughters age 24, and Chante age 34. Also has several grandchildren
Louise	57	Social Security Income	2 years	52	One son age 34; two grandkids
Laura	60	Social Security Income	3 years	50	Two children and several grandkids two of whom live with her

Home Place: Life in Cabrini Green

Feldman and Stall (2004) contend that theoretical conceptualizations of people's attachments to the places they call home, or their 'homeplace,' have received considerable attention from scholars across disciplines. Homplace attachments are conceived of as conceptualizations that are complex and interrelated, often creating psychological and behavioral bonds with both dwellings and neighborhoods. The authors note that notions of homeplace become an enduring, tangible symbol of the individual and social self, of the continuity of one's experiences, and of that, which is valued by the inhabitants. During the interviews participants were asked to reflect on the years they spent in Cabrini Green, so that they could describe their community or homeplace in their own words. Given the perception that outsiders have of CHA projects it was important to have the women describe how they experienced their former community, thus giving them the opportunity for self-definition, rather than objectification.

The women's stories reveal that while violence was omnipresent in the community they did not define their lives in Cabrini Green by these factors. Rather the women spoke in terms of family, friends, and pride. For instance, Tiffany responded:

> As far me living there it was okay. It was like everybody was family. I felt comfortable because I guess I knew everyone. So it felt like I wasn't in any type of danger or nothing.

While the women in the study did not speak in terms of victimization, it was clear that they shared a collective awareness of what it meant to live in a community riddled by acts of violence. Roxanne shared her thought out the old neighborhood simply stating:

I didn't have any problems, the only thing I got tired of was getting caught in the crossfire.

Interviewer: How often would that happen?

Roxanne: Damn near everyday. Especially when.... they used to come up in my building, whoever was there, that's who's getting shot. I almost lost my brother from that, so that's one thing that sacred me. And I just thank God that I didn't lose him.

Living in Cabrini Green meant that one had to learn how to manage the environment. Similar to Popkin et al., (2000) findings, the participants identified coping strategies, which included: 1) Making sure that they are always aware of what is going on around them; 2) Only trusting a small group of people; 3) and looking out for self, first and foremost. Popkin et al., concluded that their participants dealt with the crime and gang activity in the neighborhood by: denying the impact of violence; not discussing criminal activity; not reporting crimes to the police; and only associating with a small group of trusted friends. The similarity in responses provides valuable insight into the factors that shape and influence how residents negotiate living in high crime communities. The participants in both studies adapted to their environment and ultimately came to rely on themselves and a few trusted family members or friends for survival.

Given the prevalence of gangs in the community, conceptions of homeplace conjured up memories of the necessity to 'look out for self'. For example, Tiffany conveys this sentiment as she discusses the time she was almost forced to join a gang. She states:

When I was staying over there *(Cabrini Green)* I was seven months pregnant with my son and the gang bangers came and asked me did I want to join a gang.

I told them, "I have to think about it."

So they got to tellin me what they goin to do to me.... and I'm pregnant.

"We goin hit you in your arms we goin hit you in your legs and we not goin hit you now were else."

But why would you want to hit me when I'm pregnant?

You hit me you hittin my child.

So I say "give me enough time to think."

I'm still thinking..... and I'm still thinking..... the projects gone and I'm still thinking..... Now that was B.S.

I could never join a gang. I tell people the gang I join, *is* a mother with three kids. Now you want to join and help me, come on.

Help me raise mine. It ain't good for females to be in a gang. It ain't good at all period, but you know these mens they thugs like that, so you could understand them, but a female. I don't think that's appropriate for a female.

Tiffany asserts that her first priority was to look out for herself. Now that gang members are trying to recruit, her children she finds herself teaching them how to negotiate the environment, highlighting the importance of looking out for self. Tiffany stated:

Sometimes my kids have problems cause the projects right here and when they come home from school they get asked questions by gang banagers. "You from off Sederick?"

And what, what if he is, what? He stay there he have to live there. Just because he stay there or live over there he have to be in gang that's sad. I have to tell my kids you have to do what you got to do.

I tell them if someone mess with you, hit you or anything you have the right to protect yourself but it's sad how life is, that's why they always say life is a "B" which it is.

Despite her relocation to North Town Village Tiffany still has to worry about her children being recruited by gang members. While the quality of her housing has changed, she still must deal with external factors that threaten her family's safety. Her knowledge and understanding of the streets and life in Cabrini Green allow her to teach her children how to protect themselves, by any means necessary. During the interview, Tiffany spoke of the advice that she gives to her children which includes staying in school, not engaging in sexual activity, and if someone messes with you, do *whatever* you need to do to protect yourself. This advice may fall outside of middle class conceptions of appropriate ways to handle teenage conflicts. However, her social location, or outsider within status, provides her with a special perspective of the inner workings of two intersecting communities. As such, her approach to parenting reflects her social location and her worldview, which has been shaped by her homeplace.

A discussion with Laura and her grandson reveals how each one engages constructs of homplace. Laura expresses the challenges that she faces as she tries

to instill in her grandson the dangers associated with joining a gang. Laura expresses concern about the heightened gang activity occurring in Cabrini Green since she relocated. She states:

> *Laura*: Half of them they have to walk all around to keep from going through the project to keep the boys from jumping on them.
>
> *Grandson*: She making it seem like, we can't walk. We are gang bangers. That's all of Chicago, that's what we live for, that, so you know what you getting into in a gang. You know how that goes. You know what I mean?

Laura questions her grandson about why he takes the long way around the neighborhood avoiding cutting through Cabrini whenever he goes to visit his friends.

> *Grandson*: Don't think cause I'm walking that way, its because of somebody. I was going to somebody's house that way. Don't nobody stop me from going nowhere by myself. I know what's going on. She just saying I'm part of the youth that's doing it. It ain't that bad. You know what I mean. We live the way we want to live. That's how it be.
>
> *Laura*: I still don't think it's safe. Because before he came here a young boy was getting kilt every night, *every night*.

I asked her grandson what were the benefits of being in a gang?

> *Grandson*: Ain't no benefit. This all we know. We grew up infatuated with this, you know what I mean. You be a part of it, ain't no one going to mess with you, stuff like that. Me personally, my daddy, my daddy was the man at one time, that's what made me, you know what I mean. So it's like I

said, it family, it's not like being in no gang. These my people, I ain't never going to change. I ain't never. You know what I mean, cause this is me.

Interviewer: What do you see for yourself and your future?

Grandson: If not rap, than it's this forever. There ain't no hope for the future.

Interviewer: Why you say that?

Grandson: Cause it ain't.

Feldman and Stall comment that throughout history, the significance of homeplace has exceeded necessities of functional and material support for shelter a notion clearly expressed by Laura's grandson. While he recognizes the danger of the life he left, he is intrinsically connected to his homplace, which has become his filter for a variety of life experiences.

Feldman and Stall assert that attachments to homeplace are experienced as an intimate sense of belonging, comfort, and being at ease in a local, both in its material surrounds and in the social relationships formed in the locale. Regardless of the difficulties, participant reflections about life in Cabrini Green generated a language of pride and solidarity. For example, despite of the problems with the gangs Tiffany mentioned that she would still like to go back to Cabrini Green.

You know it's been some rough times. I've saw a lot of things from 1980 on up, so we moved on up. But I loved to live there if I could turn back the hands of time I will like to go back there, not because of the loud music, it was just, we was all like a family in one.

A number of the respondents shared this sentiment, noting that they were proud to be from Cabrini Green, and cherished the supportive networks they had created, Tiffany states:

> I let people know right today I was raised from Cabrini, and I am actually proud about that because there was some good times. It was some bad times and everybody goes through that in life, no matter where you at, it all up to you how you want to carry yourself in that environment.

Laura's grandson also talked about the pride that he felt for Cabrini:

> It don't matter where you live, we are Cabrini, we built Cabrini, so it don't matter that we in these new houses, we all family, we know each other.

For the most part the women reported feeling comfortable in Cabrini Green and to a large extent, their identities are still connected to their homeplace. The women's stories illustrate that they were frustrated by the crime and violence but nonetheless found comfort and support in the community. This near North side community has now undergone several phases of gentrification with changes so drastic that the old neighborhood is barely recognizable. This fact might magnify some of the participants need to claim allegiance to the disappearing Cabrini Green. As more high rises are razed and replaced with condominiums, the old neighborhood continues to fade into the background.

Embounded: Reactions to the Relocation Process

Miranne (2000) argues that when federal and state reforms are revamped they often leave poor women vulnerable to further subjugation because the policies do not consider the in between spaces that poor women occupy; as such, public policies present more challenges for these women in caring for themselves and their families. Miranne, suggests that poor women, particularly those who receive welfare and live in public housing are "embounded" or isolated when the state revamps policies and withdraws resources.

This state of emboundment is evident for the participants of this study. For instance, when faced with the reality of a forced relocation, at the age of twenty-six, Roxanne decided to take a Section 8 voucher, which she used for five years. At one point, she began to have trouble with the property owner. She filed a complaint with the CHA's Housing Choice Voucher department, however counter complaints from the landlord eventually led to her eviction. Even though she filed a grievance she lost her Section 8 funding and ended up homeless with five children to care for. She initially stayed with family and friends when she was first evicted however, circumstances eventually forced her to go to a homeless shelter. Roxanne retells the story:

> So my niece she stay across the field in the white projects they call them green homes. And um I was staying with her, she had so many people stayin with her so I stopped going up there and stuff. I had went out south and stayed with one of my in-laws, she like and aunt to me. Her boyfriend was using drugs real bad. We stayed into it and I got tired of my kids

being subjected to that. There was nine of us in there. Her son who was consistently smoking marijuana around my kids and like I told them, "you need to light some incense. I'm not tryin to run nothing but if I don't subject my kids to that your not." Guys coming in with company all over my kids heads, we sleeping on the floor, sleeping on the floor, he having company from sun up to sun down and I got sick of it. "I've never been in a shelter a day in my life but today I'm going" and I got up and left. Sure did. I got up and left and I was there four months.

Roxanne described the shelter that she was placed in as rat infested, dirty, and unsafe. Eventually she was moved to the Salvation Army shelter, which was cleaner, provided more privacy, and helped her enroll in computer classes. When Roxanne was trying to find a place to stay she first went to her pastor, then to her cousin, next to her aunt, and eventually ended up in several different shelters before moving into North Town Village. It took four months for the CHA to rectify the problem, which from Roxanne's standpoint is 120 days in a homeless shelter with her children. In addition to worry about finding housing, she still had to negotiate everyday aspects of life, like getting food for her children, clean clothes, and making sure the kids got to school. Roxanne's situation was directly related CHA's polices and procedure, and as such uncovers the impact of social reforms and policies that do not adequately consider the in between spaces that poor women occupy (Miranne, 2000). When social policies do not consider the impact and effect of polices that 'reform' the system while also withdrawing resources the result will be the exploitation and further marginalization of poor Black women. In Roxanne's case the system did not empower her to stand up against her landlord, nor help her find

new housing, and did not provide any type of assistance, financial or otherwise to help her sustain her family until the situation was resolved. Furthermore, she could not rely on family and friends to support her and her five children nor was the first shelter that she visited suitable for temporary living yet alone an environment for young children. Roxanne was "embounded" trapped by the multiple structural inequalities that left her and her family vulnerable. However, Roxanne did not passively sit back and submit to her circumstances, rather she fought everyday to regain some form of stability for her family. Her tenacity and determination eventually placed her back on the CHA's waiting list, which eventually led to placement in North Town Village.

In Caroline's case a the relationship with her mother, a drug user, who asked to stay with her and her children, also left her vulnerable during the relocation process. Caroline describes the circumstances:

> My mamma had came *from* out of town and she stayed with me and she kind of made things worse. Cause I was working and I come home from work and there's a strange man in my house. I was like,
>
> "Oh mom you know I love you but.... uh ah."
>
> And she would get mad at me cause I was telling her what to do and so, I said, "You know what, if you don't like it here, cause I have family here I have children here, I don't want no strange men coming in my house especially when I'm at work, and you doing this on your own, what if they get mad at you because you owe them money and want to get you and get my family to."
>
> That's why I asked her to leave.

If the CHA had discovered that Caroline was providing shelter and assistance to her mother, who has a drug problem and associates with drug dealers, it could have potentially changed Caroline's lease compliance status and left her ineligible for housing assistance. Under the federal governments 'one-strike and you're out' provision, the CHA has the right to evict any household with a member who uses illegal drugs or is involved in drug-related criminal activities. As Popkin (2002) notes this policy is laden with all sorts of repercussions that ultimately force individuals to choose between following mandated policies or helping a family member. The Resident's Relocation Rights Contract states that as long as residents remain lease compliant, they will be allowed to return to public housing following redevelopment. However, Roxanne and Caroline's stories reveal that remaining lease compliant during the relocation process can prove to be challenging task, even for those who have the best of intentions. The daily negotiations of their life often place them in direct contradiction with federal laws and local mandates and as such have the potential to compromise their housing options. Roxanne's and Caroline's stories represent various aspects of problems associated with the policies that govern the *Plan for Transformation* and the relocation process. Their experiences provide a different view of the relocation process than what is presented from the independent monitor, as discussed in chapter four, or other investigations that have examined this issue (Popkin, Harris, & Cunningham, 2002). The women's stories uncover the nature of their relationship with the relocation process and the very real

consequences of a system that does not adequately consider the in between spaces that low-income Black women occupy.

Coping Strategies. The information provided in chapter four combined with an examination of the women's experiences clearly indicates that the CHA's relocation process is flawed and as such leaves poor women vulnerable to further marginalization. While the women in this study recognize the limitations of the system they did not merely succumb to further objectification, rather they employed a number of coping strategies as a way to subvert the deficiencies present in the system. These strategies included maintaining a level of awareness about their rights, steadfast tenacity, direct involvement with key decision makers and resourceful people, and working multiple systems in order to identify which agencies could provide needed resources. For example, unless Caroline had been proactive about following up with CHA staff she may have never of known about the choices available to her at North Town Village. She describes how she found out about her housing options:

> So what happened was, I happened to look in the newspaper and they was talking about people that had got displaced. I said I'm going to make a call, and I'm going to talk to somebody, and I did, and she told me, "You were one of the people who got displaced." and she said, "I came out to your place but the woman told me you didn't stay there." She got me to look at one of the apartments over here and I looked at it, and I was like "you know what I like this."

Rather than waiting on the CHA to provide moving assistance Caroline transported all of her belonging, from the south side to the north side, using the cities public transportation.

Laura on the other hand kept herself involved in the process from the beginning until the end. Her involvement was not merely passive observation waiting on someone to tell her what was going on, but rather direct agitation. Laura states:

> During the time when we got our vouchers and stuff now, we thought that there was going to be a problem because due to the process, they had promised us new units and at the time, they really had not built anything. So we was in a toss up, cause we wanted to stay on the North side, we was trying to find apartments on the North side that would take us. But just so happened this lady, Mary, we started getting together going to meetings together downtown, every time housing had a meeting we went to protest, saying "where our new units" and this and that. And in the process she helped a couple of the families get down in Evergreen Terrace, but they didn't take everybody they ended up scattering; some went South, some went West, some went up North and all that. So in the long run when the building came back around when they got through building around here different units and whatever, they started sending out letters to us, asking us did we want to move over here or whatever, whatever, their rules and regulations was established.

It is difficult to say whether Laura would have been contacted by the CHA, had she not attended the meetings and questioned the process. However, her direct involvement kept her abreast of her rights and guaranteed her placement in the community.

Since Roxanne was staying in different shelters, it was difficult for CHA staff to locate her. Desperate to get her own place again, she started apply for housing assistance programs all over the city and decided to go back to CHA to see what her prospects were. Once she got back into their tracking system, she was identified as one of the people eligible for North Town Village. After she qualified for housing with Holsten, she had to undergo a background check, which was carried out by a third agency. At this point, she was denied housing because she exceeded the occupant limitations set forth by the private development company. She explains:

> I had filled some papers out with Moorehead & Associates, they did the home inspection. I passed everything cause, I was getting unemployment at the time. When they went through the papers and seen that I had put my daughter on the lease, they told me that they could not help me. Cause they only had three-bedroom housing. The state requirement said I needed a four bedroom. I said you know what, thanks for *mother fucking nothing!*

This set back did not deter her; she went to talk directly to the property mangers at North Town Village to serve as her own advocate. She ended up convincing the managers to give her an opportunity and was able to secure a four-bedroom unit. Roxanne shared her story:

> When I signed the lease, I didn't know if I was going to get moved in the high-rise, one of the condos, town homes, or what. When I walked in here I laid right there and cried (*Points to the middle of the living room floor).*

> The kids did not believe me, my husband; I said it is so big. God blessed me with four-bedrooms three-bathrooms and a two-car garage.
>
> Cause like I said to my kids we got to thank God everyday for waking us up, it's not our doing. It wasn't my doing getting this house that was God's. Blessed me with this house. If they hadn't of caught up with me when they did they was going to take my name off the list. My name was on the list all this time.

When Roxanne finally moved in it was around Christmas and was also able to receive assistance from an organization in California called Interfaith who gave her furniture, towels, sheets, food, a T.V. and a check for $400.00.

> Like I tell people everyone has a real testimony, and God knows I have one. I thank God everyday. Just cause I been through what I've been through and trying to stay from it, I still don't think that I'm better than the next person because I realize where I come from everyday. And it be wrong for me to have that type of attitude, oh just cause I cleaned myself up, I got blessed with my house, a three flat house, four bedrooms, three bath. Oh you know what; you ain't on my level that would be wrong to think like that toward my people I'm still that same person.

The women's stories expose their experiences with the relocation process, highlighting how their social location influenced their interaction with the system. Furthermore, the stories demonstrate that these women are not simply passive agents succumbing to the pressures of inequitable systems but rather active participants who empowered themselves and their families in the face of difficult circumstances. The women were able

to circumvent the deficiencies in the system by maintaining a level of awareness about their rights, staying directing involved in the relocation process, and working multiple systems in order to identify which agencies could provide needed resources.

CHAPTER VI
Private Housing Public Lives

Chapter five illuminated the participants', experiences with the CHA's relocation process, highlighting how the women in this study negotiated their former environment and overcame structural impediments present in the relocation process. The purpose of the chapter is to examine everyday aspects of the participants' lives in North Town Village. To accomplish this I first discuss how site-specific policies in the development support a "New Politics of Containment" subjecting the women to forms of constant surveillance. The latter part of the chapter examines the ways in which social interactions can influence social capital.

A New Politics of Containment

The site-specific policies for continued occupancy in North Town Village govern virtually every aspect of the women lives. In one respect, the rhetoric associated with mixed-income communities expounds that such programs help individuals become self-sufficient. However, the paternalistic nature of the policies and procedures that govern the participants daily lives clearly indicate that the decision makers at the federal, state, and local levels do not expect the women to behave in a responsible and self-sufficient manner and as such have designed polices to monitor and regulate virtually every aspect of their lives. Collins (1998) describes this phenomenon as the "New Politics of Containment," she asserts:

> Black women in the United States seem to be facing a new politics of containment honed at this intersection of *fixity* and *change*. While continuing to be organized around the exclusionary practices attached to

> racial segregation, the new politics simultaneously uses increasingly sophisticated strategies of surveillance. Relying on the visibility of African-American women to generate the invisibility of exclusionary practices of racial segregation, this new politics produces remarkably consistent Black female disadvantages while claiming to do the opposite. (Collins, 1998, p.14)

Collins notes, that previous law, which mandated racial segregation, helped to facilitate acts of government surveillance. However, as Black women continue to move into the private sector and integrate with other racial and economic groups new approaches must be implemented to maintain surveillance. Collins highlights that this new politics obscures exclusionary practices that continue to marginalize African-American women through rhetoric of inclusion. In addition, in Carby's (1992) discussion of urbanization and the production of African-American culture, she argues that since Black women first began to migrant to urban cities, public officials have sought in various ways to control their actions, behaviors, and morality. These modes of 'policing the Black women's body' often took the form of socialization by exposing "social misfits" to respectable and law abiding women of good moral character, controlling their housing, and finally creating 'training schools' that indoctrinated the women with constructs of acceptable behavior in both the private and public spheres.

The above-mentioned practices are indisputably present in the site-specific policies and procedures for continued occupancy for public housing residents at North Town Village. The state, via the federal government, has given private management companies unrestricted freedom to monitor, surveillance, and regulate the lives and

activities of public housing residents who now live in mixed-income communities. Not only do these policies seek to regulate the daily lives, thoughts, and activities of the public housing residents that live in North Town Village, the rules work to destroy the long-standing practices that low-income women have utilized to subvert the effects of concentrated poverty. The management team in North Town Village has instituted rules related to visitors, drug testing, and self-sufficiency classes, to name a few, all of which advance surveillance policies that seek to regulate the lives of public housing residents in the community.

Visitors. Holsten management has established stringent screening criteria for public housing residents who desire to live in North Town Village. Applicants must pass background checks, drug test, prove economic stability, submit to home inspections, and adhere to policies about drug use and fraternizing with convicted felons. With regard to visitors, residents are not permitted to take in guests for any extended period and if a family member returns home to live with the leaseholder, he/she must submit to the above-mentioned screening criteria. Ultimately, this policy destroys elements of extended kin networks that the women may have established in their public housing communities. Furthermore, these policies ensure that family members who have a criminal background will not be able to visit or live in the home and the policy makes it extremely difficult for the woman to provide temporary shelter to a family member or friend in need. In addition, it destroys the possibility of creating a non-traditional dual family household to help with expenses and childcare. Beverley shares the internal conflict that she

experienced when she was forced to ask her son's girlfriend to leave. She describes the incident:

> They come up there and told me; my son's girlfriend was staying with me, because she did not have no place to go. Her mother never took care of her. She raised herself up from age seven. She had two babies, I didn't want to put her out cause she lived with me when I lived on the south side. I didn't have no other choice, I had to put her out. And she had to go get her a place. She out there struggling, working, and trying to get her own place.

In their study, Feldman and Stall (2004) found that providing food and shelter to friends and family members constituted acts of everyday resistance that allowed women in Wentworth Gardens to support the pressing social reproduction needs of the women in their community. Thus, through the simple acts of taking in a friend or family member that was homeless or providing childcare services for women who went to work, the women in Wentworth Gardens were able to provide support systems to the women in their community. The above-mentioned policy at North Town Village makes it extremely difficult for the participants in this study to engage similar forms of support and assistance to other low-income women who may be in need. Not only does this policy limit the social and familial relationships the women are able to develop, the policy also allows management to monitor the male company the women have. Tiffany addressed this issue referring to boyfriends living with residents:

> The only way they can live (*boyfriends*), is if they ain't got no criminal record but you know the majority, ninety percent, got criminal records. And I can understand that because they want their place to stay, you know, in a decent way, and then you don't know what they're in jail for, could be molesting then you got kids around here, that's understandable, that is understandable. Cause when I first moved back they came and talked to me before I moved over here. They say well you can't have a boyfriend on a criminal record. Okay if I knew I want a man, he on a criminal, why should I move? Some of these people got that said to them but they not following the rules then when they get put out they mad. But you have to see why you mad, you should be mad at yourself cause they told you what was what when you moved. I was like well I ain't got no man I don't care I'll go on you know and that's how it was. Some people they, they have they boyfriend over here people complain they just get out of jail, probation, comin. Don't none of that supposed be going on.

As Tiffany describes, it is within the right of Holsten to mandate that all people living in the unit are listed on the lease. However, the screening criteria essentially limit the type of relationships the women can have with men especially if they have a criminal record. A factor that a number of the women felt that management had no right to monitor. This issue came up during a tenant meeting that had been called for public housing residents to voice some of their concerns; Beverley broached the visitor issue with management. She explains:

> One day we had a meeting over here. Okay that was my first time meeting this man named Matthew. I didn't know who the man was, and I frankly, I didn't care. They'll tell you I'm just like Martin Luther King, I don't care about going to no hill I going to speak my piece. And there was a lot of girls came from 500 and 502, and they was saying why your boyfriend can't come and visit you. They didn't want your boyfriend to come here and all that. So I asked the man what's the difference between them and us. Ain't no difference between White person and Black person but the color they skin. So I was saying the same thing to a woman in my building. They overheard, went back and told the manager. He ask me, "well do you want you Section 8 back?" I said I don't have NO problem, I'm going to speak my piece. Because I don't see no difference.

While this incident demonstrate Brenda's assertiveness and willingness to stand up for the women in the community, especially given the fact that she is married and does not face this same problem, it also illustrates how managers try and control the women's behavior by threatening to take away their housing. However, the key point is that monitoring the women's social relationships with men goes beyond the type of control or influence that management should be able to exert over tenants. Social policies constructed to control the private lives of Black women have been part of systemic forms of control since Black women first entered urban centers. These forms of social control demolish the line between private and public domains, essentially subjecting Black women to constant monitoring, observation, and invasion. Furthermore, these policies are supported because derogatory images of poor Black women have permeated the public

psyche and thus work to justify policies that seek to regulate the lives of poor Black women. The drug testing policy in North Town Village is another example of surveillance and containment tactic that managements uses to control actions and behaviors of their low-income residents.

Drug Testing. CHA residents, who live in North Town Village, over the age of seventeen, are required to take yearly drug test in order to remain lease compliant. Holsten is one of the only management companies working with the CHA that mandates drug testing for public housing residents. This has been a source of some controversy because homeowners, in the same community, do not have to undergo the yearly examination. The following comments represent the women's responses to the drug-testing requirement:

> *Vate*: We got to take a drug test every year; we do, but not them.
>
> *Chante*: I can see it when we first move in but every year, come on.
>
> *Brenda*: A lot of people moving out of here because of the drug test.... I don't do drugs, I don't feel like I got to go down here and take it. That's what a lot of people complain about too, why is it that Holsten, is the only one that have to take the drug test. Orchard *(another mixed-income community near by)* don't take no drug test, and we the only one. Every development that they own out South only Holsten have to take a drug test. I mean I don't have no problem with it, but I think that's someone's personal life, you see what I'm sayin. And then a lot of people moved out cause they didn't want to do it.

Louise: They want you to take a urine test every year. If you ain't on drugs, like I be telling them, "I'm 57 years old. I'm not no drugie." They say that's their policy. Take a urine test every year. I don't like it, it too much trouble

Alternatively, Nancy, Caroline, and Roxanne did not feel that the drug test were unfair, in fact Roxanne noted that the management gives the residents many opportunities to comply with the rules.

Nancy: Taking the drug test? I have no problem cause I don't smoke weed or nothing like that so I don't have no problem with it. I guess it somehow, beneficial here.

Caroline: I don't have no problem with that. I mean I guess they trying to keep people from doing drugs off the property, cause they don't want nobody doing no type of drugs on this property.

Roxanne: They have us drop every year when its time for us to renew our lease and if you come up dirty then..... They be like, in order for you to keep your house you have to go in-patient or get into an outpatient program. They give you a chance to keep your house, cause they know how hard it is finding houses.

At the very basic level, the drug testing procedures are an invasion of privacy and direct comment on the management perceptions of public housing residents. The manner in which Holsten enforces this policy is not communicating that they do not want drugs on their property, if this was the case they would test everyone in the development, it implicitly states we can not trust public housing residents,

therefore they have to undergo yearly drug test. The women's social location as poor women who rely on public housing assistance exposes them to invasions, which other people in the same community do not experience. Not only are the participants bound by rules regulating their social and personal lives, Holsten and the CHA mandate that all residents must attend a Good Neighbor Class prior to moving into the community.

Good Neighbor Class. Residents are required to attend a 'Good Neighbor Class' before they can sign their lease. This is a one-day class, taught by different staff members at CHA. The session covers everything from renter's insurance, opening a bank account, housekeeping, neighbor interaction, and what toilet paper to use. The women share their reactions to the class:

> *Louise*: They was showing us how to prepare when you move and how to budget your money and stuff. It was real nice we had got a certificate.
>
> *Caroline*: It was helpful; they talked about mostly how to approach your neighbor don't go to your neighbor cussing them out, you all come to a conclusion. How to control the company you keep. There were a lot of points that were helpful to me. It helped out. There were only two people in my class.
>
> *Vate*: They told us not to use generic stuff in the dishwasher and stuff like that, our toilet we can't use Charmin we got to use Scots tissue.

While the majority of the respondent found the class helpful Chante and Beverley had different sentiments about their sessions.

Chante: It as only Blacks wasn't no White people. I don't know if they even went to a class, we couldn't even sign our lease until we went to the class. One day for five hours.

Brenda: They was telling us how to keep a house.... I know how to keep my house..... *you need to* manage the building.

The stated intention of the 'Good Neighbor Class' is to help CHA residents adapt to living in the private market. While the class covers a number of useful subjects including money management, banking, and how to purchase homeowners insurance, the design of the program falls short on a number of fronts. While the class may take the first step in helping residents through the transition process from the public to the private market the fact that it is a one-day class that last for five hours raises questions about the overall impact and usefulness of the information. This class is another example of how systematic supports have failed to assist residents with their relocation and adjustment process. If the CHA were truly concerned about the smooth transition of public housing residents into the private market the Good Neighbor program would be a long-term program that provided residents with various types of resident identified support. As it exists right now, the class is a socializing mechanism to "teach" public housing residents how to behave in their new communities. It focuses only on changing behavior not the structural inequalities that limit social mobility.

Pet Policy. Not only are the site-specific policies and procedures designed to monitor and limit the actions and behaviors of public housing residents, other rules in the community establish an environment of preferential treatment. For example, North Town Village's pet policy seems to be a big point of contention among the women interviewed.

The first point of concern that was frequently mentioned was the fact that homeowners can have pets and public housing tenants cannot. Second, a number of the participants had a great deal of concern about the amount of respect pet owner showed to the community specifically dealing with letting dogs 'run off their leashes' and not properly disposing of the dog's waste. Vate stated:

> Like this lady and this guy over me have a dog. We can't have a dog, we can't have no pets. And the lady on the first floor she just let her dog just run, and she get mad at you because you go and tell the people that she letting the dog run. She got a rottweiler we don't want to get bit by no dog, and he only bark when he see us coming. I'm just saying she got to be prejudiced or something. And they can act like that.

Chante felt that the issue is much bigger than whether or not renters can have pets. She sees the policy as discriminatory and finds it difficult to explain to her children why they cannot have a pet. Chante commented:

> I wants to move, because they can have pets: cats, fish, dogs, hamsters, but we can't have no cat. And I don't want to live over here no more because we can't have pets. My kids ain't never had no cat. But they can have dogs. I didn't move from where I was to be segregated like this cause my kids don't know nothing about segregation; I don't know nothing about segregation. They discriminate us, if they homeowners and we renter what does it matter? We still pay rent and all of us still work, I'm a full time worker, I'm a preschool teacher, why should you segregate us if I'm a fulltime worker. *In Cabrini we* was equals, you didn't deal with

> segregation, and I can't deal with that. That's my only problem, I can't deal with that. We pay rent, I pay a lot of rent to stay up here, even though I work full time and I pay high gas, but they don't want to give us the same thing they get. And I don't feel it's right. And some peoples dog's use it and don't get it up they look at you a smile, at you, and when you speaking to them, they look at you they got their own little personal ideas about things, but when we play our music they get mad.

It is clear that the real issue here has less to do with pets and more to do with the effects of differential treatment. Chante is clearly unhappy in North Town Village and despises the policies and procedure that differentiate between homeowners and public housing residents, policies that she cannot logically explain to her children. Her initial response is to leave the community and relocate to a place where she feels like she will fit in better, a community perhaps that is more racially homogenous.

Laura finds that many of the pet owners disrespect community spaces:

> Lately, all the homeowner have dogs. Okay they poop here they poop everywhere, some of them might have a bag a scoop bag and get it up, some of them uh ah. Then you go to the office and report it, report it, I don't know what they done, done because the same thing still going on.

During the neighborhood block party Laura had a conversation with the CEO's of Holsten development and management about her concern with a specific neighbor who lets her dog chase people in the neighborhood:

> I was telling them about this,

"We gonna talk to her, we gonna talk to her."

Why you going to talk to her when it's reported numerous times about her and all the owners that have these dogs they pooping up and down the street they not picking it up. But yet you let the dogs run scot-free through the grass do what they want to do run all over the neighborhood, but the kids can't play.

"Oh you right Laura we gonna take this up we gonna have a meeting."

There's been no changes, because still the kids can't ride their bikes out here they still can't do nothing. And that's the whole issue around here.

We try to follow our rules an regulations.

They give the dogs more privileges.

The dogs have more privileges than the kids.

Nancy's comment indicates that the issue is much larger than pets defecating on the lawn or who can and cannot own pets. The issue is essentially about the basic level of respect that the management has for people, and commitment to enforcing fair and equitable policies. While the participants' kids are not allowed to play outside, pet owner can let the dogs roam freely in the community. However, securing a play area for the children is a battle that the women have been fighting since they moved into North Town Village.

Not only is there nowhere for the children to play there are also rules that dictate whose children are allowed to play outside. When management finds a public housing residents' child playing outside the parent(s) receive a written warning. If this incident occurs again the parent(s) are fined $25.00. If it occurs a third time the lease agreement

states that it could be cause for eviction. This policy also extends to adults congregating and sitting outside. The women discussed their feelings about this matter:

> *Sharon*: When they showed us the map, they showed us that they was going to have a playground for the kids. Then all the sudden a lot of people start coming and they done changed it around. Now they don't want to build a playground. There a lot of kids over here they got to have somewhere to play.
>
> *Chante*: And to me they segregating us. Because they kids can play out here and our kids got to go all the way in the field, over there and play. They kids can play in the front but, every little thing, they want to write your kids up, for what somebody else kids doing.

Several of the women explained that the different policies and procedures for homeowners and renters enforced by the management make it difficult for there to be true sense of equality in the community. The nature of the polices and procedures that govern the women's lives are in effect discriminatory and establish a form of preferential treatment that mirrors the systemic forms of discrimination that for decades marginalized and isolated these women from full participation in society.

The fact that these rules only pertain to the actions and behaviors of public housing residents makes them discriminatory. Holsten's site specific-policies institute various levels of surveillance and as such mange power relations in the community (Collins, 2000). Collins argues that power is managed, "not through the social policies that are explicitly racist or sexist but

through the ways in which organizations are run" (p.280). The participants' unique social location determines their relationships with the structures that govern their lives. Furthermore, the above-mentioned policies are supported by macro-structural systems the perpetuate inequality, thus the process has become normalized to the point that the federal government and the CHA have celebrated Holsten's practices and the city of Chicago has given the management company several awards for their innovative approach to managing mixed-income communities. Without understanding the lived experiences of these participants, one could not appreciate how seemingly simply guidelines interfere with daily aspects of their lives. Positioning the women as agents of knowledge sheds a new light on the site-specific screening criteria and rules for continued occupancy for public housing residents in North Town Village.

Social Capital

Proponents of the creation of mixed-income communities as a strategy for poverty deconcentration, contend that one of the most attractive aspects of the design, relates to the fact that low-income residents, through interactions with middle and upper class residents, will increase their social capital (Brophy & Smith, 1997; Rosenbaum, Harris & Denton, 2002; Rubinwoitz & Rosenbaum, 2000). Social capital is defined as investment and use of embedded resources in social relations for expected returns (Lin, 2000). Social capital is conceptualized as (1) quantity and/or quality of resources that an actor (be it individual or group or community) can access or use through (2) its location in a social network. The first definition emphasizes resources entrenched in social relations while the second focuses on ones location in a social network. Lin states, "Social capital

enhances the likelihood of 'instrumental returns,' such as better jobs, earlier promotions, higher earnings or bonuses, and 'expressive returns,' such as better mental health" (p.786). Studies have found that significant differences appear in the social networks and the embedded resources of men and women (Beggs & Hurlbert, 1997; Campbell & Rosenfeld, 1985; Marsden, 1987, 1988; Moody, 1983; Moore, 1990) and racial groups (Blau, 1991; Drake, 1965; Marsden, 1988; Martineau, 1977) with men and Whites yielding access to better resources and higher status networking groups. Lin sites two primary reasons for the inequality of social capital. First, processes of historical and institutional constructions have provide unequal opportunities for members of different groups defined by race, gender, religion, caste or other ascribed or constructed characteristic. Second, the principle of homophily, suggest a general tendency for individuals to interact and support others with similar characteristics.

Lin asserts that cross-group ties among people of differing resources are usually recognized through kin and family ties or mentor-protégé ties. He states, "Cross-group ties facilitate access to better resources and better outcomes for member of the disadvantaged group. Nevertheless, such times are the exception rather than the rule; homophily and structural constraints reduce the likelihood of establishing such ties for most of the disadvantaged members" (Lin, 2000, p. 787). Furthermore, Lin contends that 'capital deficit' groups may generate different rewards from their interactions for three primary reasons. First, they may not associate with people who have the "best" social ties; second, people that they establish connections with may be reluctant to invest their capital on their behalf; and third, gatekeepers respond differently to people based on

gender and race therefore bias in an organization may prohibit entrance, regardless of one's acquired resources or affiliation within a network (Lin, 2000, p. 791).

While housing mobility specialists have articulated improved social capital as one of the primary benefits to low-income residents, who relocate to mixed-income communities it is still unclear how residents will actually accrue social capital. The assumption seems to be that if low-income residents engage in meaningful social interactions with middle and upper class neighbors this in turn will expand their resource network, which in turn will lead to improved social capital. If this is the case then cross group social interactions, both racially and economically, appear to be key factors that influence increases in social capital for low-income residents in mixed-income communities.

Thus far, most examinations related to inter-group or cross group interactions in housing situations have focused on interracial social interactions where successful integration was defined in terms of harmonious relationships. The Gautreaux program provides one of the few examples of the residential integration of low-income Blacks into a White middle class suburb. Furthermore, Rosenbaum, Popkin, Kaufman, and Rusin (1991) note that there has been relatively little attention in the literature given to the effects of residential integration as it relates to the social interactions of adults.

Findings from the 1960s and 1970s indicated that affluent Whites generally have more positive attitudes towards Blacks (Ford, 1973; Williams, 1964; Zeul & Humphrey, 1971) and integration is most successful when Blacks and Whites are of equal social status (Deutsch & Collins, 1951; Wilner, Walkely, and Cook, 1955). In their study of the Gautreaux program, Rosenbaum, Popkin, Kaufman, and Rusin predicted that low-income

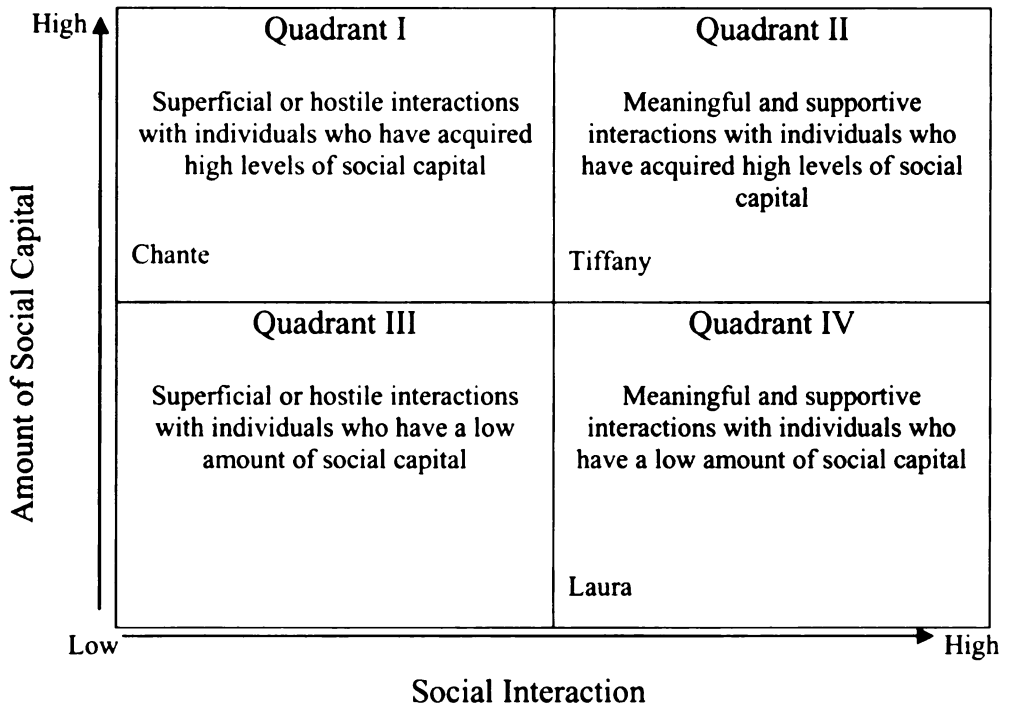
residents who moved to the suburbs would be less socially intergraded than city movers would and experience limited neighborhood support, friendliness, interaction, and friendships in comparison to low-income residents who relocated within the city. Surveys and interviews with Gautreaux participants indicated that suburban movers reported experiencing almost two times as many incidents of harassments than city movers and only one-fourth of the participants responded that their neighbors were helpful, friendly, and provided practical assistance, which was defined as 'going out of the way' to help. Rosenbaum, Popkin, Kaufman, and Rusin used six interaction measures and based their analysis on frequency of behaviors in order to determine a scale of social interaction. The six indicators included lending things to neighbors, letting the neighbor use the phone, watching a neighbor's child, eating lunch or dinner with a neighbor, greeting a neighbor in the hallway, and talking to a neighbor for ten minutes or more.

Other Gautreaux research suggests that families that moved to the suburbs gained educational and employment benefits from these moves compared to city movers (Rosenbaum & Kaufman, 1991; Rosenbaum & Popkin, 1991). However, these studies do not indicate if these gains were a result of improved proximity to better resources (i.e. better schools and more jobs) or a result of social interactions with neighbors who help to facilitate the process.

Utilizing Lin's social capital framework, which asserts that capital deficit groups may generate instrumental and expressive returns from their interactions with individuals or groups that have higher degrees of social capital combined with Rosenbaum's, Popkin's, Kaufman's, and Rusin's social interaction framework allows for the opportunity to consider what type of social interactions could potentially lead to

improved social capital for low-income residents. Figure 3 depicts a matrix that locates degrees of social capital and social interaction in order to determine what types of interactions may lead to improved social capital.

Figure 3: The Relationship Between Social Interaction and Social Capital



The matrix presented in figure 3 provides a useful framework for which to examine how the social interactions participants engage in everyday, may or may not increase one's social capital. For instance, Tiffany's experiences with her neighbors are represented the quadrant II demonstrating a high degree of cross group interaction She explains:

> *Tiffany*: I ain't never had no problem, they like family. Like me and my neighbor, White neighbor, Black neighbor (*points*). White neighbor need somethin I help them out she need somethin I help them out, I need somethin they help me out, that's how it should be. All of them get along

with me, I smile, I wave good morning, that's it. I had a couple of neighbors help me out with my bills cause they know I'm by myself. And you know, I pays them back you know but sometimes it's hard for a single parent, and all this weight on us. I LOVE my neighbors, and they movin out piece by piece and I hate it. I believe, I don't know, but I believe that it cause of some of us in here that ain't keepin and following the rules. So, but I love them.

Tiffany's comment reflects her sense of a strong supportive network and amiable relationship with her neighbors whom she describes as, "just like family". In addition, she views these interactions not necessarily as a way for her to increase her social capital but rather as a network of people that she can depend on for a number of different things. If her neighbors are connected to other resource rich networks, she may have the opportunity to benefit from their social standing because she has already established meaningful connections with them.

Nancy's cordial experiences with her neighbors lie somewhere in between quadrant II & IV based on the limited amount of interaction that she has had with them. Laura discusses how she first began communicating with them.

This guy next door, it took him about a year before he started saying hello. The only reason I think he spoke, I happened to be cleaning snow out the door area so I said 'well I'll just do his.' He come out his door, first he looked..... then he said "how you doing". First time that man had spoke to me. I've been living next to him for a year. Just like the girls downstairs. Now I went in my mailbox. So, I open the mail and I'm like a check for

one thousand dollars. I'm like who sent me a check for a thousand dollars. I'm thinking now how do I deposit this check in my bank account. Nawh, I aint gonna do that. So I went downstairs. I'm like is your name Laura or whatever she said "No, No" peeking through the door.

She said "may I ask why."

I said "well I got some mail in my mailbox and I accidentally opened it and it was a check."

"Oh that's my roommate here she comes now." She coming across the street. I said well I opened it by mistake so I don't want you to think that I opened it. She came up here, and came in, and said "Oh this is so gorgeous" you know and whatever just came on through. I ain't ask her to come all the way in here you know. She said ohh I love a big place like this. But I gave her that check Monique, she came the next day and gave me sixty dollars. And that's how we started talking. You got some salt Nancy? You got some sugar for my coffee Nancy? I don't mind cause I liked it. Sure, you know, and I hope every time they ask me if I got a needle to a pen and I say yes. That makes me feel good.

The connections that Tiffany and Laura enjoy with their neighbors demonstrates the types of interactions that Lin's and Rosenbaum, Popkin, Kaufman, and Rusin's frameworks suggest might lead to social cohesiveness which in turn could lead to improved social capital for low-income residents.

While Lin points to the importance of cross-group interactions for resource deficit groups. It is also important to note that the in-group or intra-

racial social interactions that occur among the participants sever an important purpose. The interactions that the participants have with one another and other former Cabrini Green residents are closely connected to quadrant IV. A number of the women interviewed revealed that they have created their own social support network with other public housing residents. Nancy, Louise, Brenda, Sharon, and Vate all mentioned that they get together to play fifteen hundred every week.

> Nancy: We pretty much get together and organize with ourselves. It ain't like we missing nothing with them *(the White people in the community)*.

Furthermore, Laura mentioned that during the summer for several weeks in a row there was a Cabrini Green reunion in the park right across from North Town Village. Former Cabrini Green residents from across the city were invited to come back to the old neighborhood. However, what made this reunion unique is that is was organized by old gang leaders from Cabrini Green. Laura described the event in detail:

> But every week, down there at Schuler Park, they was having these outings every Monday. Called old timers, and all the old time gang leaders, I mean big time gang leader be out there. But they was speaking to the younger generation. But these are they grandkids that coming up gang bangers. These is their kids, kids. I mean, I seen a girl out here I ain't seen in forty years. She was there and then I turned around the next week I saw a couple of friends that I hadn't seen in about thirty-seven years. And then the word got out that people was coming together like a big old family reunion thing, people was just out there. Like, say you might had went to

> kindergarten with this girl and then ya'll got up and however, maybe graduated from school and whatever or either she might have moved away when she was in fourth grade. West side boys, everybody was there "Man I aint seen you in about forty-five years" whatever whatever, it was so nice. It was just a reunion thing. The Decibels, Cobras, the Vice Lords or whatever. They was all out there, kickin it smokin blunts and whatever. But, who was fighting? The eight and nine year olds, ten year olds. This is what I wanna see around here. A unity.

While some might consider the congregation of various gangs in one park problematic, Laura was happy about the reunion and comforted by the fact that the men were trying to do something "productive" in the community. The Cabrini reunion was an event that was uniquely and specially for Cabrini residents, in a sense all of the old residents were reclaiming the neighborhood and indirectly sending a message that the bonds that were formed in this community will not be destroyed by the demolition of the buildings. While these types of interactions certainly are beneficial and as Feldman and Stall (2004) and Williams (2004) have shown, such supportive kin networks can help low-income women with childcare, and other household task which can translate into acts of everyday resistance. However, according to Lin these interactions will not create opportunities for the women to increase their social capital. Lin argues, "members of a certain group, clustering around relatively inferior socioeconomic standings and interacting with others in similar social groupings, would be embedded in social networks poorer in resources as well—poorer social capital" (p.787). He goes on to note resource poor networks share relatively restricted varieties of information and influence. Therefore, even meaningful

and helpful interactions with low resource individuals, or groups, do not inherently help low-income residents accrue social capital.

This point contradicts or at least does not recognize personal agency or forms of grass roots social activism that may be present in homogenous low-income communities (Feldman & Stall, 2004; Williams, 2004). Supportive relationships among the women provide stability, thus generating high amounts of expressive returns. As policy makers assert the importance of helping low-income groups improve their social capital, it is important, that they provide access without undermining or destroying supportive networks that are already in place.

The next section reveals how history, race, class, and gender and contextual factors shape the complex layering of interpersonal relationship among all of the residents in North Town Village. While the majority of the women interacted with their neighbors without serious incident, Chante noted that there are times, matters can escalate and turn into complicated conformations. Chante's experience is a representation of the first quadrant where one can interact with someone who has a higher degree of social capital; however, the interaction is hostile and thus will not lead to an improved social standing. Chante went into detail about a problem that she is having with a neighbor. The resident is a homeowner, lawyer, and single Black man who lives below her: She explains:

> I'm having this problem with this man downstairs, cause he say my kids running around, which that's a lie. I got older kids and my step kids are older. He want to say my kids are running around, which is not true. I'm not going to tell my kids to be still, so my kids isolated to one room

because he want to go back to the office. Saying that my kids running around. The kids don't even be in the living room. The kitchen they come in the kitchen, just to eat. I got a separate living room and dining room, they don't even come into the computer, they like upstairs in the room so I don't hear his mouth, or I won't hear management mouth. That why I want to move. My kids are not going to sit down and act like they prisoners in the house. Me and him stand toe to toe out here, he Black and an attorney. You know, some of us act like that, they give you a quarter they want the whole block. He got a White man job, they let it go to they head.

Chante has had repeated misunderstandings with her neighbor, and she went on to describe another incident that occurred:

> There was some kids on the step and they was hollering up to the window for my daughter. So he come out talkin about, "You need to know where your daughter at," this that and the other, "you let your kids run around, slam cabinets," this that and the other. I said, first of all my kids are growin, well old enough, why would they run around, and I'm a pre-school teacher and I'm there all the time. So he got to talkin crazy, and my brother-in-law told him if you an attorney you not supposed to talk like that, and you not going to talk to her anyway so you need to correct the way you talk to her. Oh he changed his whole tone.

While Chante's neighbor, the attorney, could have potentially provided her access to a number of different resources through his social networks, the nature of the interactions between them negates any benefits that she might accrue. Furthermore, it is important to note that when engaged in interactions with persons who possess higher degrees of

social capital, there is always the potential that the person with fewer resources will suffer greater repercussions for any infractions that may occur.

While the design of the community has given low-income residents greater access to individuals with higher degrees of social capital, managers have done little to help facilitate cross group interactions among the residents. Organized opportunities for residents to interact with one another do not occur frequently. In fact, the first organized event was a block party that occurred on September 11, 2004 three years, after the first public housing residents had moved into the community. Initially, Holsten has expressed that they wanted the homeowners to collaborate and organize the party for the entire community; however, the lack of interest among the homeowners caused the event to be delayed and pushed back a number of times. Eventually management decided to plan the event themselves. There were about thirty-five families that attended, four of which were homeowners. Vate proclaimed:

> This was the most important thing that I ever saw that we did, since I been here, was today, for them to come together like we did today, cause we ain't never come together on nothing.

In the three years that the community has existed there had only been one structured opportunity for all of the residents to interact with one another. While Vate does not speak in terms of needing to improve her social capital, she does recognize the importance of social cohesion and community solidarity. While the *Plan for Transformation* has provided the participants closer proximity to resource rich individuals this "positionality" may not be enough to change the participants' relationship with forms of structural inequality.

Finally, while there are a any number of factors that will influence gains in social capital including homophily and macro-structural barriers, a key hindrance to the full incorporation of low-income residents into the community is the relationships that many of the participants have with the managerial staff. Holsten hired several building managers to live in the development and maintains that they are there to sever as the first line of defense to help curtail any problems that may arise. However, the women stories indicate that their relationship with management has become more conferential and contemptuous rather than helpful and harmonious. The relationship between management and low-income resident is a critical component of the overall success a resident will experience in the community and directly influences opportunities to build social capital. Several of the participants relayed that, they felt that the building managers were often disrespectful and rude. For instance, Beverley describes an incident that she had with her building manager regarding the installment a satellite dish. She stated:

> I had this White man his name was Dave. And you know the way he talked to me? He talked to me like I was a kid. My mamma always told me to respect my elders. I was the first Black person around here to get satellite okay. Well I didn't know, I'm working for the police department as a cross guard. My son and his girlfriend was there *(at the house)* and they had it *(the satellite)* mounted up on the wall. He comes up there, "If you don't get that motherfuckin shit down, then I'm gonna come snatch the motherfuckin shit." This a White man, talking to me like that, the manager of the building. Why would you come talking to me like this when I done lived around here since I was the only Black person, everybody else

> getting satellite. The White folks you go over there they got their stuff mounted up to the wall. But this is the way you want to talk to me, I told my son "you'll got to get stuff down" and they nailed a whole in the wall, he told me I would have to pay for the hole, I ain't paying for nothing.

This incident is complicated by the fact that the manager, who is expected to serve as a resource for the residents, is in effect cultivating a hostile environment. This not only makes it difficult for Beverley to live peacefully in the community but also limits the likelihood that she would seek his assistance with other issues. Popkin, Harris, and Cunningham (2002) found that relationships with management could determine the level of stability a public housing resident experiences in a mixed-income community. Furthermore, if one of the stated objectives for the creation of mixed-income communities is to change the social and economic standing of low-income residents by helping them improve their social capital then mangers in the complex should help facilitate interactions among neighbors and guide residents toward resources, not impeded their progress. While the examples provided by Tiffany and Laura indicate that strong relationship are possible, the experiences of Chante, and Beverley represent the challenges that may impeded the formation of meaningful supportive relationship in the community which will limit opportunities for the residents to improve their social capital.

Participants' Response to the Public Gaze

From the outside looking in it seems as if the public housing residents have been given a prime opportunity. They live in brand new condominiums in a neighborhood that in five years will be one of the hottest real estate markets in the city. However, the participants' stories reveal that their lives in North Town Village are not quite paradise.

The participants were asked to share their perception of what they thought other people, outside of the community thought about them. There statements are powerful and listed below without analysis so that their voices may be heard.

Louise: Lots of people figure that 'they came from Cabrini Green they ain't going to do nothing but causing trouble.' Cause you know we came from Cabrini over here, something nice. They think that since we from the projects, that what they be doing, trouble making. They think cause we came from Cabrini you bring all the trouble that all they deal with drugs an gangs and bring it over here. That's how the White folks think cause you came from Cabrini you trouble.

Vate: They said they trying to teach you all how to own stuff and be responsible for this and all that, but we old enough, we adults. We like nice things, anything look good it you keep it clean, so that's how we do. We like nice things and we moved up in here and we keepin our house clean we want to live like they live. But they got to treat us like they want to be treated. They think that cause were Black we do stuff like that. They do it to, but they doing ecstasy and all that stuff. Don't judge me by the color of my skin, judge me by who I am you know what I'm sayin. That's the way we want to feel. You know they sayin, they can say... that they did give us a chance. That what they say, "well we gave them a chance, they came in here." We know what to do and what not to do, we not no kids. They treat us like that cause of the color of our skin.

Chante: When people look from the outside seem like we blessed but when they get in here they goin see we ain't blessed.

Roxanne: They was a lot of people, they was moving, they said they too many Black people, project people, moving over here. Uhh....., That means their whole thing is because these houses brand new don't nobody Black, period, unless you a lawyer or doctor get one of these and that being discriminated. What is they talking about there's to many Black people? but I'm like how can they actually feel like that. It's not for you to say whose moving in, whose moving out, or who's on their way in. It's not for you to say. I look at it like this the only reason that this got built is for relocation for us. So it more so ours than theirs, but if you want to come off here, "well they shouldn't be here anyway," we could have been like that.

There are a number of people against the *Plan for Transformation* for a variety of reasons; however, the women's comments reflect the underlying hidden message that surrounds many people's opposition. Some people are not against the concept of mixed-income communities per se, but rather against allowing low-income public housing residents to have access to such communities. This sentiment permeates the structural aspects of the CHA Plan and relocation services. It is also omnipresent in the site-specific policies and procedures for continued occupancy at North Town Village, and last but not lest it comes across in the interactions that the participants have with their neighbors and management. The participants of this study revealed the reality of their experiences' with the CHA's *Plan for Transformation*. It was important to capture these experiences because the voice of Black female public housing residents has either been excluded or left out of the larger conversation that shapes and informs the discussion on mixed-

income communities. Black women who live in public housing offer a perspective on housing mobility programs that seek to deconcentrate poverty through the creation of mixed-income communities that transcends a pragmatic analysis. Their unique social location provides them of view of this process that administrators, city officials, and employees at the CHA do not have.

Chapter VII

Conclusion

Several factors have contributed to the current state of inner city public housing communities across the nation including de-industrialization, housing segregation, economic restructuring, and discriminatory policies and procedures that marginalized groups based on social constructions of race, class, and gender. The effects of concentrated poverty significantly impact poor Black women who live in public housing; however, rarely are their voices or experiences included in the discourses that influence and shape the public policies which directly impact them.

In an effort to curtail the problems that existed throughout the Chicago Housing Authority's properties, in 2000 the agency implemented the *Plan for Transformation*, a ten year, multi-billion dollar project that seeks to rebuild and rehabilitate 25,000 units of housing. The agency reports that they are primarily concerned with changing the physical appearance of their communities and helping their residents move toward self-sufficiency in order to end the generational cycles of concentrated poverty that currently plague their developments. The *Plan* call for the majority of the residents to relocate to the private market through the Section 8/Housing Choice Voucher program (HCV). However, a small percentage of the residents have the opportunity to relocate to newly developed mixed-income communities located on or near the site of their former housing project.

Through in-depth interviews, document analysis, and field research, this embedded case study investigated the lived experiences of nine Black women who formerly lived in Cabrini Green and who now live in North Town Village. In order to determine: (1) How does viewing low-income Black woman as agents of knowledge

inform one's understanding of the Chicago Housing Authority's *Plan for Transformation*? (2) How do logistical and programmatic aspects of the Chicago Housing Authority's *Plan for Transformation* impact the participants of this study? (3) What strategies do the participants employ to overcome the structural inequalities and limitations they may face as a result of recent housing policy changes? (4) Do the participants relocation and transition experiences align with the Chicago Housing Authority stated goals and objectives as presented in the *Plan for Transformation*? The purpose of this chapter is to review the findings of the study.

CHA administrators have been forced to juggle the interest of a number of different stakeholders including the federal government, city officials, private development and management companies, and their residents. Balancing all of these interests, which often times are in contradiction with one another, has proven to be quite a challenge for the agency with the resident services and needs often comprised to meet the interest of other groups. Inequalities present in the logistical and programmatic aspects of the *Plan* have created structural impediments that limit residents' housing choices. For instance while the objectives outlined in the *Plan* call for renewed housing and opportunities for all their residents, five and a half years into the implementation of the *Plan* it is evident that the agency is doing a better job of addressing the structural aspects than it is of attending to needs of their residents. As of January 1, 2005 16,637 public housing units have been demolished however, only about 9 percent of the hard units, a total of 1857 units, have actually returned. Agency administrators have proven that they can effectively demolish units, as stipulated under federal mandates; however, when it comes to the relocation of displaced residents, the return of actual hard units, and

the availability of essential services to help residents make effective changes in their lives, these administrators are not measuring up to the promises that were guaranteed to residents at the onset of the project. The aggressive demolition schedule, transfer of CHA services to outside contractors, and the new responsibility placed on CHAC staff have left residents subject to a failing relocation process.

In addition, discriminatory practices built into the *Plan* have facilitated resident subjugation and marginalization. Specifically the 'Minimum Tenant Selection Plan for Mixed-Income/ Mixed Finance Communities' and site-specific screening criteria have in effect blocked some residents from opportunities to live in newly constructed mixed-income communities, a right which was guaranteed to them in the Resident Right to Return Relocation Contract. Furthermore, since the agency has transferred all of its management responsibilities to private companies they have compromised their residents' civil liberties, exposing them to unregulated and intrusive policies and practices.

Viewing low-income Black women as agents of knowledge provides a view of the *Plan for Transformation* and the relocation process not readily found from other sources. Specifically, the women's stories uncover their experiences during the relocation process and the very real consequences of a system that does not adequately consider the in between spaces that low-income Black women occupy. While the women in this study recognized the limitations of the relocation process they did not merely succumb to further subjugation, rather they employed a number of coping strategies as a way to subvert the inherent deficiencies present in the process. These strategies included maintaining a level

of awareness about their rights, steadfast tenacity, direct involvement with key decision makers and resourceful people, and working multiple systems in order to identify which agencies could provide needed resources. The participants' stories reveal that they are not simply passive objects enduring multiple forms of oppression but rather active agents who circumvented structural inequalities through various strategies.

The site-specific policies for continued occupancy in North Town Village have instituted a 'New Politics of Containment'. The state, via the federal government, has given private management companies unrestricted freedom to monitor, surveillance, and regulate the lives and activities of public housing residents who now live in mixed-income communities. Not only do these policies seek to regulate the daily lives, actions, and activities of the public housing residents that live in North Town Village, the rules work to destroy the long-standing practices that low-income women have utilized to subvert the effects of concentrated poverty. The management team in North Town Village has instituted rules related to visitors, drug testing, and self-sufficiency classes, all of which advance surveillance policies that seek to regulate the lives of public housing residents in the community. Furthermore, these policies establish unbalanced power dynamics among the residents, leaving public housing residents susceptible to discriminatory practices with little options for redress. The nature of the polices and procedures that govern the women's lives are in effect discriminatory and establish a form of preferential treatment that mirrors the systemic forms of

discrimination that for decades marginalized and isolated these women from full participation in society.

The above-mentioned policies are supported by macro-structural systems the perpetuate inequality, thus the process has become normalized to the point that the federal government and the CHA have celebrated Holsten's practices and the city of Chicago has given the management company several awards for their innovative approach to managing mixed-income communities. Without understanding the lived experiences of these participants, one could not appreciate how seemingly simply guidelines interfere with daily aspects of their lives. Positioning the women as agents of knowledge sheds a new light on the site-specific screening criteria and rules for continued occupancy for public housing residents in North Town Village.

Proponents of the creation of mixed-income communities as a strategy for poverty deconcentration, contend that one of the most attractive aspects of the design relates to the fact that low-income residents, through interactions with middle and upper class residents, will increase their social capital. However, as policy makers assert the importance of helping low-income groups improve their social capital, it is important, that they provide access to resources and networks without undermining or destroying supportive networks that are already in place. Furthermore, while the design of the community has given low-income residents greater access to individuals with higher degrees of social capital, managers in the development have done little to help facilitate cross group interactions among the residents. The relationship between management and

low-income resident is a critical component of the overall success a resident will experience in the community and directly influences opportunities to build social capital.

While all of the women expressed a sense of gratitude for the opportunity to live in a new condominium they all felt the life opportunities where not dictated by where one lives but rather asserted that self-motivation is a better predictor of success than changing one's neighborhood. Rachel eloquently states:

> I'm more stable in my life now, my kids stable in one school now, and I feel that I can really let my hair down now. So I'm content where I'm at. I've learnt a lot going through what I went through. We have to really set that example for your kids, and be responsible not only for the kids but for ourselves as well, so you don't have to move backward in your life you can continue to move forward. Everybody goes through their little trials and tribulation in life but the point is, did you learn something from it?

An intersections framework grounded in the principles of Black feminist thought changes how African American women are studied because it places Black women at the center of analysis, deconstructs racist and sexist images of African American women, and allows for self-definition. Examining the lived experiences of Black women who formerly lived in Cabrini Green and now live in North Town Village reveals their relationship with the process of policy reform and contributes to the work that is being done on mixed-income communities by considering how structural, disciplinary, hegemonic and interpersonal domains of power intersect race, class, and gender to shape

everyday lived experiences. The purpose of this study was to examine the lived experiences of nine low-income Black women who transitioned out of public housing into a newly constructed mixed-income community under the CHA's *Plan for Transformation*. The participants' stories convey the real life and personal aspects of a large-scale public policy reform. Likewise, given the public's perception of low-income public housing residents, after reviewing the screening criteria for mixed income communities one might find the polices fair, equitable, and necessary. However, listening to the women who are impacted by these polices, describe the effect and overall impact that the polices have on their lives, allows one to step back and consider if the rules are really aiding and supporting the residents or ultimately perpetuating forms of systematic oppression mirrored in other macro structural aspects that shape their everyday lives. Finally, the participants' stories reveal that in many ways the *Plan for Transformation* is not achieving what it set out to do and that greater care and consideration needs to be given to the process if the agency is going to meet its stated goals and objectives. The women's unique social location provides them with a view of this process that administrators, city officials, and employees at the CHA simply do not have. Perhaps understanding the lived experiences of people impacted by this large-scale policy reform will led to the development of better polices.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE PUBLIC HOUSING RESIDENTS

CAN YOU STATE YOUR FULL NAME?

HOW OLD ARE YOU?

HOW LONG HAVE YOU LIVED HERE AT _____
NAME OF MIXED INOCME COMMUNITY

WHERE DID YOU PREVIOUSLY LIVE _____

HOW LONG DID/HAVE YOU LIVE IN PUBLIC HOUSING?
WHO STAYED WITH YOU?
WHAT ARE SOME OF THE THINGS YOU DISLIKED ABOUT THAT DEVELOPMENT?
WHAT ARE SOME THE THINGS THAT YOU LIKED ABOUT THAT DEVELOPMENT?
DID YOU FEEL SAFE?
WHEN YOU FOUND OUT THAT YOU WOULD HAVE TO MOVE WHAT WAS YOU INITIAL REACTION?

WHAT DO YOU REMEMBER ABOUT MOVING OUT OF _____
(NAME OF PUBLIC HOUSING DEVELOPMENT)

HOW DID YOU GET THIS APARTMENT? / STARTING FROM THE BEGINNING CAN YOU TELL ME EVERTING YOU HAD TO DO TO MOVE INTO THIS APARTMENT?

DID YOU WORK WITH SOMEONE AT CHA / WHO
WERE THEY HELPFUL, DID THEY PROVIDE TIMELY RESPONSES TO YOUR QUESTIONS?

DID YOU ATTEND ANY MEETINGS/CLASSES (GOOD NEIGHBOR)
WHAT WERE THEY?
WERE THEY USEFUL/ HELPFUL/ IN WHAT WAY?
WHAT DID YOU LEARN?
WHAT DID YOU LIKE BEST?
WHAT DID YOU LIKE THE LEAST?

WHAT DID THE *MANAGEMENT COMPANY* REQUIRE FROM YOU BEFORE YOU COULD MOVE IN HERE?
WERE THEY NICE/HELPFUL?
DID THEY MAKE YOU FEEL WELCOME?

DID YOU GO THROUGH THE PROCESS WITH OTHER PEOPLE?
DID THEY COMPLETE IT?

WHAT ARE THE RULES AND REGULATIONS FOR YOU TO CONTINUE TO LIVE HERE?

HOW LONG DID IT TAKE FROM THE TIME THAT YOU LEFT _____ UNTIL YOU WERE ABLE TO MOVE IN HERE?

WAS ANY PART OF THE MOVING PROCESS CONFUSING?

WHAT WAS THE BIGGEST ADJUSTMENT THAT YOU HAD TO MAKE?

TELL ME ABOUT SOME OF THE PLACE YOU HAVE LIVED DURING THE TRANSITION FROM _____ TO _____
PUBIC HOUSING MIXED INCOME

TELL ME WHY YOU CHOSE THIS MIXED INCOME COMMUNITY RATHER THAN A SECTION 8 VOUCHER?

WHAT CHANGES HAVE YOU NOTICED AROUND THE NEIGHBORHOOD SINCE YOU MOVED IN HERE ?

WHAT HAS STAYED THE SAME?

DO YOU STILL MAINTAIN CONTACT WITH YOUR FRIENDS FROM _____?
NAME OF PUBIC HOUSING DEVELOPMENT

HOW ARE OTHER PEOPLE IN YOUR HOUSEHOLD ADJUSTING TO THE CHANGE?

DO YOUR KIDS STILL GO TO THE SAME SCHOOL?

TELL ME ABOUT YOUR APARTMENT?

WHAT DO YOU LIKE ABOUT IT ?

WHAT DON'T YOU LIKE?

HOW MANY BEDROOMS ARE THERE?

WHAT DO YOUR FAMILY AND FRIENDS THINK ABOUT THE PLACE?

HOW IS THE LANDLORD/MANAGEMENT COMPANY?

ARE THERE ANY RULES THAT YOU FIND UNREASONABLE?

IS IT DIFFICULT TO KEEP UP WITH THE BILLS?

HOW WOULD YOU DESCRIBE YOUR NEIGHBORHOOD TO SOMEONE WHO HAS NEVER BEEN HERE BEFORE?

DO YOU FEEL SAFE IN YOUR APARTMENT/ NEIGHBORHOOD?

HAVE THERE BEEN ANY BIG CHANGES FOR YOU OR YOU FAMILY SINCE YOU MOVED?

WHERE DO YOU WORK?

HOW LONG HAVE YOU BEEN THERE?

DO YOU LIKE IT?

HAVE YOU HAD ANY PROBLEMS?

HOW LONG DO YOU PLAN TO STAY THERE?

CAN YOU TELL ME ABOUT YOUR FAMILY/ AND OR THE PEOPLE THAT LIVE WITH YOU?

DO YOU HAVE CHILDREN, HOW OLD ARE THEY, ARE YOU HELPING TAKE CARE OF EXTENDED FAMILY MEMBERS?

HOW OLD ARE THE CHILDREN?

BESIDES YOU ARE THERE ANY OTHER ADULTS WHO LIVE IN THE HOUSEHOLD. ARE THEY RELATED?

TELL ME ABOUT YOUR NEIGHBORS?

DO YOU HAVE FRIENDS WHO LIVE IN THE NEIGHBORHOOD?

DO YOU EVER GO TO YOUR NEIGHBORS FOR HELP?

HOW WOULD YOU COMPARE YOUR NEIGHBORS NOW TO THE ONES YOU HAD AT_____?

NAME OF PUBLIC HOUISNG DEVELOPMENT

HAVE YOU EXPERIENCED ANY RACISM SNICE YOU MOVED IN?

WHAT YOU SAY HAS BEEN THE BEST PART ABOUT YOU MOVE ?

WHAT WOULD YOU SAY HAS BEEN THE WORST PART OF YOU MOVE?

WOULD YOU TELL OTHER PEOPLE WHO WERE IN YOUR SAME SITUATION TO TRY AND GET A PLACE LIKE YOURS?

APPENDIX B

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE CHICAGO HOUSING AUTHORITY

WHEN DID THE PLAN FOR TRANSFORMATION BEGIN AND WHAT IS THE PROJECTED COMPLETION DATE?

WHAT IS THE OVERALL OBJECTIVE OF THE PLAN FOR TRANSFORMATION?

WHAT TYPE OF FEEDBACK DID THE AGENCY RECEIVE FROM THE CITY AT LARGE AND ALSO PUBLIC HOUSING RESIDENTS WITH REGARD TO THE PLAN FOR TRANSFORMATION?

WHAT ARE THE AVAILABLE OPTIONS FOR A RESIDENT WHOSE BUILDING HAS BEEN SLATED FOR DEMOLITION?

WHAT IS THE TENANT SELECTION PROCESS FOR RESIDENTS WHO ARE INTERESTED IN LIVING IN MIXED INOCME COMMUNITIES?

WHAT TYPE OF RESIDENT WOULD BE AN IDEAL CANADIATE FOR A MIXED-INCOME COMMUNTIEY?

WHAT STEPS ARE TAKEN TO HELP PREPARE RESIDENTS FOR THE MOVE?

ON AVERAGE HOW LONG DOES IT TAKE FOR A RESIDENT TO MAKE THE ENTIRE TRANSISITON?

DO YOU HAVE ANY CONCERNS ABOUT THE VIABILITY OR SUCCESS OF SUSTAINING A MIXED INCOME COMMUNITY?

IS THERE ANY FOLLOW-UP WITH RESIDENTS AFTER THEY MOVE INTO MIXED-INCOME COMMUNITIES?

WHAT IS THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE MANAGEMENT COMPANY AND THE CHA?

IF A RESIDNET HAD A COMPLAINT ABOUT THERE NEW PLACE WHO WOUL D THE TALK TO ?

ONCE A PERSON MOVES INTO A MIXED INCOME COMMUNITY ARE THEY STILL CONSIDERED A PUBLIC HOUSING RESIDENT? WHAT ARE THE LONG TERM COMMITMENTS THE AGENCY HAS MADE TO THE RESIDENT?

WHAT TYPE OF FEEDBACK HAVE YOU RECEIVED FROM THE RESIDENTS ABOUT THE PROCESS AND ALSO ABOUT THEIR NEW COMMUNITIES?

IS THERE ANY INFORMATION ABOUT THE DEMOGRAPHICS OF PEOPLE WHO MOVE INTO MIXED INCOME COMMUNITIES?

IF A FAMILY MOVES INTO A MIXED-INCOME COMMUNITY AND IS ASKED TO LEAVE FOR SOME REASON ARE THEY ABLE TO RETURN TO PUBLIC HOUSING OR USE A SECTION 8 VOUCHER?

WHAT HAS BEEN THE MOST REWARDING ASPECT OF YOUR JOB?

WHAT HAS BEEN THE MOST DIFFICULT?

WHAT ARE SOME THE NEW INITIATIVES THAT YOUR DIVISION HAS UNDERTAKEN TO ADDRESS THE COMPLIATIONS OF THE TRANSISITONAL PROCESS.

Appendix C

Mixed Income Living: A Case Study Approach

Conducted by
Monique M. Chism
Doctoral Candidate
Michigan State University
116 Morrill Hall
East Lansing, MI 48824
517-487-6702
Local Number 312-375-1984

Resident Consent Form

The purpose of this study is to examine the experiences of public housing residents who now live in mixed income communities in order to understand their experience and the impact their new community has had on their lives. This project takes a case study approach in order to more fully understand individual experiences. A series of private individual interviews will be done in order to elicit this information, participation in this study would require one interview, which would last approximately an hour an a half. It is important to note however, that since the interviews are open-ended they will vary in length. Interviews will be audio taped and later transcribed, however all information from your interview will be treated with strict confidence. At the beginning of the study you will be given a pseudonym in order to protect your identity. Identifying information such as this consent form, audiotapes, and research notes will be kept in a locked file cabinet or on a password protected computer. Your privacy will be protected to the maximum extent allowable by law.

This is an independent research project, which means there is no conflicting interest present. My interest is genuinely related to understanding the experiences of residents who live in mixed income communities. Your participation in this study is voluntary, you may choose not to participate at all, refuse to participate in certain aspects of the study, or discontinue your involvement at any time without penalty. There is minimal risk involved, some individuals may have feelings of discomfort or anxiety associated with talking about the issues under investigation. If you wish to talk with a professional counselor, you may make an appointment with the Community Outreach Program associated with the Family Institute at Northwestern University. This center provides mental health treatment and preventive services for the Chicago metropolitan area. Under the community outreach program clients receive services at no cost. In order to find a site near you may contact William Russell, LCSW, LMFT, Director of Community Programs, at 847-733-4300,
ext. 636. Pregnant women will not be included in this study, please let the investigator know if you are pregnant.

If you have questions or concerns about this study you may contact me directly using the above listed information. You may also contact the supervising facility member, Dr. Maxine Baca Zinn, by phone: 517-353-8671, email: zinnm@msu.edu, or regular mail at: 316 Berkey Hall East Lansing, Michigan 48824.

If you have questions or concerns regarding your rights as a study participant, or are dissatisfied at any time with any aspect of this study, you may contact-anonymously, if you wish, Ashir Kumar, M.D., Chair of the University Committee on Research Involving Human Subjects (UCRIHS) by phone: (517) 355-2180, Fax: (517) 432-4503, e-mail: ucrihs@msu.edu, or regular mail: 202 Olds Hall, East Lansing, MI 48824.

You will receive a copy of this consent form for your records. Thank-you for your interest if there are any questions please feel free to ask.

I agree to Participate in this study.

Name: _____ Date : _____

Appendix D

Mixed Income Living: A Case Study Approach

Conducted by
Monique M. Chism
Doctoral Candidate
Michigan State University
116 Morrill Hall
East Lansing, MI 48824
517-487-6702
Local Number 312-375-1984

Management Consent Form

The purpose of this study is to examine the experiences of public housing residents who now live in mixed income communities in order to understand their experience and the impact that mixed income living has had on their lives. As a professional who works with public housing residents your insight and expertise will provide valuable information for this project. Participation in this study would require one interview, which would last approximately an hour. Interviews will be audio taped and later transcribed, however all information from your interview will be treated with strict confidence. Identifying information such as this consent form, audiotapes, and research notes will be kept in a locked file cabinet or on a password protected computer. If you desire you will be assigned a pseudonym to conceal your identity. Your privacy will be protected to the maximum extent allowable by law.

This is an independent research project, which means there is no conflicting interest present. My interest is genuinely related to understanding the experiences of members of mixed income communities. Your participation in this study is voluntary, you may choose not to participate at all, refuse to participate in certain aspects of the study, or discontinue your involvement at any time without penalty. There is minimal risk involved, some individuals may have feelings of discomfort or anxiety associated with talking about the issues under investigation. If you wish to talk with a professional counselor, you may make an appointment with the Community Outreach Program associated with the Family Institute at Northwestern University. This center provides mental health treatment and preventive services for the Chicago metropolitan area. Under the community outreach program clients receive services at no cost. In order to find a site near you may contact William Russell, LCSW, LMFT, Director of Community Programs, at 847-733-4300, ext. 636. Pregnant women will not be included in this study, please let the investigator know if you are pregnant.

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You will be given a copy of this consent from for your records. Thank-you for your interest if there are any questions please feel free to ask.

I agree to participate in this study.

Name: _____ Date : _____

☐ Please check this box if you would like the investigator to assign you a pseudonym. A pseudonym is a fictitious name given to an individual, in order to protect his or her real identity.

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