

ABSTRACT

PERMUT, TESSA. Urban Planning, Revitalization, and the Reproduction of Inequality (Under the direction of Dr. Kimberly Ebert).

Urban revitalization plays a critical role in housing and community development policy, yet sociological research on gentrification, displacement, and racial turnover often ignores or overlooks it in the reproduction of urban inequality. In this dissertation, I focus on urban planners and the attitudes, processes, and ideologies that underlie their revitalization practices in low-income neighborhoods. I ask: What beliefs, preferences, and dispositions underlie planners' practices? Why and how do urban planners target neighborhoods for revitalization during a period of urban resurgence? In what ways might these 'planner factors' manifest in revitalization plans? In three interrelated articles, I use a mixed-methods approach to investigate planners' attitudes towards common urban planning practices and revitalization methods during a period of high demand for urban housing. I collect data using semi-structured interviews with urban planners and residents of revitalizing neighborhoods; content analysis of revitalization policies; content analysis of city council minutes, bids, and proposals; participant observation of urban planning forums, courses, and events; and finally, quantitative analysis of data derived from an original survey that I designed and distributed to urban planners who maintain membership with the American Planning Association North Carolina chapter. By bringing sociological theory to bear on the field of urban planning, this project challenges the assumed impartial and constrained practices of urban planning professionals. The findings reveal that urban planners are heavily involved in implementing policy aligned with neoliberal paternalism that reproduces race and class inequality. As a whole, my dissertation demonstrates the relevance of race, class, and the political economy to urban planning in our new era of urban housing demand. Doing so, it provides opportunities for a more efficacious, inclusive approach to urban planning.

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Urban Planning, Revitalization, and the Reproduction of Inequality

by
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DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to the city and people of Durham, a community unlike any other I have known.

BIOGRAPHY

Tessa Permut was born and raised in Denver, Colorado, and credits her younger years in that city with her later interest in urban and community inequalities. She received her M.S. in sociology from North Carolina State University in 2016. Her master's thesis research focused on neighborhood "diversification" in Chicago and its effects on economic circumstances of low-income residents of different racial and ethnic backgrounds. She moved to Durham, North Carolina in 2017 for her dissertation research, where she rediscovered her interest in social justice action and its relationship to sociology. Her research interests include urban and community sociology, spatial inequality, class and critical theory, and stratification. She plans to use her background in sociology to effect social change outside of academia.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

In 2018, low-income black residents filed a lawsuit against the DC Zoning Commission to prevent the demolition of Barry Farm, a 444-unit public housing development targeted for a revitalization project in Southeast Washington. The stated goal of the project was to “improve residents’ quality of life” and “protect and expand affordable housing, empower families with the tools to become self-sufficient, and preserve existing community” but the residents claimed that the actions would discriminatorily displace them on the basis of income, age, and race. The court decided the case in the residents’ favor and submitted a statement that their concerns for disparate impact had been improperly disregarded (Giambrone 2018).

Nationwide, stories of similar conflicts between planning departments and black residents suggest a divide between urban planners and residents of neighborhoods in which they work. Residents, often low-income people of color, argue that their wants and needs are dismissed to accommodate wealthy, white outsiders. Meanwhile, urban planners maintain that their practices work in the best interests of the neighborhood and its residents and blame dissatisfaction with planning on unpredictable forces beyond their control (Flyvbjerg 1997). They emphasize their professional mission to “plan for the needs of the disadvantaged and to promote racial and economic integration” (American Planning Association 2018; AICP Code of Ethics 2018).

From 2017 to 2019, I embedded myself in urban planning circles and events in Durham, North Carolina. I sought to learn about the individuals who enforce and administer relevant zoning and development standards and ordinances, approve new development, and administer, write, and implement subsidized housing policy—urban planners—and to understand their interpretations of the low-income neighborhoods in which they work. I wanted to understand why so many stories characterized urban planners as the adversaries of low-income residents,

while urban planners proclaim the altruistic mission of their work. In the three empirical chapters that follow, I ask: What beliefs, preferences, and dispositions underlie and motivate planners' practices? Why do urban planners target neighborhoods for revitalization during a period of "revival"? How do revitalization plans take shape? I investigate the attitudes, incentives and motivations, and revitalization practices of urban planners to contextualize the negative responses they often receive from residents.

The dissertation unfolds in the following chapters. In Chapter Two, I use an original survey of practicing urban planners in North Carolina to explore the race, class, educational, and professional background of urban planners and their beliefs, preferences, and professional dispositions towards poverty, gentrification, mixed-income development, and other related urban planning practices associated with neoliberalism. Using Ordered Logistic Regression, I estimate two ordinal response variables: attitudes towards distressed neighborhoods and neoliberal planning practices. I find that non-Latino white planners, those with affluent class backgrounds, and those who resided in rural communities in childhood are more likely to possess individualistic attitudes towards "distressed" neighborhoods. I also find that the professionalization of planners better explains their support for neoliberal practices associated with the reproduction of inequality than planners' race or class, suggesting the importance of the neoliberal political economy emphasized in urban geography. The findings provide critical components to consider in efforts to stem undesirable outcomes from revitalization projects.

In Chapter Three, I undertake an investigation of urban planners' motivations and incentives for neighborhood revitalization during the "new urban crisis". Using a case study of Durham, North Carolina and in-depth semi-structured interviews with the practitioners who write and implement revitalization projects, I find urban planners motivated by a "neoliberal

paternalist” interpretation of low-income neighborhoods that assumes individualist explanations for poverty, but emphasizes neoliberal, market-based solutions. They see little value in a neighborhood with limited economic development and low homeownership, and question the competence of poor residents. Their interpretations and understandings of revitalization policies meld a belief in the culture of poverty—poor residents’ pathological individual and community failings that cause welfare dependence, crime, broken families, and chronic unemployment—with the neoliberal ideology of an ideal resident as self-disciplined, upwardly mobile, and middle-class. Through this lens, low-income residents deserve a neighborhood transformed to fit the standards of middle-class professionals, but lack the knowledge to desire it and the skills to know how to achieve it. By taking control of the neighborhood, the planners demonstrate an attempt at spatial poverty governance. They use revitalization as a means of controlling the poor through reform analogous to welfare reform in other social arenas that occurred during the 1990s.

In Chapter Four, I consider how these processes manifest in revitalization policy in the case of the Bungalows at Southside in Durham, North Carolina. The Bungalows at Southside were proposed to provide access to affordable homes for residents of the low-income, black neighborhood to “revitalize” it. Instead, the affordable homes were mostly acquired by white outsiders from middle-class backgrounds, and increased the threat of racialized displacement. What processes explain the apparent contradiction between goals and outcomes in this case of revitalization? To explore these, I employ an Extended Case Method approach that includes fieldwork in urban planning and housing forums, interviews with project affiliates, existing residents, and new residents in the Bungalows at Southside, and a content analysis of historical and contemporary policy and government documents. Using an intersectional theoretical lens

that contextualizes differences in non-material class resources like cultural and social capital, my findings reveal the unseen barriers and practices that reproduce existing patterns of racialized, classed, and gendered inequality in the attainment of affordable homes. The reproduction of existing inequalities occurs at each stage of the process of affordable housing obtainment. In their devaluation of the neighborhood, project affiliates sought grants that would allow them to gain greater control over it—ostensibly to benefit existing residents—and in doing so, allowed those of higher incomes to apply for the houses. Consequently, racialized social and cultural mechanisms became increasingly important in determining the primary beneficiaries of the city program. Non-Latino white applicants used middle-class social and cultural capital to navigate and even “game the system” to apply for the program, receive relevant grants and gap funding, obtain mortgages, and close on the homes.

In the concluding chapter, I integrate my findings to articulate an overarching theory of the reproduction of urban inequality by urban planners. I show how urban planning actions and actors initiate, expedite, or compound the housing and demographic processes of greatest concern: segregation, racial turnover, gentrification, racialized displacement, eviction, and the suburbanization of poverty. To do so, I return to theories of neoliberalization and its relationship to race and class. I then discuss the ways that my findings can help inform attempts to quell the reproduction of urban inequality during a period of high demand for urban housing.

CONTRIBUTION TO LITERATURE

My dissertation contributes to a comprehensive literature on housing and community development in American cities. Urban scholars have found that throughout its history, American housing and community development planning has not only frequently failed to remedy inequalities, but exacerbated the inequitable distribution of social, material, and financial

resources, particularly for people of color (Peck 2013; Massey and Denton 1993; Shlay 2006). The Housing Act of the New Deal aimed to reconstruct a social safety net through public housing after the Great Depression, but led to increased race-class segregation. Then, Urban Renewal of the post WWII-era provided developers federal funds to reconstruct supposed “slums” left over from white flight. Instead of revitalization, Urban Renewal resulted in extreme racialized displacement. Later, the 1992 HOPE VI program sought to repair the damages of the 1970s and 1980s “urban crisis” with mixed-income redevelopment that expedited gentrification (Goetz 2013).

To be sure, urban neighborhoods have undergone a marked transformation since the 1990s. Many of the cities most afflicted with the disinvestment, crime, and unemployment that made them targets of the aforementioned efforts throughout the 20th century have experienced steady population growth, capital inflows, and increased residential and commercial development in recent decades (Florida 2015). However, their economic “resurgence” has not been accompanied by decreased urban inequality (Glaser 2016; Cutler et al. 2005; Freeman and Cai 2015). Instead, cities currently confront persistent inequalities and challenges symptomatic of their rapid growth, including shortages of affordable housing stock, inadequate infrastructure, rising economic segregation, racialized displacement, and the suburbanization of poverty (Hyra 2012; Lees et al. 2002).

These trends have focused urban scholars’ attention on consequences of the “urban revival” or “urban resurgence” for low-income residents (Hackworth and Smith 2007). Urban sociologists have worked primarily to document residents’ experiences of “gentrification”, or the process by which a poor neighborhood becomes affluent (Chaskin and Joseph 2010; Chaskin, Khare, and Joseph 2012; Joseph and Chaskin 2010; Shaw and Hagemans 2015; Newman and

Wyly 2006). They show that poor residents rarely experience economic benefits from neighborhood transitions into wealth, instead facing heightened displacement risk—physical, relational, political, and cultural—as housing prices rise (Newman and Wyly 2006; Hyra 2012).

Urban geographers have also theorized and contextualized the urban revival, but focus primarily on its relationship to the broader neoliberal political economy (i.e., “neoliberalization”) (Tulumello 2016; August 2016; Ross and Leigh 2000). They show that the challenges of the urban revival are embedded within the context of the rapid decentralization, privatization, and contracted public funds for housing and community development under a neoliberal political economy (Harvey 2005, 2009, 2013). They argue that targeted revitalization and subsequent gentrification of low-income evidences the hegemonic power of neoliberalism (Brenner and Theodore 2002). Capitalism has long incentivized the use of urban space as entrepreneurial enterprise wherein private developers acquire land and increase its exchange value for profit to expand the terrain of capitalist activity (Taylor 1994; Logan and Molotch 1987). However, the roll-out of market-based alternatives to social welfare under neoliberalism coupled with the associated demand for urban space during the urban revival has incentivized the acquisition of even the poorest central city neighborhoods for development, since they yield the greatest profit in exchange (Smith 1997). Housing and community development policies enacted to challenge 20th century disinvestment by incentivizing reinvestment in low-income neighborhoods—such as the Community Reinvestment Act—are now commonly used to turn a profit and induce racial turnover (Tach and Emory 2017; Wyly and Hammel 2004; Brenner and Theodore 2002). Developers now purchase property in low-income black neighborhoods at record rates to “flip” and sell to white homebuyers with average incomes more than three times that of pre-existing households (Badger 2019).

Overall, the urban literature overlooks urban planners as agents in these processes. In both urban sociology and urban geography, the state actors that implement housing and community development policy rarely appear or appear only in the background of residents' accounts. Because of their technocratic responsibilities, as individuals, urban planners appear only in the background of studies on low-income residents' experiences of demographic change, cultural loss, and gentrification (Yiftachel 1998; Hyra 2012). Urban planners dictate the distribution of power over land and its uses through housing and community development and zoning (Olesen 2014). Their interpretation and creation of municipal housing and community development code tends to be overlooked as a social process worthy of sociological study. Yet planners expedited the racialized consequences of the "urban crisis" throughout the 20th century with their various attempts to deconcentrate poverty with renewal, and in the current urban resurgence, low-income residents often accuse them of the same practices. That their actions show evidence of actualizing neoliberal goals across central city neighborhoods since the 1970s suggests their relevance to and role in the current issues facing central cities (August 2015). To date, the sociological factors that shape urban planners' perceptions, motivate and incentivize their actions, and the manifestations of these in housing and neighborhood revitalization plans remain unclear.

THE CURRENT STUDY

In this dissertation, I investigate urban planners and their potential role in the reproduction of urban inequality through housing and revitalization. The fundamental concern of this research is the oversight of sociological factors in urban planning and the absence of urban planning in common areas of research in urban sociology, areas that include gentrification, racialized displacement, and racial turnover. I found an inherent connection between neoliberal

ideology and the actions and ideologies of urban planners, but was also struck by the continued relevance of the “culture of poverty” and its terminology to the planning field. As I progressed through my data collection, the ease with which antiquated terminology and assumptions about the poor dovetailed with neoliberal market logic under the guise of benevolent housing policy became a clear and significant factor in understanding urban planners. I found them critical to understanding the continued processes of racial and class exclusion in American cities.

In the chapters that follow, I detail my investigation of the backgrounds, experiences, and attitudes of urban planning practitioners, the ideological factors that incentivize and motivate revitalization, and the factors that determine the nature and beneficiaries of revitalization policies. I implement a mixed-methods research design that consists of semi-structured interviews with urban planners and residents of revitalizing neighborhoods; content analysis of revitalization policies; content analysis of city council minutes, bids, and proposals; participant observation of urban planning forums, courses, and events; and finally, quantitative analysis of data derived from an original survey that I designed and distributed to urban planners who maintain membership with the American Planning Association North Carolina chapter.

The findings contained in the following chapters offers insight into the role of urban planners in the reproduction of inequalities. Identifying the sociological factors affect urban planners’ attitudes, incentivize and motivate them to seek revitalization, and shape revitalization’s form, strengthens our understanding of gentrification and displacement, racial disparities in housing, and neoliberalism and its manifestations. Together, these findings demonstrate the interrelated relationship between neoliberalism and racial and class exclusion in urban processes enacted by urban planners.

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**CHAPTER TWO: URBAN PLANNERS' ATTITUDES AND NEIGHBORHOOD
REVITALIZATION**

ABSTRACT

Urban sociology tends to focus on the residents that experience the consequences of exclusionary neighborhood actions, rather than the urban planners involved in neighborhood planning. Yet urban planners have a direct role in shaping urban neighborhoods and substantial power over neighborhood actions. They enforce and administer relevant zoning and development standards and ordinances, approve new development, and administer, write, and implement subsidized housing policy. Do urban planners believe that poor residents are to blame for neighborhood “distress”? Do they support planning practices popularized under neoliberalism? What explains their beliefs, dispositions, and preferences? I undertake an investigation to answer these questions guided by theories of potential socializing influences: individual factors that shape habitus in early life and the ideological components of the neoliberal political economy. I use this two-pronged theoretical approach to develop an original survey of urban planners in North Carolina. Using Ordered Logistic Regression, I estimate ordinal response variables that capture attitudes towards “distressed” neighborhoods and neoliberal planning practices. I find non-Latino white planners and those with affluent class positions in childhood are more likely to source neighborhood distress to individual failures of low income residents, such as lack of self-sufficiency or financial literacy. I also find greater professionalization into urban planning associated with stronger support for neoliberal practices such as mixed-income redevelopment. The findings provide critical insight into factors that contribute to the reproduction of urban inequality even before neighborhood revitalization takes shape.

INTRODUCTION

The professional mission of urban planning specifies that its practitioners address the social and human dimensions of communities and “plan for the needs of the disadvantaged and to promote racial and economic integration” (American Planning Association 2018; AICP Code of Ethics 2018). For those goals, communities provide urban planners the discretion and power to assess neighborhood needs, determine appropriate responses, and mediate market forces and development with regulations (American Planning Association 2018; Department of Housing and Urban Development 2018; McLoughlin 1994). Consequently, the urban resurgence of the last decade and its associated evictions, affordable housing shortages, and fears of looming displacement, have focused greater public scrutiny on urban planners (Florida 2015). In 2016, an essay entitled “The Smartest Boy Urbanist in the Room” circulated throughout urbanist spheres of the internet (Walker 2017). The satirical piece implicates urban planners as complicit in issues of urban inequality by painting a picture of them as out-of-touch, affluent, white men convinced that they know better than the low-income people their decisions most affect:

The Smartest Boy Urbanist in the Room is inevitably affluent, but he’s worried, gravely concerned about poverty, and he knows that what he advocates for in the city will help with urban poverty, and if people who live in poverty fail to prioritize things in the right way, it’s because they don’t have the “big picture” the way he does;

The Smartest Boy Urbanist in the Room wants people to understand that gentrification is not as serious a problem as Some People make it out to be;

The Smartest Boy Urbanist in the Room is white, but he really Gets It, you know?

Indeed, many other public accounts link the race and class of urban planners to issues of urban inequality like gentrification (i.e., upward socioeconomic restructuring), racial turnover, and

displacement (Holeywell 2015). Why does public discourse paint urban planners as out-of-touch adversaries of low-income, black residents? Is it an issue of diversity, as “The Smartest Boy Urbanist” implies? In this study, I ask: what characterizes urban planners’ beliefs, preferences, and dispositions toward the “distressed” neighborhoods in which they work and the neoliberal practices that commonly draw ire? What shapes these attitudes?

Urban planners enforce and administer relevant zoning and development standards and ordinances, approve new development, and administer, write, and implement subsidized housing policy. The powers afforded urban planners coupled with the ire their actions often receive evidences the critical role that urban planners play in understanding urban inequality. However, urban scholarship rarely centralizes them. Urban sociology highlights the consequences of many planning decisions, such as the relationship between neighborhood redevelopment projects commonly enacted by planners and the experience of alienation, resentment, and displacement by residents (Hyra 2012). To do so, it tends to focus on the experiences of residents or the changing characteristics of neighborhoods rather than the urban planners who write and implement relevant neighborhood policies (Sampson 2012, Ross et al. 2000; Brooks-Gunn 2000, Sampson et al. 2002; Sharkey 2009).

Urban geography also tends to forego a focus on planning practitioners in favor of attention to planning policies and their political-economic contexts. Instead of focusing on planners, its scholars bring Marxist theory to bear on the relationship between the planning profession and its practices and outcomes by defining and documenting shifts in local institutional frameworks, policy, and rhetoric towards alignment with the neoliberal agenda (Purcell 2009:142; Olesen 2014; Brenner and Theodore 2002). The planning field also rarely turns its focus to its practitioners. For most of the 20th century, it promoted the view that planners

are objective and rational actors working for the “common good,” separated from social relations and influence (Murphy and Fox-Rogers 2015, 1998:66; Sandercock 1998; Sager 1998; Flyvbjerg 1997). Critical theory from the academic arm of urban planning eventually led to acknowledgement of power and inequalities in the planning process and calls for diversification within the profession (Thomas 1996). Even with these efforts underway, planning practices continue to alienate the very populations they aim to help (Lees 2002; Bridge, Butler, and Lees 2012; Hackworth and Smith 2001; Brenner and Theodore 2002). In this study, I consider what characterizes urban planners’ beliefs, preferences, and dispositions toward the “distressed” neighborhoods in which they work and the neoliberal practices that commonly draw ire.

Using data from an original survey of practicing urban planners, I first explore the descriptive characteristics of urban planners, including their family class background, their childhood community, racial and gender identification, and “middle-class cultural capital.” I then probe the beliefs, preferences, and dispositions—or, attitudes—urban planners possess towards “distressed” neighborhoods and neoliberal planning policies. I use the descriptive data to consider the potential demographic, structural, and professional factors that might affect these attitudes. Relying on Ordered Logistic Regression to estimate attitudes, I find that non-Latino white planners and those from affluent class backgrounds are more likely to possess individualist attitudes towards “distressed” neighborhoods perspectives. I also find that those with a greater degree of professionalization into the planning profession are more likely to support neoliberal practices. Ultimately, the findings show a persistently overlooked source of discrepancy between the stated goal of urban planning to promote the “common good” and the outcomes of its practices: the attitudes of the planners and their professional sources.

I develop the study in the following steps. In the next section, I discuss the mission, powers, and factors that inform urban planners' practices as purported by the profession. I then describe notable shifts in political-economic externalities that had a documented effect on the practices within urban planning. Then, I introduce sociological literature that differently theorizes practices as the product of a socialized subjectivity from internalized structural and cultural experiences, or *habitus*. I use scholarship on *habitus* to formulate my theoretical framework and hypotheses regarding planners' attitudes towards distressed neighborhoods and neoliberal planning practices. I articulate how my theoretical framework informs measurement, data collection, and analysis. I present the findings in tandem with their implications in three areas of study: urban/community sociology, economic sociology, and urban planning/studies/geography.

I find that non-Latino white planners and those from affluent class backgrounds are more likely to hold antiquated assumptions about the sources of neighborhood poverty while attitudes towards neoliberal planning practices are affected primarily by degree of socialization into the planning profession. My findings shed light on previously undocumented factors in the reproduction of urban inequality and help contextualize low-income residents' discontent towards the planners who have control over their neighborhoods. The results suggest the continued salience of race and material conditions in childhood for perception and interpreting issues of inequality and the power of neoliberal ideology over even seemingly socially-conscious people and professions. I conclude with a discussion of the implications of my findings in terms of challenging and resisting processes that reproduce inequality, not only in the urban planning profession but other similarly socially-conscious professions that make decisions on behalf of others.

LITERATURE REVIEW

In this review, I aim to define urban planning and its professional mission, assert the sociological relevance of its practices, and briefly describe the dominant understanding of planning practice within the urban planning profession. I then introduce sociological literature on habitus and its constitutive factors—beliefs, preferences, and dispositions (or “attitudes”)—and discuss the relevance of planners’ attitudes for investigating the reproduction of urban inequality.

The Planning Profession and Its Sociological Significance

Urban planning broadly concerns the governance of place and the use of land (Tennøy et al. 2016). Functions and powers under its umbrella take many forms, broadly: the preparation, review, maintenance, implementation, and update of local comprehensive plans,¹ land development regulations and zoning, capital improvement programs, special district and neighborhood plans, transportation and related infrastructure plans, central business district plans, and transit-oriented development plans (American Planning Association 2016).

Each planning function grants considerable discretion to planners in decision-making on behalf of whole communities (Hurley et al. 2016; Forsyth 1999; Tewdyr-Jones 1995; Squires and Kubrin 2005), but urban sociology of the 20th century shows the particular relevance of housing and community development planning for its capacity to reproduce inequalities. Housing and community development practices in U.S. central cities feature in numerous studies on racial residential segregation (Hirsch 1983; Massey and Denton 1993; Sugrue 1996). In their foremost text on the subject, Massey and Denton (1993:32) show that racial segregation of black Americans was “an almost permanent feature of housing patterns in the United States”

¹ A comprehensive plan provides long-range goals and objectives for all activities that affect community development. It guides approval of public and private land development proposals, the expenditure of public funds, and prioritization of community concerns over a 10- to 20-year period (American Planning Association 2016).

throughout the 20th century. The authors detail the role that various federal housing policies played—in tandem with local housing authorities, white residents, and homeowners associations—in the development of now-entrenched race-class segregation through siting of public housing and racialized zoning (“redlining”). By World War II, nearly every city was characterized by at least moderate black-white segregation (Massey and Denton 1993:30). Housing and community development policy in the post-WWII period then incentivized white suburbanization or “white flight” with housing benefits that provided white families easier access to mortgages and single-family zoned suburbs and the approval of freeways to ease suburban-urban commutes, producing increasingly racialized space across different central cities (Gotham 2002; Massey and Denton 1993; Rothstein 2017).

Soon thereafter, under the direction of the 1949 Urban Renewal Program, housing and community development practitioners engaged in “slum clearance” to address the consequences of white flight with the demolition of working-class single-family homes and tenements in what had become segregated black neighborhoods. Urban Renewal displaced millions of low-income black families and left lots largely vacant only to be redeveloped for public housing and large scale commercial development (Massey and Denton 1993; Goetz 2011). Many sociologists and urban historians have shown the devastation wrought by Urban Renewal and other forms of early revitalization with “slum clearance,” including racialized and classed displacement, community disruption, cultural loss, and collective trauma (Manning 1997; Goetz 2003). In the Civil Rights Era, as federal housing programs expanded under the Department of Housing and Urban Development Act, housing and community development turned away from slum clearance towards efforts to revitalize central city neighborhoods with de-segregated public housing (Massey and Denton 1993; Hirsch 1983; Squires 2011), a task that proved challenging when

working-class whites were able to attain housing elsewhere. Public housing often fell below capacity, short of financial resources necessary to maintain facilities and services, and city police forces often would not/did not enforce the law (Goetz 2013). Widely reported failures of neglected, underfunded public housing and crime lent credence to the growing belief that the public answer to low-income housing was a failure and could not overcome the so-called “culture of poverty” rampant in disinvested central city neighborhoods (Moynihan 1967; Goetz 2013).

The political-economic shift towards neoliberalism in the 1970s only compounded the difficulties in stemming the reproduction of inequality through housing and community development. Attitudes towards general welfare shifted from support for a social safety net towards public services as commodities to be earned. The new approach to social welfare bled into housing and community development (Goetz 2013; Harvey 2009). One striking example, “triage planning,” involved delineating neighborhoods by “worthiness” to administer the limited housing and community development funds now provided by the federal government (Metzger 2000). Housing and community development planners around the country deemed the most impoverished black neighborhoods beyond repair, leading to their coordinated abandonment. Simultaneously, mounting income inequality was rationalized as an expected consequence of welfare trimming (Goetz 2013; Harvey 2005), justifying a symbiosis between race and class that streamlined spatial inequality (Rothstein 2017).

The implementation of the HOPE VI mixed-income housing program in 1992 provides another example of the neoliberal paradigm in planning practice. Over the subsequent decades, planners in housing and community development were responsible for carrying out this national action plan to eliminate “distressed public housing”. Combining “culture of poverty”

assumptions about low-income residents and market solutions, it aimed to replace public housing to reduce concentrated poverty and provide “trickle-down” cultural and economic benefits to low-income residents with new, mixed-income development (Greenbaum et al. 2008; August 2016; Vale 2017; Goetz 2011). Since the 1990s, mixed-income housing like HOPE VI has been used for neighborhood revitalization across the United States.

The consequences of mixed-income housing and community development intervention are well-documented in urban scholarship of the last few decades. Since mixed-income housing redevelops existing rental or public housing in areas of concentrated poverty into a mix of low-income and market-rate housing, it tends to replace naturally occurring affordable or public housing by design (August 2016). Consequently, some low-income residents may be physically relocated during the redevelopment (i.e., displaced). Others are physically displaced after redevelopment due to rising rent (Fullilove 2016). Residents physically displaced for the projects can face difficulties, including worsened neighborhood quality, housing cost burdens, mental health, and disrupted social networks (Clampet-Lundquist, 2004; 2007; Goetz, 2005; Kingsley et al, 2003; Kleit,2005; Popkin et al, 2004; 2006). For those preexisting residents that remain in the neighborhood of redevelopment, socioeconomic conditions tend to improve due to the infrastructure and services that accompany new development and incoming middle-class residents. However, urban sociologists find even seemingly positive neighborhood changes can lead to negative social and cultural outcomes, like cultural and political displacement (Hyra 2012). Preexisting residents often experience cultural loss as they see new their neighborhood reshaped by amenities catering to middle-class residents following redevelopment (Freeman 2006) and experience a weakening of political power and community attachment (Hyra 2014; 2008). These forms of indirect displacement often increase resentment and alienation along race-

class lines, only compounded by limited interaction between new, middle-class residents and preexisting low-income or public housing residents in mixed-income housing redevelopment projects (Libson 2007; Tach 2009; Bucerius et al. 2017).

The studies on Urban Renewal, public housing, white flight, and mixed-income housing within urban sociology evidence the sociological relevance of planning practices. The deleterious cultural, physical, and political effects for black Americans' educational attainment, health, family structure, economic well-being, and safety are particularly well-established (Massey and Denton 1993:9; Desmond 2016; Rothstein 2017). Places are not only structural but social— they are interpreted, understood, and communicated through social processes (Gieryn 2000: 465); urban planning decisions affect social processes beyond their physical site (Reardon 2008). Since the turn of the century, growing urban populations, rising rent costs, and a lack of affordable housing stock in urban cores have only heightened tensions around these commonly-implemented planning practices in distressed neighborhoods. Urban planning practitioners play a critical role in the process by writing the regulations that dictate development and design and locate its costs and benefits (McLoughlin 1992).

What Informs Urban Planning Practices?

Planners occupy a critical space between the broader political economy and neighborhood residents. They interpret neighborhood needs and impose policies within institutional frameworks using discretionary power and public funds (Yichtal 1998). Still, a dearth of scholarship empirically examines those who practice urban planning. The views of urban planners and the individual, structural, and organizational factors that shape them remain largely unknown. For most of the 20th century, theory courses within urban planning academic departments reinforced the notion that planning outcomes are the product of an instrumental

rational process wherein planners determine practices objectively, removed from social relations and influence (Taylor 1998:66; Sandercock 1998; Sager 1998; Flyvbjerg 1997). Not until the 1990s did the neglect of power and structure in the instrumental rational model lead to the popularization of alternative theories that acknowledged contextual constraints and the social relations involved in planning practice (Healey 1997; Forester 1998). Critical scholars, noting increasingly diverse environments, began to challenge the assumption of universal moral principles underlying planners' decision-making. They argued for fast attention to the variability of beliefs and values relevant to urban planning (Thomas 2008; Fainstein 2005).

The most popular of the theories to follow, participatory planning, holds that planning should be a collaborative, democratic process that includes non-experts in the determination planning practices (Healey 1997; Forester 1998). As the newly popularized participatory planning moved the field towards an emphasis on inclusivity in the planning process, calls for "diversity" within the profession itself accelerated. The American Planning Association codified diversity and inclusion in the planning process as central to successful urban planning (APA). The Planning Accreditation Board's (PAB's) adopted increased diversity as one of its strategic goals and highlighted "multiculturalism" as its primary facet.

While both changes within planning emphasize the importance of different perspectives for improving planning, neither explicitly explains why diversity would make planning outcomes more equitable. Planners remain the arbiters of final decisions after behind-the-scenes negotiations where they determine impact, feasibility, and alignment of policies with the community and stakeholder goals (Flyberg 1997; Olesen 2014) and, accordingly, prioritize particular values over others (Campbell 2006; Yiftachel 1998). Even in democratic processes, planners use their professional dispositions, preferences, and beliefs to make decisions that

reflect their “assumptions, biases and culture” (Thomas 1996:174). The push for increased diversity in the field and inclusiveness in the planning process may tacitly acknowledge that the “assumptions, biases and culture” of its practitioners play a role in producing undesirable outcomes for low-income residents, but the appraisal of planning as a rational, technical practice provides urban planners with continued discretion and power under the guise of sweeping “expertise” (Flyvbjerg 1997:353).

In contrast to the long-held rationality assumptions in urban planning, sociologists tend to acknowledge that practices are not the product of objective or rational choices, but rather beliefs, tastes/preferences, and dispositions (collectively, “attitudes”) shaped by social positions like race, class, and gender and broader structural forces. To describe how an individual understands situations and behaves in response, they often employ the concept of habitus, the “socialized subjectivity” or “habits of interpretation” that results from internalized structural and cultural factors (Bourdieu 1972; Blumer 1969; Schwalbe 2001). A person’s habitus generates and constrains perceptions, aspirations, and practices consistent with “properties of earlier socialization” (Bourdieu 1972; Swartz 1997:103).

Habitus, because of its emphasis on socialization in early life, is most commonly employed in the study of schooling. It shows particular utility for explaining how structural and cultural factors affect students’ attitudes towards schoolwork, educators, peers, and themselves (Lareau 2003; Bettie 2003). However, a person’s habitus continues to develop and provide a framework for attitudes into adulthood (Horvat and Davis 2011; Reay 2004; James, Busher, and Suttill 2015). After all, occupations commonly require socialization that bears on their attitudes during “professionalization” processes. For instance, in the “Big 4” accounting service firms across several countries (Bangladesh, Canada, France, Spain and the UK), Spence and colleagues

(2016) show that entrepreneurial attitudes vary relative to historical, cultural, and structural contexts and therefore differently shape an employee's habitus and, consequently, professional decisions.

Using the concept of habitus as a framework for understanding how people evaluate situations drawing on internalized cultural and structural factors, I investigate planners' structural and social positions in childhood and adulthood and their attitudes towards distressed neighborhoods and neoliberal planning practices (Vaisey 2001). While attitudes are not a definitive predictor of urban planners' practices, their attitudes are a relevant factor in understanding the reproduction of urban inequality because of the interpretive discretion provided to urban planners in decision-making. In the next section, I expand upon the factors that constitute attitudes and their theorized sources in sociology to formulate my hypotheses. I also incorporate theory from urban geography that articulates the importance of political-economic influence of neoliberalism to hypothesize the potential role of professional socialization in shaping planners' attitudes.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND HYPOTHESES

In this section, I further articulate the specifics of habitus, theorized influences, and attitudinal expressions to specify my hypotheses, measurement, and analytic approach. I then draw upon scholarship in urban geography and critical theory to discuss potential political economic influences on the planning profession and their professional socialization.

Social Position and Attitudinal Expressions of Habitus

According to Bourdieu (1972), since social positions predict people's structural conditions and experiences, those of like social positions often share attitudinal expressions of habitus, such as beliefs, perceptions, and dispositions (Bourdieu 1972:85). As Bonilla-Silva

(2001:63) explains, these shared group positions “do not provide individuals, as group members, with an explicit road map of how to act, what to believe, and what to say, but they furnish the basic principles individuals use to sift through contested and often contradictory information in order to make sense of social reality.” Indeed, the relationship between shared social positions and common attitudes has been found in various contexts, including housing, schools, and work (Bettie 2003; Spence et al. 2016; Horvat and Davis 2011; Bonilla-Silva, Goar, and Embrick 2006).

In his articulation of habitus, Bourdieu (1972, 1977) emphasizes the relationship between its group attitudinal expressions most comprehensively for those who share a class. He argues that children born in the middle-class have parents more likely to endow them with the cultural capital valued in formal education, which leads to experiences in school that further shape their attitudes in alignment with their class position. Scholarship on attitudes of urban inequality is replete with class position considerations, particularly in investigations of gentrification. Butler and Robson (2001) and Webber (2007) find that people who relocate to revitalizing neighborhoods share a “metropolitan habitus”—characterized by particular attitudes about aesthetics, taste, and beliefs about human capital that stem from their middle or upper-middle-class background—that motivates their residence in neighborhoods close to the urban core.

Gentrification scholarship shows that this class-derived metropolitan habitus shapes attitudes towards poor neighborhoods in the process of diversifying. Webber (2007) finds that middle-class residents who move to poor neighborhoods favor diversity and value metropolitan culture, but possess anti-community attitudes because they see their neighborhood as merely a part of a broader, global community. Similarly, Butler and Robson (2003) find that newcomers to gentrifying urban neighborhoods possess cultural attitudes that valorize the arts and

authenticity, which they associated with the middle-class (Peterson and Kern 1996; Bennett et al. 2009; Posey-Maddox, Kimelberg, and Cucchiara 2014).

These habitus-derived attitudes are also racialized. Whites tend to associate poverty with blackness, creating “a high convergence” between race and class that affects whites’ attitudes (Betancur 2002:807). In gentrification scholarship, interviews with incoming, white “gentrifiers” show that they tend to believe their blacks neighbors are culturally inferior, attribute neighborhood issues, like noise, trash, and crime, to black residents, and desire and demand neighborhood changes better aligned with the arts-based culture they associate with whiteness (Sullivan and Bachmeier 2012; Shaw 2005). Compounding this, Bonilla-Silva and colleagues (2006: 249) articulate that the racial habitus of whites creates a space in which their isolation from black neighbors is normalized, and their beliefs about their black neighbors remain unchallenged. I integrate the theory of habitus and its influence on attitudes with the scholarship on the significance of race and class for gentrification to predict planners’ attitudes towards low-income, “distressed” neighborhoods. I predict:

Hypothesis 1A: Planners’ attitudes towards distressed neighborhoods will vary by racial identification and childhood class.

Specifically, I expect that planners who report that they are non-Latino white and from a middle or upper-middle-class family will be more likely to possess individualist attitudes towards “distressed” neighborhoods (compared to planners of color and planners from working-class backgrounds).

I also use habitus and its racial and class variability to predict planners’ attitudes toward common neoliberal planning practices that emphasize private-sector involvement, efficiency, privatization of public land, and poverty deconcentration. Burke (2012), for instance, draws upon

Bonilla-Silva and colleagues' (2006) articulation of racial habitus to show that white residents within diversifying urban neighborhoods possess attitudes that de-emphasize race and lead them to support seemingly race-neutral planning practices that disadvantage black residents. These include neoliberal practices that emphasize the de-concentration of poverty and incorporation of white-dominant cultural amenities. At the same time, the prioritization of these neoliberal practices leads to affluent urban restructuring, and the cultural, political, and social displacement of black residents that reinforces white dominance (August 2015; Shaw and Hagemans 2015; Ross and Leigh 2000). Taken together, I predict that the association of neoliberal practices with whiteness, affluence, and gentrification will differentiate planners' attitudes by race and class:

Hypothesis 1B: Planners' attitudes towards neoliberal urban planning practices will vary by racial identification and childhood class.

Per the evidence of the effects of race and class on attitudes towards gentrification and the beneficiaries of its associated neoliberal practices, I expect that planners who identify as non-Latino white will be more likely to support neoliberal policies founded on "market logic" than planners of color. Likewise, those from a middle or upper-middle-class family will be more likely to favor neoliberal urban planning policies.

Neoliberalism and Professional Socialization into Planning

As described previously, habitus and its attitudinal characteristics continue to develop throughout adult life. Occupations that require a credential commonly involve a professionalization process that includes education, certification, or training (Bourdieu 2002; Brown 2014; Vincent 2016). During professionalization, workers are exposed to an occupation-specific culture(s), climate, and philosophy that can shape their habitus and lead them to similar occupation-specific attitudes (Beck and Young 2005:188).

Since *entrée* into the planning profession requires institutionalized, technical knowledge and skills attained through education or experience for basic planning knowledge (Markusen 2000; Sager 2011), professionalization into planning likely affects the attitudes of urban planning practitioners (Reay 2004; Weiss, Gal, and Cnaan 2004). Bourdieu (1988) shows this process in academia, detailing how selection and subsequent training into the academic order, and the culture(s), climate, and philosophy (such as the knowledge that qualifies as legitimate), to which they are exposed, provides academics a shared “system of shared social dispositions, perceptions, and appreciations” (Bourdieu 1988:116; see also Horvat and Antonio 1999; Beck and Young 2005). Other studies have revealed similar processes in military institutions (Rosa and Brito 2010) and healthcare (Sieger, Fritz and Them 2012). Because planners act through institutional frameworks and regulatory regimes embedded within the broader political economy, its inherited structures and ideologies dictate the professional norms, standards, and practices into which its practitioners are socialized. An exploration of the culture(s), climate, and philosophy of professional planners dictates attention to the broader political economy and its influences (Raco 2005).

Since the 1970s, the chief form of political economy in the West has been neoliberalism, a political-economic system characterized by the dominance of the free market and the dissolution of alternatives to the free market in all areas of social life (through privatization of public industry, privatization of public spaces, reduction of government spending and programs, reduction of redistribution, reduction of regulation on capital flows, reduction of trade barriers) (Harvey 2005). When Marx (1867, 1981) articulated a relationship between broader capitalist political economy and ideological control for capital accumulation, he treated the individual under capitalism as a worker reduced to their labor power. Classic liberal economic theory, in

contrast, conceives of the individual as a rational actor and consumer. Neoliberalism melds the two conceptions of the individual and supplants all others (Brown 2005). Competition, risk, and investment color not only people's understanding of work, consumption, and investment, but their understandings of self and others (Foucault and Senellart 2008). Through the neoliberal lens, successes and failures, poverty and wealth, are attributed simply to the management of the business of life (Brown 2005). Its spread transforms neoliberal sensibilities to "common sense" that hides its assumptions and prevents its challenge (Giroux 2015:297). Indeed, the pernicious and deleterious effects of neoliberalism on attitudes are evidenced in studies on various forms of social welfare. Even participants of the Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF) program possess positive attitudes towards austerity and welfare reform to limit benefits because of internalized beliefs about self-failure (Azevedo et al. 2019; Adams et al. 2019; Hays 2003).

Urban geographic scholarship shows that urban planning as a profession has helped enact neoliberal policies in various geographies (Smith 1996; Lees 2002; Vives Miró 2011; Peck 2013). Taken with evidence of neoliberalism's ideological power, urban geographers often conclude that the pervasive market logic and emphasis on economic efficiency in planning practice evidences its organizational alignment with the neoliberal agenda (Markusen 2006; Neil and Brenner 2001). They argue that the urban planning profession as a whole operates on behalf of neoliberalism, imposing a "hegemonic position" of profit over people and the private market over public good (Peck 2013; Peck and Tickell 2002; Neil and Brenner 2001). Even the supposed changes instituted by diversity measures and participatory and collaborative planning only reframe its neoliberal practices as legitimate (Roy 2015).

If urban planners are embedded in institutional frameworks that promote neoliberal attitudes, the degree to which they have been professionally socialized into urban planning

should shape their attitudes towards distressed neighborhoods and neoliberal practices. Their training should expose them to the interests of the neoliberal state (Roy 2006:13). The following hypotheses consider this view by predicting the effect of professionalization into urban planning:

Hypothesis 2A: The greater professional socialization a planner has experienced, as captured by their exposure to professionalizing materials and activities, the greater the likelihood of individualistic attitudes towards distressed neighborhoods.

Hypothesis 2B: The greater professional socialization a planner has experienced, as captured by their exposure to professionalizing materials and activities, the greater the likelihood of favorable attitudes towards neoliberal urban planning practices.

In examining these factors, this research will fill a gap in our understanding of the reproduction of urban inequality by illuminating potential sources of discrepancy between the stated goal of community development planning and the outcomes of its practices. In the next section, I articulate how I used my theoretical framework to collect data on and measure the social positions, professionalization, attitudes towards “distressed” neighborhoods, and attitudes towards neoliberal urban planning practices described in my hypotheses.

DATA AND METHODS

Data Collection

To test these hypotheses, I rely on data from an original survey I designed and conducted in 2018 through Qualtrics, a platform for the creation and distribution of online surveys commonly used in the social sciences. Though the survey was completed by 321 practicing urban planners, I use 235 of these in the final sample, which I explain in the next section. The survey consisted of 33 items, including several items presented in matrix format that allowed for multiple questions per item (see Appendix B).

The sampling frame was an enumerated list of 1,453 individual urban planners who maintained membership with the North Carolina chapter of the American Planning Association acquired in August 2018. I use APA membership as an indication of practice as an urban planner because it is the certifying body for practicing urban planners in the United States, and because it provides continuing education, networking opportunities, and professional materials, and its membership fees are commonly paid by certified planning schools. It is also a prerequisite for participation in APA conferences, receipt of the American Institute of Certified Planners (AICP) credential, and many planning positions. The wide use of APA membership as a prerequisite to practice planning suggests that use of the APA-NC membership list provides an accurate count of practicing urban planners, the target population for this study. The frequency of membership renewal ensured accurate contact information for the 2018 calendar year. The full sampling frame included academic, public, and private urban planning professionals and urban planning students. From that sampling frame, I drew a nonrandom, discretionary sample of 1,436 individuals that excludes the 23 individuals whose professional title is professor, assistant professor, or associate professor because they tend to research and teach, but not practice, urban planning. Contact information for the sampling unit, an individual urban planner who maintains membership with the APA NC Chapter, was provided in the membership list.

I recruited participants using the e-mail contact provided by the APA-NC. IRB-approved consent-to-participate forms provided potential participants with an overview of the project, including disclosures that they could withdraw from the survey at any time, that no incentives but professional advancement of urban planning would be offered, that their participation in this study is voluntary and results would be anonymized (identifiable only by participant ID number).

For survey administration, I chose to employ a self-administered survey by web for empirical reasons as well as to limit the cost and time associated with data entry, travel, and transcription (Dillman et al. 2008; Dillman 2000). Web survey mode allows for the inclusion of complex survey instruments, such as matrix items, that suit the theoretical complexity of the research questions and hypotheses in this study. Since it is self-administered, web survey mode also reduces the potential for some common survey errors that can arise with other survey modes, such as interviewer-effects in in-person and telephone modes (Groves 2009:172). In a web survey, respondents can also view items and responses as they complete the survey, which reduces response-order effects common in telephone and in-person modes (Groves 2009:171).

These benefits are not without tradeoffs in potential sources of survey error. First, self-administered surveys have a high potential for measurement error due to satisficing (Holbrook, Green, and Krosnick 2003). Without oversight, respondents can tire or begin to multitask and diminish the response quality. To lessen these risks, I use item response time measures to identify extreme response times, including dragging and speeding, as indications of distracted or satisficing. Second, coverage issues from attempting to deliver a web survey to a socio-economically representative sample of the population can bias results (Bandilla, Kaczmirek, Blohm, and Neubarth 2009). However, the research questions in this study concern a high-coverage population with occupational tasks that necessitate the use of a computer, reducing the potential for non-coverage commonly associated with web survey mode in many other populations. Urban planning practitioners communicate with city officials, developers, and citizens by email, and write and read comprehensive plans, review municipal code and ordinances, and review development applications on the web. Because the target population frequently uses web surveys for their own work, non-coverage error is less of a concern.

Nonresponse error poses the greatest concern in web survey in this study. Sources of nonresponse commonly include potential contact failures (i.e., failure to deliver the email invitation to correct/working email; link failures to access the survey; failure to forward to the Qualtrics platform), refusals (i.e., receipt of survey but oversee or decline to participate), and item non-response (i.e., oversee or decline to answer particular questions) (Brick and Tourangeau 2017). To lessen the risk of contact failure, I contacted respondents through Qualtrics with a university email address, which is less likely to sort the invitation into spam folders, and conducted a pilot survey in December 2018 to ensure that the email and link procedures were easily managed by thirty recipients before administering the full survey. To reduce the number of refusals, I used two follow-up invitations and one “unfinished” reminder notification through the Qualtrics platform (Van Mol 2017). Finally, I employed survey presentation elements to reduce refusal and breakoff, including: estimates of the time required for the survey and guaranteed anonymity of responses in the initial contact, a restricted number of items on the first page of the survey, and careful ordering of survey items (Galesic and Bosnjak 2009).

Measurement

Dependent variables

I estimated two ordinal response variables: attitudes towards distressed neighborhoods and neoliberal planning practices. Following Bourdieu (1977; 1984), Vaisey (2001), and Small et al. (2010:15), I consider beliefs, preferences, and dispositions constitutive of attitudes. For attitudes towards distressed neighborhoods, I adapt items from the existing survey instrument on attitudes towards poverty developed by Feagin (1975), who identifies three broad attributional groups: individualist, structuralist, and fatalist (see also Young 2004; Hunt 1996). Those who

espouse “individualist” beliefs source poverty to failures of the individual or their micro environment and group (e.g., weaknesses of character, lack of skills and capabilities, lack of effort, poor money management, bad cultural values). The second, “structuralist” group, links and acknowledges the influence of structural circumstances and exploitation, discrimination, and unfairness to the experience of poverty. The third group, the “fatalists,” attributes poverty wholly to bad luck (Singhal and Abouchedid 2005). Expansions and variations on Feagin’s study in different countries, specific contexts, geographies, and professions show continued support for his conceptualization (2004; Hunt 1996). I used Feagin’s work and later expansions to formulate 22 statements displayed in a matrix format that describe attitudes towards distressed neighborhoods. Each statement asked participants to provide their agreement on a six-point scale, which corresponds with level of agreement with statements about distressed neighborhoods, with 1= “Strongly Disagree”; 2= “Disagree”; 3= “Somewhat Disagree”; 4= “Somewhat Agree”; 5= “Agree”; 6=“Strongly Agree” (see Appendix B).

I used Confirmatory Factor Analysis (CFA) to test which items could be combined in a construct to capture attitudes toward distressed neighborhoods. Since some items drew on Feagin’s (1971) structuralist explanations, the factor-loading values for all items assessing attitudes towards distressed neighborhoods expectedly produced goodness-of-fit statistics that indicated their unsuitability for a single construct. I proceeded to test various combinations using theoretical bases for their grouping. The CFA indicated that the following items were suitable for combination: “distressed” neighborhoods are the result of a lack of human capital; “distressed” neighborhoods are the result of a lack of individual responsibility; “distressed” neighborhoods are the result of a lack of motivation; and “distressed” neighborhoods are the result of a lack of financial literacy. The variable capturing attitudes toward distressed neighborhoods maintained

the scale of the included variables with a mean score of 3.68 on a six-point scale (with higher scores corresponding to more agreement with individualistic attitudes).

Hypothesis 1B predicts favorable attitudes towards neoliberal planning practices. To create items for the study of neoliberal planning practices, I drew on literature on the neoliberalization of urban planning from within urban geography (Tach and Emory 2017; Brenner and Theodore 2002; Hackworth and Smith 2001; Tulumello 2016), displacement (Hyra 2012; August 2016), and gentrification/displacement (Lees, Slater, and Wyly 2008), to identify 18 relevant policies. I presented the policies with statements in a matrix format to which participants responded with their perception (on a six point scale) that the following “are important for successful revitalization” (Appendix B): Construction of new market-rate apartments; Construction of new market-rate single-family homes; Economic development initiatives to attract private investment (e.g., tax incentives for opportunity zones); Public-private partnerships; New Urbanist design; Creation of mixed-income housing; Emphasizing potential competitive advantages of the neighborhood to attract private investment. The six-point response scale corresponded with the perceived importance of a policy, with 1= “Not at all important”; 2= “Unimportant”; 3= “Somewhat Unimportant”; 4= “Somewhat Important”; 5= “Important”; 6= “Very important”.

I again used CFA to determine the suitability of items for combination into a single construct variable that maintains the original six-point scale. The CFA results indicated the following were suitable for use in a construct: the construction and sale of new market-rate houses, the construction and rental of new market-rate apartments, mixed-income housing redevelopment, gentrification, and New Urbanist design (Appendix B). The variable measuring

attitudes about neoliberal revitalization practices had a mean score of 3.50 on a six-point scale, with higher scores corresponding to more favorable attitudes toward neoliberal practices.

Independent Variables

Race and ethnicity: Hypothesis 1A and 1B predict different attitudes towards “distressed” neighborhoods and neoliberal planning practices by respondent race and childhood class position. Accordingly, I asked respondents to indicate their racial/ethnic identity in a manner consistent with the General Social Survey, but provided the opportunity to select more than one category (to allow for selection of both race and ethnicity, if distinct for a respondent) and to write-in an alternative identity for those who find the coarse categorization unsatisfactory. I provided the following options: Black or African American, White/Caucasian, Latino/a, Asian, Pacific Islander, Native American and mixed-race. I collapsed the categories into non-white and white non-Latino for analysis. Non-white includes Black/African American, Latino, and multiple that include Black/African American or Latino. Asian or Pacific Islander (n=4) were dropped from analysis due to missingness on one or more of the variables required for analysis.

Childhood class: The primary predictive factor of habitus is childhood class, since material resources in early life predict social, cultural, and educational experiences that shape the “fault lines of interpretation” or preferences, dispositions, and beliefs (Burke 2012; Bourdieu 1977; Lamont and Lareau 1988). In the Marxist tradition of centralizing material conditions as the source of the aforementioned social, educational, and cultural resources, my measure of childhood class concerns only material resources available to the respondent in childhood (Wright 2005). This presents some measurement difficulty in a self-administered survey, since respondents are likely to self-assess their material conditions as middle-class and unlikely to know their family’s wealth in childhood (Morin 2008). To resolve this dilemma, I do not ask

respondents to estimate income, investments, or assets. Instead, I measure childhood class using a series of items that ask the respondent about particular material resources predicted by wealth. The items that constitute the measure of “Childhood Class” include whether their high school was private (=1), their college education was exclusively paid by inheritance, trust, or family (=1), and their childhood home was single-family and owned/mortgaged (=1). I summed the responses to those items to create childhood class categories in accordance with the following scores: “Working-Class” (0); “Middle-Class” (1 or 2) and “Affluent” (3).

Professionalization: Hypothesis 2A and 2B predict differences in attitudes by degree of professionalization into the field of urban planning. Accordingly, I measure “Professionalization” using the sum of the respondent’s affirmative responses to the following: In what discipline did you attend graduate school? (1=planning; 0=anything else); Do you read any of the following (1=each planning publication); What professional conferences do you attend? (1=each planning conference); Did you take courses in urban, city, or regional planning as an undergraduate? (1=yes; 0=no); Do you maintain any of the following professional affiliations? (1=each professional affiliation). The resultant values for the variable ranged from 1-12 with a normal distribution. I recoded these from 1-6 from less to more professionalization for greater interpretability and consistently with the scales of other variables in the model (where 1=limited professionalization into the field of urban planning and 6=significant professionalization into the field of urban planning).

Control Variables

Status Measures: Habitus scholars in educational sociology show particular interest in status measures commonly associated with class position, such as educational attainment, constituted of highest degree attained, and “middle-class cultural capital,” constituted of exposure to cultural activities and resources that benefit individuals in educational settings (Lamont and Lareau 1988; Lareau 2003). I focus on childhood class components in my predictors, but I also control for middle-class cultural capital and educational attainment. I elect not to incorporate these measures into “Childhood Class” to avoid conflation of social and cultural resources that are accessible to those of different class positions with *material conditions* that are not (a working-class person, for instance, might get a college degree or listen to classical music, but they cannot *elect* to have a sizable inheritance). Rather than make assumptions about the association of cultural resources with particular class categories, I ask directly about material conditions to measure class and measure these other status factors “cultural capital” factors separately and include them as control variables.

To create “Middle-Class Cultural Capital” I used the mean of several response items that assessed the frequency respondents recalled different activities associated with middle-class means happening during their childhood (birth-18) on a 6-point scale from “Never” to “Very Frequently”: listening to classical music; attending art museums/galleries; attending plays/musical performances; receiving private music lessons; participating in dance lessons/dance team; and receiving academic tutoring. I also measure highest education attained (1=“Some High School”, 2=“High School Degree”, 3=“Some College”, 4=“College Degree”, 5=“Some Graduate School”, 6=“Graduate Degree”).

Class Position in Adulthood: Similarly, class position in adulthood is not a central focus of my hypotheses because most planners occupy a similar class position at present due to their shared occupation. Significant differences in material resources in adulthood are more likely to be measures of time in profession. However, because class position in adulthood can affect attitudinal measures of habitus, I include it as a control variable. I operationalize “Affluent Adult” as current income over 100,000 dollars and ownership/mortgage of a single-family home.

Gender Identity: Gender identity is a social position relevant to habitus and predictive of its attitudinal expressions, but not commonly centralized in urban inequality literature. Accordingly, I include it as a control variable (“Man”; “Woman”; “Other”) to avoid erroneously concluding that it has no bearing on the attitudes of planners, but do not hypothesize its effect.

Group memberships: Some scholars (Vaisey 2008; Ignatow 2007, 2009; Winchester 2008) argue that studies concerned with habitus and its effects should consider other group memberships, such as lifestyle/community conditions (e.g. geography, housing and neighborhood type) in addition to the commonly accounted for class, race, and gender. Together, these shape the attitudinal expression of habitus and thus make important control variables (Collett 2009). Accordingly, I include the following measures of collectivities and lifestyle/conditions: childhood community (the community type in which the respondent resided during childhood: “Suburban/Town”, “Rural”, or “Urban”) and adulthood community (the community type in which the respondent resided during adulthood: “Suburban/Town”, “Rural”, or “Urban”).

Time in Profession: I also control for the approximate number of years the respondent has been working in the planning profession. I kept years in the profession separate from the “Professionalization” construct variable. Planners’ time in the profession can involve

professionalizing activities, but because of the significant variability in the duties of planners by position, time in the profession does not necessarily require interaction with materials of professionalization. Some planners are employed in positions that do not allow for travel to conferences (e.g., those in municipal development offices), while others are expected to engage in such activities as part of their employment.

RESULTS

The total number of returned surveys was 321, but many were missing responses to one or more required items of interest for the dependent variables. Item nonresponse due to fatigue, perceived burden, item sensitivity, or breakoff is a common source of error in self-administered web survey mode and likely in these cases (Brick and Tourangeau 2017). It is also possible that negative affect toward the survey sponsor listed in the initial contact increased item nonresponse due to association between sociology and studies on gentrification or race (Groves 2006:664). I did not run analysis on any surveys missing items of interest, including single items in the matrix questions used to create my dependent variables, which lowered the sample size in OLR. To limit the chance that the exclusion increased potential error from non-coverage of my target population, I compared the univariate descriptive statistics with those of the broader planning profession as reported in the IPUMS 1-year estimates and discuss these below.

Descriptive Statistics

Table 1.1 displays the results of univariate descriptive statistics for variables of interest and control variables. I first examine the social positions of those urban planners in my sample. Table 1.1 shows little racial or ethnic diversity; the most common self-identified race was Non-Latino white (89.70 percent) followed by Latino of any race (8.64 percent), and black (5.32). Although my sample contains a slightly greater share of non-Latino white planners, it is mostly

consistent with the national estimates provided for planners by the IPUMS 1-year estimates (84.8 percent non-Latino white). My sample contained a slightly greater concentration of men (59.73 percent) than the national estimates of planners by the IPUMS 1-year estimates (53 percent). My descriptive statistics provide one of the only estimates of planners' class positions, since both the APA and the IPUMS do not assess class beyond current income. My data show that 86.58 percent of planners in my sample attended a private high school, lived in an owned, single family home, and paid for their college with inheritance/parent income alone. Finally, the majority of planners in my sample were raised in suburban or small town communities (58.52 percent), but the remaining were evenly distributed between rural and urban communities.

The descriptive results for the dependent variables indicate widespread individualistic understandings of neighborhood distress and support for neoliberal practices to solve them. The mean score of planners sampled for "Individualist Explanations" was 3.68 with a standard deviation of 1.15 and 78.33 percent of those sampled "Somewhat Agree", "Agree", or "Strongly Agree" with "Individualist Explanations" for distressed neighborhoods. A sizable 86.92 percent of the planners sampled reported "Neoliberal Practices" are "Somewhat Important", "Importance", or "Very Important" to neighborhood planning. Overall, the univariate analyses show that my sample of practicing urban planners was mostly non-Latino white men from affluent families and suburbs/small towns who largely agree with individualistic explanations for distressed neighborhoods and support neoliberal practices to solve them.

I turn now to bivariate descriptive statistics. For each variable contained in Table 1.1., I tested the variance inflation factor (VIF) to measure multicollinearity. VIF factors are a measure of standard error inflation due to variance shared between variables (Allison 1999). The equation for VIF is as follows:

$$\text{VIF} = 1 / (1 - R^2)$$

The specific threshold used to determine VIF values of concern varies by data structure and discipline, but a VIF above 2.5 is commonly considered evidence of moderate multicollinearity (Allison 1999). My results yielded a mean VIF of 1.2 and no VIF value above 1.8, indicating that the variables present little multicollinearity concerns.

In addition, I conducted bivariate association analyses between each variable in Table 1.1., as significant correlations between predictors can produce higher correlation between the independent variables of interest and the dependent variable. The bivariate correlation statistics revealed no correlations of concern. The greatest correlation was .48 between years in the planning profession (i.e., “Time”) and upper-class adulthood (i.e., “Affluent Adulthood) conceptualized as ownership of a home and income over 100,000 a year. Both remain necessary control variables and the correlation is not significant enough to warrant removal. No other correlation statistic was above .4.

Table 1.1 Descriptive Statistics

Variable	Mean	S.D.
Dependent Variables		
Individualist Explanations (1-6)	3.68	1.15
Neoliberal Practices (1-6)	3.50	.68
Categorical Independent Variables		
	#	%
<i>Racial Identification</i>		
Non-Latino white (=1)	270	90.10
Non-white (omitted)	22	8.49
<i>Childhood Class</i>		
Working-Class (omitted)	26	8.72
Middle-Class	14	4.70
Upper-Class/Affluent	258	86.58
<i>Gender Identification</i>		
Man (=1)	170	59.73
Woman (omitted)	116	38.93
<i>Childhood Community</i>		
Rural	61	20.54
Suburban/Town (omitted)	175	58.52
Urban	61	20.54
Affluent Adult (=1)	231	77.52
<i>Adulthood Community</i>		
Rural	61	20.54
Suburban/Town (omitted)	175	58.52
Urban	61	20.54
Continuous Independent Variables		
	Mean	S.D.
Cultural Capital (1-5)	2.04	.87
Highest Degree (1-6)	5.67	0.10
Professionalization (1-6)	2.351	0.64
Time in Profession (1-6)	3.95	1.41

Note: N = 297. Percentages do not equal 100 due to observations dropped for missingness.

Categories

“Other Gender” dropped due to missingness on items of interest. Non-white includes Black/African American, Latino, and multiple that include Black/African American or Latino. Asian or Pacific Islander (n=4) dropped

from analysis due to missingness on items of interest. Categorical includes variables with factor format.

Analytic Procedure

The survey data used for this study consists of dependent variable response items that are meaningfully ordered by how much a respondent agrees with a statement. Unlike ordinary least squares (OLS) regression, which predicts the expected increase in an outcome when a predictor value increases by one unit, the results of an OLR model show a coefficient slope of the expected cumulative log-odds when the predictor increases by one unit. In other words, the odds ratio provides the likelihood that a group appears in a particular response category (Long and Freese 2006; Hosmer et al. 2013; Osborne 2014). OLR treats dependent variables as ordered categorical variables based on the cumulative-odds principle (Freese 2014; Hosmer et al. 2013; Osborne 2014). The cumulative-odds principle uses cumulative probabilities to measure how likely the response is to be in each of the six categories when each ordinal category in my dependent variables is made binary at a threshold (compared to another category) (Long and Freese 2006; Freese 2014).

OLR is a better fit for the data format but assumes equal distance/proportional odds. The six levels of my dependent variables are meaningfully ordered, but the distance between adjacent categories in my dependent variables is uncertain. To test for proportional odds, I used the standard Brant test. The Brant test indicated that several explanatory variables violate the proportional odds assumption (likely due to sampling variability). I could remove those variables (one of which is racial identification) or dichotomize the outcome (i.e., Agree=1, Disagree=0) to use binary logistic regression, but both would sacrifice relevant empirical details for my research questions. I opt to proceed with OLR but simultaneously run logistic and OLS models that treats my dependent variables as dichotomous and continuous, respectively, to ensure that the violation of proportional odds assumption does not lead to erroneous empirical conclusions. Comparison

of the approaches indicated no variability in statistical significance for coefficients of interest between the models, only more interpretable results in the OLR model. Each variable of interest maintained direction and significance and the same models presented in Table 1.2 and Table 1.3 were also good fit for the data according to OLS and logit measures of model fit.

I first performed OLR with attitudes towards distressed neighborhoods as the dependent variable. The number of predictors varied between ten and fifteen to determine model fit and test different potential interactions between racial identity, gender identity, and childhood class. I then fit the same models with the addition of the predictor variable “Professionalization”. Next I fit a number of models with estimates of attitudes towards neoliberal practices as the dependent variable to examine the effect of racial identification, childhood class, and professionalization variables on attitudinal differences, varying the interaction variables for each combination of racial identity, gender identity, and childhood class. In addition to the significance of the coefficients/odds ratios in the OLR model, I use Akaike’s Information Criterion (AIC) to determine if additional variables are a better fit to the data in stepwise comparisons. AIC emphasizes the best and most parsimonious fit to the data, but does not penalize models for free parameters. Concisely, the smaller AIC, the better the model fits the data. I used the models produced from these analyses to compare the odds ratios of coefficients for independent variables of interest.

Table 1.2 Results of Ordered Logistic Regression (Odds-Ratios) Estimating Attitudes Toward Distressed Neighborhoods

	Model 1	Model 2
Non-Latino white (=1)	4.010 ^{**}	4.070 ^{**}
<i>Childhood Class</i> (Working-class omitted)		
Middle-class	0.992	0.918
Affluent	2.879*	2.588*
Affluent Adulthood Class (=1)	2.247*	2.167*
Man (=1)	1.722*	1.832*
Cultural Capital	0.699*	0.689*
<i>Childhood Community</i> (Suburban/Small Town omitted)		
Urban	1.462	1.470
Rural	2.562 ^{**}	2.428 ^{**}
Highest degree	0.486 ^{**}	0.535 ^{**}
<i>Adulthood Community</i> (Urban omitted)		
Suburban	0.734	0.734
Rural	0.904	0.859
Time in Profession	1.189	1.219
Professionalization		0.829
Observations	235	235
<i>AIC</i>	1203.684	1203.313

Exponentiated coefficients

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table 1.3 Results of Ordered Logistic Regression (Odds-Ratios) Estimating Attitudes Toward Neoliberal Planning Practices

	Model 3	Model 4
Non-Latino white (=1)	1.124	1.194
<i>Childhood Class</i> (Working-class omitted)	1.000	1.000
Middle-class	0.219	0.223
Affluent	0.673	0.769
Affluent Adulthood Class (=1)	1.290	1.477
Man (=1)	1.450	1.385
Cultural Capital	1.867***	1.946***
<i>Childhood Community</i> (Suburban/Small Town omitted)		
Urban	0.802	0.811
Rural	0.670	0.707
Highest degree	1.050	0.857
<i>Adulthood Community</i> (Urban omitted)		
Suburban	0.731	0.690
Rural	0.708	0.754
Time in Profession	0.987	0.956
Professionalization		1.442**
Observations	233	233
<i>AIC</i>	1069.487	1063.162

Exponentiated coefficients

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Note: Two observations dropped from OLR due to nonresponse on gentrification item.

Table 1.2 displays the results of the OLR estimating attitudes toward distressed neighborhoods. Table 1.3 displays the results of the OLR estimating attitudes toward neoliberal planning practices. The usual outcomes coefficients in OLR indicate the probability of the dependent variable given an increase by a standard deviation of the predictor. Since the dataset is constituted of survey responses, the effect of a predictor on the probability of my dependent variables has different values depending on the level of the predictor. With many categorical and factor predictors, the interpretation of a “standard deviation increase” in a predictor is not particularly intuitive or interpretable. Instead, I transformed the coefficients to odds-ratios using Stata. The odds-ratio provide the association between an independent variable and an outcome as the likelihood of observing X (predictor) in Y (dependent variable) (Szumilas 2010).

In this study, Y is agreement with individualist explanations for distressed neighborhoods or support for neoliberal practices. Accordingly, an odds-ratio over 1 indicates an increase in odds of agreement/support by the factor indicated in the ratio. For instance, an odds-ratio of 1.12 for X indicates that the odds of observing X in agreement with Y are multiplied by 1.12. Likewise, an odds-ratio less than 1.0 indicates a reduced likelihood of observing X in agreement with Y. For example, an odds-ratio of .82 for X indicates that the odds of observing X in agreement with Y are decreased by .18 or 18 percent. In Table 1.2, the outcome Y is agreement with individualist explanations for distressed neighborhoods. In Table 1.2, the outcome Y is agreement with individualist explanations for distressed neighborhoods. In Table 1.3, the outcome Y is support for neoliberal practices. I turn now to the results of the OLR analyses.

Attitudes Toward Distressed Neighborhoods

The results displayed in Table 1.2 support Hypothesis 1A that planners' attitudes toward distressed neighborhoods vary by racial identification and childhood class position. Model 1 in Table 1.2 indicates a positive and statistically significant increase in the odds of agreement ("Somewhat Agree"; "Agree"; "Strongly Agree") with individualist explanations for non-Latino white planners than non-white respondents, controlling for time in profession, education, community in adulthood, community in childhood, cultural capital, and affluence in adulthood. Non-Latino white planners were 4.01 ($p < .01$) times more likely to agree with individualist explanations than planners who identify as non-white. Model 1 of Table 1.2 also shows that the odds of reporting agreement with individualist explanations were 2.88 ($p < .01$) times greater for those raised in affluent childhood class positions than those from other childhood class positions. Compared to respondents from a working-class or middle-class childhood class position, those from an affluent childhood class position were more likely to report individualist attitudes for distressed neighborhoods. Taken together, the results support Hypothesis 1A that planners' agreement with individualist explanations for distressed neighborhoods vary by racial identification and childhood class position. Their attitudes—beliefs, preferences, and dispositions—towards distressed neighborhoods were more aligned with explanations that emphasize the failures of poor residents, including their lack of human capital and lack of financial literacy.

Several control variables relevant to habitus scholarship produced statistically significant coefficients. In addition to those specified in H1A, Model 1 in Table 1.2 also shows that affluence in adulthood, the social position most frequently considered in gentrification scholarship, has a statistically significant positive association with individualist explanations for

distressed neighborhoods. The odds of agreement with individualist explanations for distressed neighborhoods were 2.25 ($p < .01$) times greater for those who occupy an affluent class position compared to respondents who do not occupy an affluent class position in adulthood.

Model 1 in Table 1.2 also displays significant coefficients for control variables relevant to habitus but less commonly considered in urban inequality scholarship: gender, cultural capital, educational attainment, and childhood community. Men were 1.72 ($p < .05$) times more likely to agree with individualist explanations for distressed neighborhoods. Those raised in rural communities in childhood were 2.56 ($p < .05$) times greater than those from a suburban/small town or urban childhood community. An odds ratio of .49 ($p < .01$), means that the odds of agreement with individualist explanations are lower for those with greater educational attainment. Specifically, .49 indicates that those with higher educational attainment are about 51 percent less likely to agree with individualist explanations for neighborhood distress.

Model 2 in Table 1.1 tests Hypothesis 2A, that the greater professional socialization a planner has experienced, the greater the likelihood of individualistic attitudes towards distressed neighborhoods. Model 2 shows that the addition of “Professionalization”, which captures exposure to materials and activities of professional socialization, neither improves model fit with AIC nor does it yield a statistically significant coefficient for professionalization. According to Model 2, planners’ professional socialization into the planning profession professionalization is not a statistically significant factor in their attitudes towards distressed neighborhoods in which they work.

Attitudes Toward Neoliberal Planning Practices

Table 1.3 presents the results of the OLR estimating attitudes toward neoliberal planning practices with individual characteristics and professionalization. The results in Model 3 do not

support Hypothesis 1B that planners' attitudes towards neoliberal urban planning practices vary by racial identification and childhood class position, controlling for other time in profession, education, community in adulthood, community in childhood, cultural capital, and affluence in adulthood.² However, the coefficient middle-class cultural capital again yields a statistically significant coefficient. Model 3 indicates that those with higher levels of middle-class cultural capital are 1.87 times more likely ($p < .001$) to support neoliberal planning practices than those with less middle-class cultural capital. The positive association contrasts with the negative association of middle-class cultural capital on attitudes toward distressed neighborhoods.

Hypothesis 2B predicts that more extensive professionalization corresponds with greater support for neoliberal planning practices. Model 4 of Table 1.3 displays the additive effects of the professionalization on the individual characteristics and control variables contained in Model 3.³ The addition of professionalization significantly improves model fit with a reduced AIC and yields a statistically significant coefficient in support of Hypothesis 2B. The odds-ratio for professionalization indicates that those with higher levels of professionalization are 1.4 times more likely to have favorable attitudes towards neoliberal planning practices ($p < .01$).⁴ Exposure to professional training is associated with greater support for neoliberal practices such as mixed-income redevelopment, gentrification, and new market-rate housing, controlling for individual characteristics such as race and childhood class position.

² The coefficients in Table 1.3 Model 3 indicate that respondents' likelihood of reporting positive attitudes towards neoliberal planning practices does not vary by race or childhood class controlling for other variables. The results show that the variables associated with attitudes about *why* neighborhoods are distressed do not have the same effect on attitudes toward common neoliberal planning practices within distressed neighborhoods.

³ Tests for interactions between each statistically significant independent variable and other individual characteristics did not yield statistically significant results nor did they improve model fit, indicating that the effect of race and childhood class on individualist explanations for distressed neighborhoods does not vary by other individual characteristics.

⁴ Tests for interactions between professionalization and individual characteristics neither improved model fit nor did they yield statistically significant coefficients. The relationship between professionalization and favorable attitudes towards neoliberal practices does not appear mediated or moderated by other variables.

DISCUSSION

In this study, I explored urban planners' attitudes towards the distressed neighborhoods in which they work and neoliberal practices common to their profession. The results provide insight into the architecture of urban planners' beliefs, perceptions, and dispositions and the factors that shape them. The analyses reveal that planners' racial identification and childhood class positions affect their perception of distressed neighborhoods. Non-Latino white planners and those from affluent class backgrounds are more likely to believe that individual or cultural failures of the low-income residents, such as limited skills, lack of motivation, or faulty culture, cause distressed neighborhoods.

The significance of race and childhood class dovetails with recent scholarship on gentrification, which shows the relevance of both for understanding how urban inequality is reproduced within neighborhoods by incoming, middle-class, white "gentrifiers" (Burke 2012). Often new residents to low-income, majority-black neighborhoods acknowledge their privilege and pay lip service to structural racism, but privately attribute blatant resource inequalities to earnings-based and cultural differences (Rich 2011; Burke 2012). My findings suggest that non-Latino white planners appear to engage in a similar process. They might espouse racially-conscious positions in public to justify their intervention in low-income, often historically black neighborhoods, but planners tend to be white and from affluent backgrounds, the two positions associated with attitudes that de-emphasize structural explanations in favor of individualist explanations that explain "distress" as the fault of poor residents. I also found that men and those from rural communities more likely to support individualistic explanations for "distressed" neighborhoods. At the same time, their educational attainment and exposure to resources commonly associated with middle-class status such as arts, music, and theater are associated

with a lower likelihood of belief in individualist explanations for distressed neighborhoods. The significance of these control variables further underscores the importance of social positions that shape habitus in early life to understanding the reproduction of inequality by planners in adulthood. Urban planners, like others, interact with the material, social, and cultural resources in childhood in a manner that affects attitudes in adulthood. Bourdieu (1987) theorized that children access material, social, and cultural resources and perceive those resources through a “filter” or lens shaped by factors like race and childhood class. While individual factors shape the lens that children use to interpret the world, likewise, group, family, and community processes and resources continually “act back” on the lens through socialization (Roosa et al. 2003).

The results also lend credence to the theory circulated within urban geography regarding the effects of organizational alignment with neoliberalism on the planning profession. I found that the degree of professionalization a planner has experienced affects their attitudes towards standard neoliberal practices aimed at neighborhood distress, such as mixed-income redevelopment and new market-rate housing. The more planning conferences, planning materials, and planning education an urban planner has encountered, the higher the likelihood of supporting neoliberal practices. According to my results, even if a planner does not believe that individual failures (e.g., a lack of financial literacy) cause distressed neighborhoods, given sufficient exposure to the organizational norms of urban planning through professionalization, they will still support neoliberal practices that address neighborhood distress through neoliberal means (e.g., mixed-income housing) that target individual failures rather than structural inequalities. It seems that the requisite organizational, political, and ideological reorganization of capitalism that makes a free market doctrine common sense is embedded in the professional materials of urban planning (Sager 2011).

Planners' attitudes towards neoliberal planning practices also appear positively influenced by a respondent's exposure to arts, music, and academic resources commonly associated with middle-class status. Those with greater status-based exposure to arts and media-related activities in childhood are more likely to support neoliberal practices as adult planners. The relevance of cultural capital echoes longstanding gentrification scholarship regarding a relationship between "creative class" interests and neoliberal practices associated with gentrification in a process of "yuppification" (Criekingen and Derclouy 2003; Peck 2005). My findings indicate that the status-based cultural interests that echo of the "creative class" are associated with support for neoliberal practices, even as the same middle-class cultural capital makes planners less likely to believe that neighborhood distress is the fault of poor residents.

Together, my findings suggest the potential for a "neoliberal paternalist" ideology in urban planning as racialized and classed perceptions of distressed neighborhoods mesh with "neoliberalization". Neoliberal paternalism emerged in the 1980s and became prevalent in welfare reform of the 1990s when market logic infiltrated the public sphere and converged with remnants of policies that managed the "culture of poverty" (Schram et al. 2009; Soss, Fording, and Schram 2011). Its strategies assume individualist explanations for poverty but emphasize neoliberal solutions. While low-income, black neighborhoods have long been treated as disordered, dangerous, and culturally devoid and in need of intervention and control (Glass 1967), the shift toward neoliberalism (Harvey 2005; Bourdieu 1998) provided seemingly socially-conscious justifications for intervention (Schram et al. 2009). My findings suggest that planners possess attitudes toward low-income neighborhoods and neoliberal planning practices that would promote a neoliberal paternalist agenda in urban planning.

CONCLUSION

In response to the growing awareness of and attention to the planning profession and its practices in the current affordable housing crisis, The American Planning Association adopted a new Diversity and Inclusion Strategy. It commits to “promoting more inclusive, just, and equitable communities through a planning profession as diverse as the communities we serve.” The document then suggests diversification through efforts like “expanding representation and understanding of diverse and inclusive perspectives” and “addressing barriers to and supporting the recruitment and retention of underrepresented peoples in the profession”. The document neglects to explain why these changes would make more inclusive, just, and equitable communities.

In this study, I sought to discover whether planning’s lack of diversity explains its practices in low-income neighborhoods. I explored what shapes planners’ beliefs, preferences, and dispositions towards “distressed” neighborhoods and the standard neoliberal planning practices that incite gentrification and displacement. For this task, I drew upon the theory of habitus and its attitudinal expressions (Bourdieu 1987), literature that evidences explicitly the role of race, class, and occupational socialization in shaping attitudes, and the “neoliberalization” of urban planning (Webber 2007; Feagin 1975; Peck and Tickell 2002). Using a series of Ordered Logistic Regression models on unique survey data collected with practicing urban planners, I tested whether attitudes toward distressed neighborhoods and neoliberal planning practices are associated with variations in race, childhood class, and degree of professionalization into the planning profession.

My findings shed light on previously undocumented factors in the reproduction of urban inequality through individualist explanations for neighborhood distress and support for neoliberal

practices. The results support those in many other areas of sociology regarding the salience of race and material conditions in childhood for perception and interpreting issues of inequality. I found that non-Latino white planners and those from affluent class backgrounds are more likely to hold antiquated assumptions about the sources of neighborhood poverty. While the same two factors did not have a statistically significant effect on attitudes towards neoliberal planning practices, they provide context for low-income residents' discontent towards the planners who have control over their neighborhoods. Future research should consider why the planning field attracts mostly non-Latino whites and those from affluent class backgrounds, the groups most likely to believe in individualist explanations for neighborhood distress. Research in this area is especially critical now, as efforts to improve urban planning practices by diversifying it with an emphasis on racial identification in hiring and admission to graduate-level planning programs are underway nationwide (APA 2016).

Unfortunately, the process of race-class sorting into and away from planning likely begins long before admission to graduate planning programs. Working-class people of color receive differential socialization in interactions with peers and teachers, limited material resources, and less academic rigor at their large, public high schools than those who are non-Latino white and affluent. As a result, working-class students come to believe that they have little chance at “professional” occupations early in their education (Mullen 2002). In contrast, affluent students are socialized early in life to expect professional, high-status work, which shapes their understandings of school, educational proclivities and experiences, and occupational choices. Yet most planning positions require an advanced degree from a post-secondary program with rigorous admissions standards. Following Mullen (2002) and Bourdieu (1997), awareness of the planning profession, its requirements, and assumption of aptitude for its professional

requirements likely begins to sort those from working-class backgrounds away from planning long before any aspect of the professionalization process is underway.

At the same time, my findings indicate that professionalization into planning reinforces support for neoliberal practices, regardless of individual characteristics like racial identification and class position. This suggests that efforts to diversify the field with increased racial and gender representation are unlikely to change urban planners' attitudes towards neoliberal practices, even if such efforts change attitudes towards the "distressed" neighborhoods themselves. If planners are socialized to support "neoliberalization" of low-income neighborhoods (Brenner and Theodore 2002), their professional discretion poises them to actively mobilize state power to promote those market-based regulatory arrangements (Theodore and Brenner 2002).

Ultimately, my findings show the formidable challenge the planning field faces in slowing planning practices that reproduce inequality, as the field's professional training counteracts its ostensible social justice mission. However, my findings point to some mechanisms that might prove fruitful for resisting the use of urban planning for neoliberal ends. If urban planners aim to change the trajectory of central cities and reclaim space for those most harmed by neoliberalism, they must make attempts to decentralize and reduce their control over poor neighborhoods and insulate them from the private market through land banking and housing trusts. As is true of the broader political-economic system, the failure to imagine alternatives to neoliberalism within urban planning induces resignation to structural determination and paralyzes well-meaning practitioners. Stemming the reproduction of urban inequality requires fostering critical thought and producing neoliberal-critical materials within the planning profession. To contest the neoliberal practices in "distressed" neighborhoods that harm the very

residents they aim to help, planning should also provide platforms to normalize and promote neoliberal-critical thinking in professional socializing bodies like academic planning departments and the APA, encourage affiliation with non-planning, non-governmental social justice organizations with more critical knowledge bases, and promote interdisciplinary collaboration and communication between urban geography, sociology, and urban planning.

The limitations of this study also suggest several avenues for future scholarly work. The survey sample was geographically constrained and, while urban planning education and training is standardized and likely not particularly susceptible to geographic influence, the effects of race, class, and childhood community on attitudes might be susceptible to geographic variability. Future studies should explore whether planners' attitudes towards "distressed" neighborhoods—and their sources—differ by region. Future work should also further interrogate the importance of professionalization on support for neoliberal practices. Since I sampled only practicing urban planners, all had undergone professionalization in the planning profession. My respondents differed only in the degree to which they were professionalized. Significant findings could be gleaned from comparisons between urban planners and the general American public—those who have not undergone professionalization into planning, but live in a neoliberal political economy—to discern if urban planners' beliefs, dispositions, and perceptions are distinct from those without any exposure to the socializing materials of urban planning. In a similar vein, my findings do not indicate whether urban planners' attitudes towards "distressed" neighborhoods or neoliberal practices differ from low-income residents. Another potentially fruitful thread of research would compare the attitudes of low-income residents and urban planners (ideally, using either in-person survey methods or structured interviews so that planning terms can be explained to those unfamiliar with urban planning).

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**CHAPTER THREE: MOTIVATIONS AND
INCENTIVES FOR NEIGHBORHOOD REVITALIZATION**

ABSTRACT

In the past two decades, the United States has seen an “urban resurgence” of steadily rising urban populations, capital inflows, and demand for housing and amenities near city centers. The patterns demonstrate a seismic shift away from the concern for “ghettos” and “inner-city” problems centralized in urban politics and urban research throughout the 20th century. Yet urban planning projects to “revitalize”—or, uplift with new economic and housing development—low-income neighborhoods popularized in the 1990s remain popular practice nationwide. Given the high demand for central city neighborhoods, why and how do urban planners continue to undertake revitalization projects? The primary preoccupation among today’s urban scholars is “gentrification,” the process whereby a poor neighborhood is transformed for the wealthy. While related, gentrification studies rarely consider the urban planners and the choices they make, even though they can precede neighborhood change processes like gentrification. In this study, I investigate urban planners’ motivations and incentives for undertaking neighborhood revitalization during a period of urban resurgence in a case study of Durham, North Carolina. I employ fieldwork, in-depth semi-structured interviews with the urban planning practitioners who write and implement revitalization projects, residents of the low-income neighborhood under revitalization, and content analysis of project documents. I find that market-logic melds with the past ubiquitous belief in a so-called culture of poverty/inner-city pathology through a neoliberal paternalist lens to justify neighborhood revitalization for control of the poor, black neighborhood and reform of the low-income black residents to benefit the wealthy.

INTRODUCTION

In recent years, Durham, North Carolina, once colloquially referred to as “Dirty Durham” for its supposedly high poverty and crime, has been featured in national stories that reflect concerns of a different kind. A *New York Times* headline reads, “In a Revived Durham, Black Residents Ask: Is There Still Room for Us?”. Since the 1990s, Durham and many central cities once known as sites of blight and crime have undergone an “urban revival” characterized by population growth, rising housing demand, and inflows of development capital. Prominent urban planners initially heralded the urban revival and its concomitant cultural and economic transformations as the solution to the urban crisis of the 1970s and 1980s typified by joblessness, violence, and poverty (Chavan 2001; Florida 2002). However, by rapidly restructuring central cities, the urban revival engendered a new urban crisis characterized by widening racial wealth gaps, rising housing prices, and racialized displacement patterns (Florida 2017).

Now, low-income residents in cities across the United States cite gentrification—the process by which a poor neighborhood rapidly changes to one of affluence—as a greater concern than lack of neighborhood investment and development (Hyra 2012; Joseph and Chaskin 2012; Lees 2012). Even as growing urban populations and rising housing costs have heightened low-income residents’ concern for gentrification, urban planners continue to roll out “revitalization” projects—public-sector redevelopments of high-poverty, often racially segregated black, neighborhoods to attract new development and wealthier residents—in central cities nationwide (Goetz 2013; Hyra 2012). Why do urban planners continue to undertake revitalization projects? What motivates and incentivizes urban planners to pursue revitalization of low-income neighborhoods when there is no evidence of need? In an era of expanding central city populations and a worsening affordable housing shortage, an understanding of their motivations

and incentives is critical to reducing the incidence of urban planning actions that further marginalize disadvantaged communities, such as in the case of Urban Renewal, which displaced an estimated 300,000 people between 1955 and 1966 (Nelson and Ayers 2017).

The new urban crisis has turned urban scholars' attention to gentrification and its consequences (Hackworth and Smith 2007). Urban sociologists have worked primarily to identify gentrification's markers and amplify residents' experiences of it (Chaskin and Joseph 2010; Chaskin, Khare, and Joseph 2012; Joseph and Chaskin 2010; Shaw and Hagemans 2015; Newman and Wyly 2006) as well as its propensity to produce racial and ethnic changes and the relational and cultural consequences for black and Latino communities in particular (Ugenyi 2011). This research shows that poor residents of gentrifying neighborhoods rarely experience economic benefits from the neighborhood transition, but rather face heightened threats of displacement and disrupted community networks and cultures as housing prices rise (Newman and Wyly 2006; Hyra 2012). Meanwhile, urban geographers have theorized and contextualized gentrification within global trends toward neoliberal transformation (i.e., "neoliberalization") (Tulumello 2016; August 2016; Ross and Leigh 2000). They argue that targeted revitalization and subsequent gentrification of low-income evidences the hegemonic power of neoliberalism (Brenner and Theodore 2002). In both threads of scholarship, urban planners—the state actors that implement housing and community development policy—rarely appear. To date, the sociological factors that motivate and incentivize urban planners to revitalize neighborhoods and potentially precipitate gentrification remain unclear.

In this article, I explore the incentives and motivations that lead urban planners to "revitalize" low-income neighborhoods even in the face of gentrification concerns. Through a case study of revitalization in a low-income, majority black neighborhood of Durham, North

Carolina, I use interviews, fieldwork, and content analysis of the Southside Revitalization project to provide an empirical investigation of urban planners and their motivations and incentives. In doing so, I illuminate previously unconsidered factors that contribute to the new urban crisis of widening racial wealth gaps, housing unaffordability, and racialized displacement. With a focus on urban planning practitioners and their pursuit of revitalization, this study offers an opportunity to identify previously unconsidered factors that contribute to the new urban crisis.

To contextualize revitalization in Durham, I begin with an overview of political-economic changes in the 1970s and the subsequent effect on the motivations, incentives, and means for revitalization within urban planning for the remainder of the 20th century, including mixed-income housing and the promotion of homeownership. I then detail literature on incentives and motivations for revitalization efforts in the past, including a so-called “culture of poverty”, and continue to urban geography’s theory regarding the state in “neoliberalization”. I then use these threads to develop a conceptual framework for analysis. I find practitioners undertake revitalization not simply for economic gain as part of global neoliberalization, as commonly theorized in urban geography (Smith 2002; Hackworth 2007), or because they believe in a “culture of poverty”, but as a spatial form of poverty governance justified by a similar paternalist ideology that justified neoliberal reform of TANF, SNAP, and other social welfare policy. Urban planners’ understanding of low-income neighborhood might echo of the so-called culture of poverty, but their chosen solutions demonstrate the influence of paternalistic, distinctly neoliberal goals of economic reform and self-discipline.

BACKGROUND

Urban sociologists once focused on the role of urban planning and its social antecedents in the reproduction of urban inequality. This literature provided a picture of World War II-era

patterns in spatial inequalities that created the “urban crisis” of the 1960s: the relationship between housing and community development and neighborhood (dis)investment, mortgage promotion and accessibility, and public housing placement, and inequities in suburban migration, central city segregation, concentrated poverty, and resources, jobs, and networks access (Massey and Denton 1993; Hirsch 1983; Goetz 2003; Sharkey 2009).

The Urban Crisis and 20th Century Revitalization

Throughout the 20th century, federal policy on mortgages, zoning, lending, development, and subsidized housing engendered racial residential segregation, racial displacement, “white flight”, and concentrated poverty (Massey and Denton 1993; Squires 1994). Once these patterns were established, under-funded public services and increased reliance on private developers ensured the unaffordability of high-quality housing and neighborhoods for the poor (Massey and Denton 1993; Sharkey 2009). Life in unstable and unsafe housing and neighborhoods entrenched racial and class disparities in wealth and wellbeing (Sharkey 2009; Desmond and Allielo 2016; Oliver and Shapiro 2006).

Post-WWII era housing and community development policy wrought significant changes in demographic distribution and spatial inequality in the United States. A shift towards homeownership in federal housing policy made homeownership an achievable goal for many American families (Massey and Denton 1993). The Federal Housing Administration and Veterans Administration’s low-interest loans and minimal down payments, coupled with Title III housing benefits in the GI Bill and rising wages, gave rise to rapid changes in racial distribution across urban and suburban communities (Goetz 2011). Homeownership opportunities for white veterans incentivized post-war “white flight” to the suburbs while rampant racial discrimination in lending kept black families in increasingly segregated central cities and neighborhoods. High

tenancy and high vacancy rates in segregated black neighborhoods led to concentrated poverty (Massey and Denton 1993; Sharkey 2009). To address the consequences of white flight under the direction of the 1949 Urban Renewal Program, housing and community development practitioners engaged in “slum clearance” with the demolition of working-class single-family homes and tenements in what had become segregated black neighborhoods. Urban Renewal displaced millions of low-income black families and left many lots vacant only to be redeveloped for public housing and large scale commercial development (Massey and Denton 1993; Goetz 2011).

In the Civil Rights Era, community development turned away from slum clearance towards efforts to revitalize neighborhoods with de-segregated public housing—or housing exclusively for low-income people—as federal housing programs expanded under the Department of Housing and Urban Development Act (Massey and Denton 1993; Hirsch 1983; Squires and Kubrin 2016). Federal housing authorities provided operating subsidies and capital dollars (i.e., development funds) to local public housing authorities, but it proved challenging to fill integrated public housing with working-class whites who were able to attain housing elsewhere. Public housing often fell below capacity, short of resources to maintain facilities and services, and abandoned by city police forces who would not/did not enforce the law. Widely reported failures of neglected, underfunded public housing in cities like Chicago and St. Louis lent credence to the growing belief that the federal answer to low-income housing was a failure and could not overcome the culture of poverty that existed in disinvested neighborhoods (Hirsch 1983; Goetz 2013; Squires and Kubrin 2016).

The supposed failure of public housing coupled with an economic recession characterized by high unemployment and high inflation only reinforced a growing belief in a “culture of

poverty” of the “inner city” (Moynihan 1967). To address the supposed pathology of the “inner city,” Nixon briefly brought back slum clearance with eminent domain and write-downs of land prices in low-income urban neighborhoods, but eventually issued a moratorium on HUD programs entirely and explained that subsidized housing “restricts freedom of choice and mobility, concentrates people in projects and disrupts neighborhoods.” The moratorium was short-lived, but its sentiment regarding subsidized housing and financial support, coupled with the growing popularity of neoclassical economics, changed the consensus on housing policy and its finance.

Urban Planning Under Neoliberalism

The subsequent decades marked a paradigmatic shift in the treatment of housing from a component of general welfare ensured by the federal government to a privilege mediated but not guaranteed by local government and the private sector. In the 1970s, the political economy of the West, once guided by the liberal teachings of John Maynard Keynes (1963), transitioned towards neoliberalism. The new neoliberal political economy emphasized entrepreneurial freedoms and dissolved alternatives to the market in all areas of social life through the privatization of public industry and public spaces, reduction of government spending and programs, reduction of redistribution, reduction of regulation on capital flows, and the reduction of trade barriers (Logan and Molotch 1987; Harvey 2007).

Early neoliberal governance primarily “rolled back” Keynesian forms of urban policy for the “roll out” of market solutions, but since the 1980s, neoliberal political economy has morphed from reactive to proactive (Peck and Tickell 2002). New institutional forms and arrangements seemingly independent of “liberal” values or policy began to emerge (Harvey 2007). Public sector actors including those in housing and community development began to seek partnerships

with private developers to meet the housing needs of their low-income populations (Logan and Molotch 1987; Goetz 2003; Stein 2019). The implementation of the HOPE VI mixed-income housing program in 1992 provides a concise example of the new neoliberal paradigm in practice. Rather than restrict state powers of housing and community development, it mobilizes the state for the promotion of market-based housing arrangements (Peck and Tickell 2002). HOPE VI aimed to eliminate “distressed” public housing and replace it with developments that contain both affordable and market-rate units developed in partnership with private partners. Benefits for low-income residents supposedly “trickle-down” from new, middle-class residents, and private investment to the pre-existing low-income residents of the neighborhood (Harvey 2009; Goetz 2011; Stein 2019).

The popularity of mixed-income housing redevelopment coincided with the rise of New Urbanist design, which promotes redevelopment with aesthetic guidelines that have seemingly social objectives, such as increased social cohesion (August 2016). New Urbanism emphasizes “infill” over the development of new communities, incentivizing plans to transform existing structures into high-density mixed-use sites that offer retail, mixed-income housing, and dining to imitate dense urban centers. New Urbanism provides a design philosophy for redevelopments to increase property value with design elements and cater to affluent wants and tastes (Trudeau and Kaplan 2014).

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

To guide my investigation of urban planners, I use a conceptual framework that draws upon extant scholarship that uses revitalization plans themselves and/or their outcomes to assume the incentives and motivations for revitalization. Within urban planning, the purpose of revitalization is frequently articulated in projects as the production of “social mix” and the

reduction of “concentrated poverty” (Jargowsky 1998; Hyra 2012). The “social mix” motivation targets low-income neighborhoods with market-rate housing that will draw middle-class residents into the neighborhood. It assumes that middle-class residents will expose the poor residents to the norms, values, and social networks the middle-class and new habits and opportunities that increase poor residents’ upward mobility will emerge (Fraser, Chaskin, and Bazuin 2013). Sometimes, the “social mix” aim is framed instead as a need for increased diversity that seeks the same deconcentration of poverty through revitalization (Berrey 2015). According to urban sociologists, the “social mix” and “diversity” aims of revitalization assume that a “culture of poverty” exists in poor neighborhoods and that revitalization will disrupt it with increased cross-class contact (Bauder 2002; Crump 2002; Vale 2002, 2013; Imbroscio 2008; Fullilove 2009; Hyra 2012; Fraser et al. 2013; Greenbaum et al. 2008; Vale 2017).

In contrast, urban geographers contend that the equation of market value and neighborhood wellbeing under neoliberalism incentivizes revitalization for gentrification. They point to the economic incentives for local governments to “remake the central urban landscape” for the wealthy (Smith 1996: 39; Lees, Slater, and Wyly et al. 2008). After all, the dismantling of the welfare state and reduced public funds under neoliberalism requires local governments compensate for lack of public monies (Goetz 2013). Since impoverished neighborhoods have the most substantial gap between the potential rent or property tax and the current rent or property tax, they present significant opportunities for value extraction (Smith 1977; Lees, Slater, and Wyly 2013; Hackworth and Smith 2007). Indeed, evidence of this exists in many cities—including Baltimore, Philadelphia, Chicago, and New Orleans—tools like tax increment financing districts (TIF) and Market Value Analysis have been used to target neighborhoods by their degree of “distress” and potential future “market strength”. Use of TIF—in which tax

dollars in designated districts are diverted to special accounts reserved for “blight” eradication—requires target neighborhoods be designated distressed with high rates of vacancy, low property values, and other indications that an area is “incapable of attracting development” (Schneider 2019). Studies of communities targeted by TIF show few provisions exist to help lower-income residents of the neighborhoods stay as their community is transformed to maximize market potential. Consequently, poor residents in TIF districts commonly relocate to other neighborhoods of higher “distress” not far away, exacerbating resource shortages in those communities (Schneider 2019).

The theorized “social mix”/culture of poverty and neoliberal restructuring incentives come together in studies that centralize neoliberalism as a racial project. Scholars in this vein show that local governments continue the legacy of urban planning’s racially inequitable past by promoting “color blind” entrepreneurial, market-oriented economic development solutions under neoliberalism (Mele 2013; August 2016). Some articulate a more insidious relationship between neoliberalism and racially inequitable urban redevelopment than colorblindness in the form of “diversity rhetoric” (Berrey 2011; Maher 2015). Berry (2011) finds that rather than promote colorblind ideology, urban policymakers espouse race-consciousness, but promote it through ambiguously defined diversity. Maher (2015) finds similar race-conscious diversity rhetoric used in the promotion of a historically black neighborhood to attract “enlightened”, white gentrifiers.

While these threads provide critical context about revitalization efforts, their racial significance, and their potential consequences, we know little about the agents who write and implement neighborhood revitalization plans. Why do urban planners continue to undertake revitalization efforts in the face of residents’ concerns for gentrification and displacement? Do they seek revitalization for economic returns regardless of the potential consequences for

residents, as urban geographers imply? Do they believe poor neighborhoods promote a culture of poverty, as revitalization plans seemingly indicate? I use these two potential threads to guide my data collection and analysis, but remain open to divergent findings that offer the opportunity for a new understanding of revitalization.

RESEARCH DESIGN

In this study, I use an Extended Case Method approach to explore the processes that motivate and incentivize the writing and implementation of neighborhood revitalization. The Extended Case Method, henceforth ECM, elaborates theory with empirical observations that allow for exploration without the loss of relevant historical, social, economic, and political context (Tavory and Timmermans 2009). Although similar to a grounded theory approach popularly employed in urban sociology scholarship, which creates theory from a reflexive process of observation and refinement, adherents to ECM enter the field with a theoretical framework in mind that bounds their case and interpretation. In this case, I began data collection with previously theorized motivations for revitalization—the culture of poverty and neoliberalization—as a guide.

Case: The Southside Revitalization

The selection of Durham, North Carolina and its Southside Revitalization as a case offers a variety of advantages for examining what motivates and shapes public sector-led revitalization practice, process, policy in low-income black neighborhoods. For those employing ECM, the narrative of a case starts with the macro-level patterns shaping all observation (Buroway 1998; Tavory and Timmermans 2009). Durham and its Southside neighborhood and revitalization project represent a particular place and time but have characteristics that allow for inferences about trends that affect municipal housing and community development in other cities

experiencing “resurgence” and rising housing prices nationwide. These include the racial and economic demographics of the neighborhood, its history with Urban Renewal, the construction of an urban freeway and subsequent disinvestment, its proximity to once-public housing and the downtown center, and its proximity to new, mixed-use development (Anderson 2011). More broadly, the state and region that contains Durham is experiencing rapid population growth in urban centers and rural population decline. These trends parallel many other “resurgent” cities nationwide, including Atlanta, Philadelphia, Portland, Denver, and Minneapolis-St. Paul (Florida 2015).

The need for a “resurgence” in Durham followed a supposed decline that began in the 1930s after the departure of mainstay tobacco and textile industries (Anderson 2011). In the 1960s, the construction of the Durham Freeway (I-147) through South Durham’s Hayti District and failed Urban Renewal exacerbated the poverty from the loss of industries that employed much of the black population of Hayti.

The Southside Revitalization project takes its name from the Southside neighborhood West of Roxboro Street, just South of the Durham Freeway. The project’s 125-acre target area also includes Rolling Hills, a neighborhood that overlooks the bungalows and townhomes of Southside. Located within the historically black, formerly middle-class, Hayti district, Southside-Rolling Hills suffered notorious displacement in the 1960s when Urban Renewal and construction of the Durham Freeway disrupted the Hayti district. The area subsequently fell into disrepair, experiencing some of the highest rates of poverty and crime in the City of Durham in the subsequent decades, prompting a number of failed revitalization attempts throughout the 1980s and 1990s that had little effect on the social and economic characteristics of the neighborhood. In 2000, Rolling Hills remained racially segregated and economically distressed

(American Community Survey 2000). In the 1980s, new economic development projects created commuter employment centers like Research Triangle Park on the periphery of Durham County. Subsequent transportation planning choices—including the construction of I-40 and the siting of fast-moving, one-way arterial streets and highway entrances in historic black neighborhoods—ensured that the dilapidation and displacement spread beyond black neighborhoods in South Durham to those east and north of downtown.

Together, these economic development planning and transportation planning choices solidified downtown Durham's reputation as a blighted, dangerous area to be avoided (Anderson 2011). Neighborhood reports from the period illustrate the consequences for the historic black neighborhoods of Durham. In East Durham, a report on Edgewood from 1980 estimates that two-thirds of the housing was substandard. The neighborhood, once a site for children playing, an active public basketball court, tended gardens, porch chats, and backyard chicken coops, was left with a largely “transitory population” (Anderson 2011).

The disrepair, high rates of poverty and crime prompted several revitalization attempts throughout the 1980s and 1990s. In 1986, a developer with 100-million in financing and a grant from the City of Durham aimed to revitalize the Southside neighborhood with a 250-unit subdivision of patio homes and townhouses on the Rolling Hills side of Roxboro. The project sold fewer than a dozen units and the remaining units were converted to rentals (Isler 2011). The City made another attempt at revitalization in the 1990s, providing developers a loan to build 56 single-family homes. Only nine were completed and, after foreclosure on the properties in 2003, the project left 33 parcels vacant and two single-family homes partially built. The two revitalization attempts had little effect on the social and economic characteristics of the Southside neighborhood. In 2000, it remained racially segregated and economically distressed:

95.75 percent of its population was non-Latino black and more than half lived at or below the poverty line.

A third attempt at revitalization might have been politically difficult if not for the approval of the mixed-use American Tobacco Campus redevelopment less than a mile away. The American Tobacco Campus—a development that turned historic tobacco factories in the center of downtown into offices for technology and innovation and restaurants— brought considerable private investment to downtown Durham and new thoughts for successful revitalization of a site separated from the city center only by the Durham Freeway (White 2018; Isler 2011). In 2005, the City issued a Request for Qualification for developers interested in the potential revitalization of Southside-Rolling Hills and spent \$5.8 million to buy back vacant Rolling Hills properties, razing those in disrepair and relocating remaining tenants. During the same period, a local credit union began land-banking vacant lots and dilapidated structures in Southside with the intention of undertaking redevelopment in the future. They concluded that, in addition to mixed-income rentals in Rolling Hills, another strategic investment in the first phase of the Revitalization would be the construction of single-family homes in Southside “to stabilize the area”. Towards this end, the 2010 Southside Revitalization proposal brought to council included provisions the construction and sale of 48 new single-family homes—The Bungalows at Southside—and mixed-income apartments.

The effort initially received community support (Wise 2014), but by the completion of its first phase, its reception was decidedly distinguished by race and class (Badger et al. 2018). Word of the neighborhood’s transformation from a historically black, low-income neighborhood to a place with property to purchase and “flip” for maximum profit circulated around the city. The three and four-bedroom houses the Revitalization stipulated and their contrast beside the

humble, old bungalows and townhomes of the old Southside attracted community activist and journalist attention. Like many revitalization projects before it, low-income residents, supposedly the intended beneficiaries of the Revitalization, felt unwelcome, threatened by increases in land value and rapid demographic change.

Data Collection

My approach to ECM includes ethnographic content analysis of several forms of textual data collected by me. In ethnographic content analysis, the researcher evaluates and re-evaluates as she progresses through study (Altheide 1987). The iterative process ethnographic content analysis allows for verification, continual discovery, and theoretical elaboration compatible with an ECM approach. The first data format consists of fieldwork from participant-observation in various community events, academic courses, and gatherings on revitalization and gathered secondary sources on the Southside Revitalization. The secondary sources included Durham City Council minutes, redevelopment proposals and plans from the City of Durham, newspaper articles, and publicly released housing and community development documents on the case.

I first sought all relevant city documents, including the budget, outcomes spreadsheet, the meeting minutes for each meeting with Southside on its agenda, and the land permissions and infrastructure maps, zoning, and Request for Qualification forms and approvals to understand the revitalization plan as thoroughly as possible. I gathered the documents directly from the Department of Housing and Community Development website, department employees, and from the City Zoning and Land Use permits department. For the newspaper articles, I conducted a search for “Southside” in the largest local papers, the *Raleigh News and Observer* and *Indyweek*.

During the same period, I conducted semi-structured in-depth interviews with residents and project affiliates (n=18). The resident participants consisted of six black men and black

women in their fifties and sixties representative of the demographics in Southside that preceded The Southside Revitalization, and three non-Latino white residents between the ages of 30 and 40 that relocated just before or during the completion of The Bungalows in 2012 (n=9). The project affiliate participants included seven non-Latino white men 40 and older, and two non-Latino white men in their thirties, and one non-Latino white woman age 44 (n=9). Throughout this paper, I refer to them with pseudonyms and generalize identifying titles (e.g., “senior project affiliate”) of project affiliates.

I used a purposive interview sample to identify potential interview participants with relevant knowledge of the Southside-Rolling Hills project. The first few participants were identified through fieldwork in urban planning events, including attendance at Young Planners of the Triangle (a professional networking group for planners in their twenties and thirties) gatherings, several forums on housing and gentrification in Durham, and courses in the master’s program in City and Regional Planning at a local public university, where many area planners pursue degrees. Public documents on the project provided many project affiliate names, but cold-calling and emailing proved an unsuccessful means of contact. I instead relied on snowball sampling once I began conducting initial interviews, which yielded more fruitful results. Only two project affiliates declined interviews, and no contacted residents declined, although some showed hesitation until first speaking with me by telephone.

I conducted the first round of interviews between March 2017 and May 2018, after the first phase of the revitalization, and the remaining interviews between May 2018 and January 2019, after its completion. I provided pseudonyms for all participants and generalized all identifying titles (e.g., “senior project affiliate”). The interviews lasted between 30 minutes and 3 hours, with the average taking about an hour and forty minutes, and took place in private

locations of the participants' choosing. Participants each signed an informed consent form based on the approved criteria, which included permission to record and transcribe the interviews I employed a semi-structured interview format consisting of open-ended and follow-up questions that facilitate an ECM approach.

I developed the interview guide using relevant scholarship on motivations for undertaking revitalization in the 20th century and more recently theorized political-economic incentivizes since the urban resurgence (see Appendix A). To tailor my guide, I also used knowledge gained from public documents, my participation in and observation of urban planning events and courses, and local forums on gentrification and housing. I recorded each interview using a digital recorder. To reduce social desirability bias, I attempted to remain neutral about the project mission, specific policies and processes they described, and its outcomes during interviews. After each interview, I immediately took detailed notes on impressions of conversational dynamics, body language, and setting.

Table 2.1 Initial Open Coding Themes, Sources, and Codes

Theme	Source	Codes
Social Mix	Urban sociology literature; planning networks and education; field notes	Mixed-income, diversity income-focused, colorblindness, de-concentration, inclusion, participation, collaboration, cross-class interaction, networks, in-migration
Culture of poverty	Urban sociology literature; planning educational materials	Disinvestment, crime, unemployment, human capital, skills, distress, inner-city, underclass, socialization, opportunity, decline, foreclosure, welfare, challenges, jobs, single-mothers, violence, dysfunction, education, poverty, poor, culture, lifestyle, values, self-help, housing counseling, self-sufficient
Neoliberalization	Urban geography literature; field notes	Trickle-down, commodification, marketing, assets, privatization, growth>equity, gentrification, redevelopment, market strength, wealth-building, location, competitive/competition, incentive, self-interest, capital, profitable, development

Data Analysis

In accordance with an ECM approach, I used inductive and deductive processes for analysis. For the field notes and interview data, I coded with Atlas.Ti, a software package for organizing and interpreting qualitative data. I created an initial coding scheme from the public documents on the plan, field notes derived from public planning meetings, planning courses I competed, and the conceptual framework described previously (Table 3.1). I used the initial coding scheme to begin coding interview transcripts in Atlas.Ti. Throughout the iterative process, I noted emerging themes, and returned to the transcripts to look for consistency and divergence from my initial codes. I used the data to incorporate relevant questions into subsequent interviews, particularly when interview participants provided statements that contradicted or supported public documents on the project. After each identified project affiliate contacted had been interviewed, I began to group themes and define relationships between them to create memos regarding potential findings. To do so, I again returned to my field notes, project documents, and literature to look for supportive and conflicting evidence and arrived at my findings inductively as interviews progressed and participant accounts diverged or supported document accounts of the project to reveal three interrelated, overarching themes.

FINDINGS

My findings indicate that a “neoliberal paternalistic” narrative—akin to that invoked in welfare reform since the 1990s—shapes urban planners’ motivations and incentives for revitalization. Planners see the low-income neighborhood and its residents as in need of rescue from a tangle of pathology and seek to provide them market opportunities to reform into the right type of resident. I find this market-oriented neoliberal ideology melds with antiquated notions of a culture of poverty in three interrelated themes that emerged from my inductive and deductive

analysis: 1) perception of undesirability and the justification for control; 2) knowing what's best and performative inclusivity; and 3) housing as a reward for reform. Taken together, these themes demonstrate neoliberal paternalist aims to enact poverty governance similar to that invoked in TANF and SNAP reform of the 1990s—through pre-determined policies and designs preferred by professional, middle-class, white outsiders. Below, I detail the emergence of these themes in my data and relate them back to neoliberal paternalist aims for control and reform through market-based policy.

Perception of Undesirability and the Justification for Control

Project affiliates saw Southside as undesirable and problematic for the broader community. They spoke openly of its “problems with crime” and even characterized it as “an embarrassing gateway to downtown”. The proposal to “revitalize” Southside was not debated on its need but rather, its potential to turn around a neighborhood in such poor shape. The perception of undesirability shaped the prescriptions in the revitalization proposal significantly. The City leveraged funds from secured market-rate mortgages to fund the project, so the sale of market-rate homes was critical to the success of the project. However, because of the limited desirability of the neighborhood project affiliates assumed they would be difficult to sell. Project affiliates assumed that incentives like financial concessions to developers and homebuyers were necessary to attract both to the neighborhood. John explained, “you have to understand, the idea that Southside would soon have a problem with unaffordability was not even a possibility”. Accordingly, project affiliates believed that deed restrictions (which would keep them “affordable” in perpetuity) on the resale of the affordable home would be a deterrent to both already hesitant market-rate buyers and the desirable candidates for the affordable homes. Consequently, the 25 “affordable” Bungalows did not include deed restrictions to limit their

resale for profit. The low and moderate-income homeowners—who received mortgage assistance and forgivable loans from the City— could sell their houses at market-rate and pocket any difference.

The City neither encountered difficulty selling the market-rate homes nor attracting qualifying applicants for the affordable homes. After the first phase of the project, the demand for housing near Downtown Durham only increased. Property values rose too quickly for existing residents, who brought concerns to City Council about their ability to stay in the neighborhood (cite Duke Chronicle). One resident, an owner of one of the affordable homes, Kathy, remarked that she was approached within the first year of her tenancy with an offer by a developer “known for flipping houses” to buy her house for \$100,000 over its original price.

The profit potential of the homes was not an oversight; it was meant to remedy the neighborhood’s perceived undesirability. When the potential turnaround value of houses in the neighborhood was realized, the culture of the neighborhood changed palpably, compounding trends already initiated by appeals to white, middle-class residents. Project affiliates agreed that the neighborhood underwent a significant transformation and continues to rapidly accrue white, middle-class residents even now, but contested its meaning. John articulated:

Our role in planning is using the regulatory tools we do have, which we do have significant regulatory tools in terms of setbacks, minimal lot sizes. As a planner, I see...all cities are in some version of a constant state of change. And there clearly there were are positive outcomes in terms of, as I’ve tried to elude to at the beginning, and I think this is kind of the dominant view still, though it’s changing perhaps, there’s new investment. There’s new businesses opening. There’s new opportunities across the board

that are gonna bring new opportunities for community and opportunity and wealth for hopefully all people in Southside.

Indeed, because project affiliates' articulated that they believed the neighborhood was undesirable, they saw the rapid changes—lamented by low-income residents—as an indication of project success.

The perception of undesirability provoked a sense of moral imperative and corresponding paternalistic actions towards the neighborhood and its residents. Project affiliates described revitalization of the neighborhood as economically beneficial for *residents*, but framed remaking it through a lens of competition to integrate it into the market apparatus as a moral act. This drove the project affiliates to implement policies with the apparent belief in the righteousness and necessity of private investment for the residents without consideration of residents wants.

John, a senior project affiliate, explained:

Our role was to make strategic investments that would incentivize developers to come in and build on their own to address the challenges in the neighborhood: crime, high tenancy, and dilapidated infrastructure. [...] The best thing we could do for Southside is get the market to work properly.

Tim, another senior-level project affiliate echoed:

We wanted private development to bring stability and, I mean, sure there was some question about how best to do that, but I mean...we don't have grant programs. So we didn't really have any, we don't really have any tools other than the regulatory tools. So we wanted to bring the residents stability by attracting market forces.

Without considering that their understanding of the neighborhood's challenges and "best" solutions might differ from that of low-income residents, project affiliates repeatedly and

proudly expressed their motivation to recreate Southside in a manner consistent with their conception of a stable, desirable neighborhood for investment as for the good of residents. Sometimes this manifested in sentiment that intimated a belief in a culture of poverty thesis as theorized in past scholarship (see; cite some of these scholars here). Tim explained:

when you are able to, you know, expose, um, you know, those [poor] children to other children whose families, um, you know, might have aspirations for them...it exposes them to ideas they've never been exposed to...and the same thing goes with, with the school system. I mean, schools that are all, you know [segregated]the kids don't perform as well as schools where you do have a mix of incomes.

The project affiliates' sense of imperative to fix Southside shaped the revitalization policy prescriptions. To have the capacity to reshape the neighborhood, they gained as much control over public funds for revitalization as possible. City Development Block Grant funds used for construction/infrastructure normally stipulate at least 70 of activities benefit "low and moderate income persons" (i.e., those at 80 percent Area Median Income or below). Project affiliates sought designation of Southside as a Neighborhood Revitalization Strategy Area (NRSA) to have more "flexible" use of CDBG funds. NRSA status allowed the City to treat the neighborhood as a single structure wherein only 51 percent, rather than 70 percent, of the funds must benefit low and moderate-income households. Project affiliates wrote prescriptions for the revitalization and assumed their desirability.

Often the paternalism that motivated the prescriptions for revitalization reinforced their narrative of a neighborhood in need of rescue from a supposed tangle of pathology that characterized the "inner-city" of the 1960s (Moynihan 1965). Accordingly, project affiliates framed taking as much control over the neighborhood as possible and modeling it after

neighborhoods elsewhere in the city that were predominantly white and middle-class positively.

John explained:

I mean, you should have seen these low-income apartments they put up in [other neighborhood revitalization effort] for HOPE VI. Just cardboard boxes. No, I knew I wanted this to look like a market rate neighborhood in terms of style, materials, and design. That's what works. So you know, I looked at these other neighborhoods by Duke University that have properties selling like crazy. Like 400 thousand dollars. And I wanted to sort of reflect that style. You know, that Southern style, but good design. We wanted to kind of use it as an opportunity to kind of showcase, uh, imagination, architecturally, with how some of these really ugly duplexes you know, could, uh, be transformed.

John's description echoes of a broken windows approach to poverty that characterized "inner-city" policing. It assumes that aesthetics—specifically those that reflect white, upper-middle class preferences—are a solution to structural inequalities. The reliance on design for social outcomes is not new within urban planning—Jane Jacobs noted it as early as the 1960s, when she wrote that urban planners would be unable redress the urban crisis if their goal was to turn life—the contents of the city—into “disciplined works of art” (1961: 372-375). However, John promotes the idea that in using these aesthetics, the project affiliates are doing “what works” because they must aspire to live the lifestyle of the middle-class, white residents by Duke University.

Project affiliates in Southside depicted their purpose in Southside as inducing transformation of the undesirable neighborhood for wealthier preferences. Accordingly, project affiliates also characterized the middle-class, white resident in-migration and inflows of capital

positively, since project affiliates were motivated by that exact imperative. John did not hesitate providing his position on the project:

We were very deliberate about this. Every time it went to council we said the objective of this project, you know, the objective of this revitalization project is to attract private long-term investment to fix the neighborhood. And we did that, so as it was a success. Um ...

You know, but people can be Sunday morning quarterbacks all they want to be.

(laughter) I mean, Monday morning quarterbacks.

John, adamant that the intention of the project to help residents with private investment was clear all along, remained steadfast in his support and even pride for what the project affiliates were able to do in Southside. The goal to induce aesthetic transformation that would appeal to wealthier residents justified both the means of control and the project ends of demographic turnover.

Knowing What's Best and Performative Inclusivity

In my interviews, project affiliates were adamant about their belief that they were acting on behalf of the residents in all of their actions. However, because they believed in the goodness of their intentions, they readily dismissed resident input on the project and rendered it symbolic and performative. They sought input from residents, but only out of obligation to appear inclusive; the input did not alter their plans in any significant way. In several instances, project affiliates even sought resident comments *after* they had already made decisions on residents' behalf. Consequently, all components of the plan, including housing tenure type, size, and style were determined by the project affiliates and their private partners, not low-income individuals or existing residents of the neighborhood.

The homeownership component provides the most striking example. Project affiliates believed in the stabilizing effects of homeownership and saw construction and sale of new single-family homes as the most assured way to “fix” the neighborhood. After taking control of the neighborhood, they determined that the construction of 48 new single-family homes would be the primary vehicle for revitalization due to an association between homeownership and middle-class, professionalism. Project affiliates believed that even those residents who could not afford homes would benefit from the presence of the new, desirable residents nearby. In Perry’s words:

if you have the, if you have enough market income folks in the area, then the market is gonna respond by bringing source, jobs, businesses. And those can be, it’s gonna improve the schools. And those opportunities will accrue not just to the upper income folks, but to all the residents there.

Tim summarized this concisely: “the thinking was, you know, uhm, ‘a rising tide lifts all boats’.”

Several residents expressed that the appeal of the new single-family homes was not shared by longtime residents. According to Brother Kay:

The homeownership thing, that was the city’s imposition. See them people over here ...see, and you’ll get the census, the average income over here was like 9000 dollars...anybody making 9000 dollars, there ain’t no way they can qualify for a mortgage. We ain’t stupid, we wanted something we could get. Something we could live in. Townhomes, something like that. *Rentals*.

Kristen, a resident who moved into the neighborhood shortly before the revitalization, described how the homeownership prescription was marketed to residents:

The city did come to a lot of the neighborhood association meetings and pitched ideas and things that were happening. And I think a lot of it was, for the existing residents of the neighborhood who were engaged in the neighborhood association, they kind of pitched it like, “We’re not displacing anyone. We’re buying up abandoned lots or lots owned by absentee landlords,” and like, “This is going to help with the drug problem and violence.” I know many of – especially the older women in the neighborhood association have kids that have died from gun violence in the neighborhood, so anything seemed like a good idea. And they offered them refurbishments and stuff because they knew...

Again, this was framed as necessary to take the predetermined actions that were necessary and *for the residents’ own good*. Development of a revitalization plan that would ensure influx of middle-class residents and increased homeownership was a moral act. Yet Southside was not a neighborhood without value to the existing residents. Brother Kay, a longtime resident, requested I walk with him along one of the arterial streets during our interview as he pointed out street corners and landmarks and reflected:

If you’d been here earlier, you’d have seen this donut around the city for years that was populated by people of color. And now they think let’s change the color of that donut. That’s exactly what they’re doing. My neighborhood is now part of the downtown overlay, can you believe that? What the hell is that? You know what that is, man. It’s whatever people in American Tobacco want. You see where that beautiful little church here. The St. Teresa Parish sat there. Some part of the sanctuary was right there...that use to be two quadraplexes there...And right here was another two quadraplexes. We knew what was ... well ... you know, there was crime, sure but we was what you call a target neighborhood. We had fruit trees, walkability, black families.

In addition to the predetermined push for a housing type, the Request for Qualifications (RFQ) for builders/general contractors to build the single-family homes was also predetermined and featured “architectural guidelines” produced by the project affiliates in partnership with a private architectural firm. The designs were consistent with homes in neighborhoods in some other neighborhoods in Durham, but not in the Southside neighborhood, which had few homes with more than two bedrooms. John confided that he contacted to his preferred builder for the homes before the Request for Qualifications opened a to discuss what he believed would be most necessary to attract market-rate buyers to the neighborhood. The income-restricted homes on the once-vacant lots would sell between \$162,500 and \$198,000 under the stipulated design standards.

Residents, unaware that the tenure type/homeownership component and home design had already been decided upon, attended the public engagement meetings to assert their preferred prescriptions for the revitalization According to Brother Kay, residents brought their desire for rental housing over single-family homes to the project affiliates, “we didn’t want homes. See, the home thing, that was the city, that was the city’s imposition”. Chantelle felt similarly. She said she might like to own a home, but knew Southside residents would be unable to qualify for “big craftsman houses”. Chantelle and Brother Kay both attended the meetings to request townhomes that would allow for a better low-income “mix of renters and owners”. In the end, Chantelle lamented how wrong she had been for believing they had a voice in the process:

Yeah, and that’s ... he [Brother Kay] was right, it was a charade and some people asked, “okay now, we got this committee, we’re gonna really have power, we just on here going through the motion,” yeah, you’re really gonna have power, uh huh. We didn’t have any

power. And one thing that got so frustrating for 18 months, they shut down the committee.

Once the engagement process was underway, residents began to sense that their desires for and definitions of successful revitalization were of little interest to project affiliates supposedly working for their benefit. Reflecting on completion of Phase I, Brother Kay explained that the houses look like “whatever the white people in [affluent neighborhood by Duke University] would want”. Chantelle, another longtime resident, felt similarly:

See, when you rebrand Durham, we don't have a problem with rebranding Durham, that's life. But, when you rebrand this wonderful mix of communities that had a range of ethnicities and a range of economic classes, just having one class ... that's what we don't want.

According to Chantelle, this was most reflected in the selected designs for the rebranded Southside:

...see the other thing too now, style wise, I don't think black people, I don't think we like that style. That's the other thing. It's just the character of the neighborhood. Yeah. I don't think the black people like the style of the new neighborhood. It's not for us. We wanted townhomes, we know townhomes, we can afford townhomes, but they gave us these big-ass houses that don't fit.

When project affiliates chose a home design that matched “homes of high value elsewhere in the city” rather than those that befit the existing character of the neighborhood, project affiliates attempted to reform it into the type of community they believed was desirable: middle-class and professional.

The performative nature of inclusivity extended to qualification to attain one of the new homes. The funding used to acquire the land for the Bungalows required that the city keep at least 51 percent of the newly constructed homes “affordable” at 80 percent AMI or below. In Durham, that qualified an individual with a maximum annual household income of \$37,950. To address the income gaps for down payments, HOME funds were used to provide down payment assistance of up to \$20,000. On its surface, the homeownership policies appeared inclusive, accessible, and for the good of residents, but still required a back-end (debt to income) ratio of 41 percent or below to qualify for an affordable home, which, according to city documents excluded not only existing residents of Southside, but nearly all black applicants who met the income requirements.

The performative inclusivity in the Southside plan—from project conception to enacted policy—shows that public sector employees’ prescriptions for the neighborhood were shaped not by resident input, but by neoliberal paternalism. Rather than listen to Southside residents, project affiliates believed they already knew what the neighborhood and its residents needed and saw all their actions as therefore good and without need for resident alteration.

Housing as Reward for Reform

Rather than recognize the difficulty that low-income residents would have in attaining a single-family home through the project and the displacement potential if they could not or if wealthier residents moved in, project affiliates appeared convinced that residents were capable of reform to meet the standards with the proper means. Project affiliates’ explanations for the provisions they provided in the single-family home application process demonstrates the potential-for-reform sentiment. John explained:

We even included an in-house Certified Housing Counselor to provide them with the tools they needed to improve their credit standing and financial education and get them on the path to homeownership through financial literacy courses. You know, we got them some workforce training funds, stuff for human capital, and they participated. They did some certification programs.

These “responsibilizing actions” suggest that project affiliates undertake revitalization because they see poverty not simply as a structural condition, but a lack of proper training to be a homeowner (Dardot and Laval 2013). In the 1970s, a discipline-and-reform ideology coupling welfare and punishment began to manifest and appear in various organizational forms as the political economy shifted towards neoliberalism. Wacquant (2011) aptly describes the “double regulation of the poor” through reform and punishment efforts as neoliberal paternalism. In contrast to alternative ideological manifestations, neoliberal paternalism does not simply roll back the state, but instead aims to “produce new kinds of self-regulating subjects that can integrate individuals into the mainstream” (p. 292); it seeks to reform the poor for failing to live up to the standards of the neoliberal citizen (Soss, Fording, and Schram 2011; Wacquant 2011). The use of revitalization to take control of the neighborhood and remake it into a community of single-family homes that required residents qualify for residence allowed project affiliates to remediate the tension between a belief in “no legitimate dependency” and individual freedom inherent to neoliberalism. With only discipline and self-control, the residents could get housing.

The project affiliates’ explanations implicitly alleged that those who did not attain homes were not “pushed out”, but were simply unsuccessful at meeting the standards of stability and therefore unworthy of support. Tim explained:

Gentrification is a buzzword now, and it has a lot of merit as a concern in terms of excluding people who are not successful at economics, but all cities are constantly undergoing some version of neighborhood change. And so I think we see that as change is not good or bad, it simply is. And that's what we've seen in Southside.

Indeed, even after the outcomes of the project showed not a single house went to a longtime resident, project affiliates asserted that those who undertook the project and wrote its policy details had socially-conscious intentions; those who disapproved of the project misunderstood the value. John said:

It speaks very favorably to the intentions of the project that there was such a strong emphasis on inclusion. Not just on mixed income apartments, but that on reserving a certain variance of the homes for those very low income folks. A significant bit for you know, sixty percent, and then I think eighty and some market.

Bob, a white resident who had moved to Southside-Rolling Hills prior to the revitalization, disagreed:

I don't know how building 48 new homes is supposed to create opportunities [for longtime residents] to attain a house. Unless they are part of the development, it's not going to help them [existing residents] in any economic terms. None of the existing residents got any of the new homes that I know of. I mean, I guess I just know the people on my street and none of those were refurbished houses. Well one or two of [the houses] were [refurbished], but the existing residents lived on the other side of the street. And that...that was clear when the people who actually got mortgages moved in. I'd say most of the people who got homes are youngish, under 40 if not under 35 or even 30. Pretty much all white. Pretty much all decent jobs. Not that diverse either in economic standing

or in anything really. Like I think three of them work in marketing at American Tobacco [the mixed-use development on the other side of the freeway].

Chantelle echoed Bob's point in her discussion of the "hoops" required for attainment of a home: "I don't know what they were thinking with these financial literacy courses. I make 12 [thousand] a year at the co-op [grocery store] and have a child and they think my problem is I don't budget". Sara, one of the new residents who did jump through the hoops that Chantelle described throughout her interview, provided more context on the city's expectations for qualification:

Yeah I had to like go through a financial literacy thing to make sure I knew how to, like, pay my bills on time and all that stuff. And they have this spreadsheet where they are like, "This is what your mortgage will – your anticipated mortgage will be. These are what your insurance fees will be. These are taxes. And then I had to fill in how much I usually spend on food in a month, how much I spend on utilities. So it's all like a guessing game. Like, I know people who make way more than me that don't track their budget like that. They especially don't actually. This is supposed to teach me, like, how to budget and how to be a good homeowner but like they use this algorithm and I put in my salary and it showed I could barely afford the cheapest of the affordable houses with all my budgeting. It showed I was breaking even every month.

Sara's account demonstrates how project affiliates' neoliberal paternalism led to revitalization policy that placed blame on residents for their own poverty and used measures for increased responsibility to earn continued residence. The emphasis on overcoming human capital and "financial literacy" barriers to homeownership suggests treatment of the longtime residents of Southside as capable of reform.

Project affiliates saw little value in Southside because of its limited homeownership, vacant lots, and poverty rate that remained from failed Urban Renewal. Their apparent belief in the neighborhood's undesirability even for its longtime residents provided them an imperative to take control and redevelop Southside to make a stable, desirable community. Since they presumed to know what the neighborhood needed to become desirable, any inclusion of existing residents was rendered performative. The enacted control of Southside *for its own good* involved remaking in a manner consistent with middle-class demands elsewhere to attract middle-class professionals. At the same time, they offered existing residents the chance for reform into the middle-class professional resident that would enact neighborhood stability and wellbeing. Project affiliates' treatment of existing residents implies that working-class residents of Southside lacked the skills and competence to know and manage their own needs, housing, and neighborhood. They gave existing residents the opportunity to learn the behavior and norms of the autonomous, self-realized, and responsabilized residents the neighborhood needed. In the next section, I return to my conceptual framework to elaborate on extant scholarship with my findings.

DISCUSSION

The three interrelated themes that emerged from my data suggest that revitalization is motivated by a desire to control the poor and their community and enact spatial poverty governance. I began my exploration with consideration of factors that incentivized and shaped 20th century incarnations of revitalization and the more recently theorized implicit economic incentives and influences of neoliberalism and the unique pressures it poses for cities (Hackworth, Lees, Tach and Emory 2017; Vale 2002, 2013; Imbroscio 2008; Fullilove 2009). While I found evidence of the culture of poverty and neoliberalization, my findings provide a

more nuanced picture. Neoliberal ideology combines with the remnants of the culture of poverty beliefs in urban planning to justify paternalistic spatial governance that seeks to reform the poor through neighborhood revitalization.

First, I found that the practitioners' perception of Southside as undesirable provided a sense of justification to take control of the neighborhood and remake it to presumed standards of white, middle-class, outsiders. Then, I found that because they believed in their own imperative to remake the neighborhood, they wrote policy and engaged in outreach that was only performativity inclusive. The resultant policies evidence neoliberal paternalistic beliefs that housing and continued residence in Southside are not a right, but earned through reform into the right kind of resident. Project affiliates' approach to revitalization evidences poverty governance. They sought to allow the poor residents to become the type of resident that would make for a healthy, stable neighborhood of value.

Together, my themes show the susceptibility of housing and community development to neoliberal paternalist ideology evident in other social welfare institutions that prioritizes efficiency and profitability over social goals with persuasion and coercion (Sager 2011). As social policies and services have decentralized under neoliberalism, paternalistic notions of reform have surfaced to legitimize and rationalize strict controls and mission changes in many public sectors, including criminal justice, education, and health and human services.

The various mechanisms through which this neoliberal paternalist ideology operate in public sectors constitute "poverty governance" (Soss, Fording, and Schram 2011). Soss and colleagues (2011) explain, poverty governance "blends neoliberal commitments to devolution, privatization, and market incorporation with paternalist commitments to directive, supervisory, and punitive mechanisms of social control" to create a coherent regime for regulating the poor.

Its consequences may be seen starkly in poverty alleviation programs such as the Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF), Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP), and Medicaid (Schram et al. 2009). During welfare reform of the 1990s, the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act even included a child “cap” to curb childbearing in an attempt to help prevent immoral welfare mothers from reproducing to receive greater benefits to avoid work (Hays 2003). SNAP, the largest food support welfare program, seeks compliant behavior through coverage of particular items (cite from old draft). Poverty governance seemingly works in favor of the poor while simultaneously punishing them for their experience of structural inequalities, reinforcing the belief that poverty is an individual failure.

With attention to project affiliates who undertake revitalization efforts, this study shows that neoliberal paternalism incentivizes and shapes revitalization and leads housing and community development practitioners to enact spatial poverty governance. This melds historical culture of poverty/inner-city pathology motivations for revitalization with neoliberal political-economic factors theorized by urban geographers to enact housing and community development measures that regulate the poor. Using codes derived from fieldwork in urban planning courses and networks, public documents on the project, and interviews with 18 individuals involved in a revitalization effort in Southside-Rolling Hills, Durham, North Carolina, I found that standards of stability and worth influenced project affiliates and their perception of Southside-Rolling Hills. They saw the community characterized by concentrated poverty as devoid of value and in need of rescue with private investment, improved property values, and increased middle-class stability and saw their role as a justified and for the good of all.

The beliefs about the neighborhood shaped the policies within the project. To attract stable outsiders and private investors, the practitioners stipulated the project provisions include

financial incentives, market-rate design, and single-family homes. They assumed that the “rising tide” of private investment these components would bring would couple with the capital of new middle-class residents to “lift all boats”, and therefore only included existing residents in the plan performativity, from development to implementation. At the same time, they believed existing residents should have the opportunity to meet the standards of stability and provided means for reform into autonomous, self-realized, and responsabilized citizens that the neighborhood needed (Dardot and Laval 2013:15).

My findings have implications for the long-established literature on urban inequality and its reproduction in sociology, inform the dominant thread of scholarship on the urban resurgence in urban geography, and further articulate the relevance of race to urban scholarship. Consideration of the factors that incentivize and shape revitalization plans advances scholarship on determinants of documented revitalization outcomes (e.g. gentrification, displacement). The reinforcement of free-market logic in all arenas that turns social life into sites of transaction, of marketer and consumer uniquely afflicts actors in public sectors with ostensible poverty-remediation missions. As neoliberalism creates new understandings of value and worth measured in autonomy, self-realization, and material success (Foucault 2008), it shapes public sector workers’ perception of the poor. Those who aim to remediate poverty unknowingly betray their stated intentions, including those in housing and community development policy.

By showing how neoliberalism has not only produced new constraints and financial realities for local government, but also affects the stated and enacted intentions of public-sector workers, my findings suggest that urban planners are a previously unidentified factor that mediates the neoliberal political economy and racially exclusionary outcomes, such as racialized displacement and gentrification. Urban planners’ motivations to enact responsabilizing actions

and neighborhood control to help low-income residents justifies and compounds racial inequalities. Because people of color are more likely to reside in low-income urban neighborhoods, they are disproportionately susceptible to spatial poverty governance enacted through revitalization.

CONCLUSION

Like other forms of poverty governance under neoliberalism like TANF and SNAP (Soss, Fording, and Schram 2011), revitalization has been transformed under neoliberalism to apparently act for the poor while it ultimately works in favor the market and wealthy, white outsiders. My findings show that urban planners, unknowingly influenced by neoliberal paternalism, undertake revitalization efforts to enact spatial poverty governance that aims to control and remake poor neighborhoods and reform the poor, mostly black, residents for the ultimate benefit of the wealthy.

Both the findings and the methodological limitations of this study suggest future avenues of exploration. Use of a single case allowed the opportunity for theoretical elaboration and observation of inconsistencies between participants' stated beliefs and observed decisions in revitalization. Though Southside shares characteristics of other former industrial towns experiencing an urban resurgence, I cannot generalize to non-observed cases, I can only relate observations to a body of theory (Burawoy 2009).

While my use of ECM led me to search for deviation from and consistency with existing scholarship on revitalization, it potentially narrowed my interpretations, as I drew upon existing work to code and interpret statements by interview participants. Accordingly, the findings cannot be assumed representative of other cases. I attempted to mitigate this by doing my own fieldwork in urban planning courses and networks that allowed me to adapt my probing questions and

evaluate them during the data collection phase of the project. Moreover, I incorporated other work and elaborated the theory as findings emerged. Even so, future work should consider the potential for neoliberal paternalism and spatial poverty governance in other forms of housing and community development commonly employed, including increasingly popular workforce housing, density bonuses, Section 8 housing, and housing bonds.

Finally, Southside and Durham share many characteristics with other cases, but my small sample—a symptom of the size of the city itself—cannot be assumed representative of revitalization affiliates in other locales. Future work should also consider expanding upon my findings with a larger and more representative sample of project affiliates not specific to one project. Evaluation of the potential for these patterns in other geographies would provide an even clearer picture of how housing and community development ends up producing gentrification and displacement commonly observed in the literature.

Housing and community development plays a significant role in reinforcing or mitigating spatial inequalities that reverberate beyond the geographic units in which they present. The history of revitalization and its social predictors largely reflects the broader beliefs about poverty at the time of its proposal, from the slum clearance that characterized Urban Renewal for eradication of “blight” and “crime”, to the public housing supposedly aimed at remediation of racial inequities during Civil Rights, to the HOPE VI project that became a paradigm of the new mixed-income, public-private approach that aims to offer opportunities for the poor to become upwardly mobile through private investment (Hyra 2012; Goetz 2011). Revitalization efforts in the urban resurgence, like those before it, reflect contemporary beliefs about poverty. Project affiliates, influenced by neoliberal paternalism that reinforces a narrative of undisciplined poor, believe that spatial poverty governance, like other forms of poverty governance under

neoliberalism like TANF and SNAP, works on behalf of the residents to help them become the right type of resident under neoliberalism, while in actuality, spatial poverty governance favors private developers and white, middle-class residents.

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**CHAPTER FOUR: MIXED-INCOME HOMEOWNERSHIP AND
THE REPRODUCTION OF INEQUALITY**

ABSTRACT

Since the Great Depression, homeownership has defined American housing policy. Its historical valuation and promotion synonymize it with the American Dream of middle-class success, but its accessibility varies by race, class, and gender. This study explores an initiative aimed at providing affordable homeownership to low-income families in a majority black, “distressed” neighborhood in Durham, North Carolina. In 2005, the City of Durham committed an estimated 48-million-dollars to the three-phase project, which included the construction and sale of 48 new single-family homes, called The Bungalows. Over half of the houses were made “affordable” for purchase by those with low-incomes. In this paper, I interrogate whether an explicit focus on the creation and sale of income-restricted houses can overcome inequities in the attainment of homeownership. I use an Extended Case Method approach that includes fieldwork in urban planning and housing forums, interviews with project affiliates, existing residents, and new residents in the Bungalows at Southside, and historical and contemporary policy and government documents. Using an intersectional theoretical lens that contextualizes differences in non-material class resources, I conduct an ethnographic content analysis on the program stipulations and documents and interview participants’ accounts of the project proposal, navigation, and outcomes. I use each to identify persistent, unseen barriers and practices that reproduce existing patterns of racialized, classed, and gendered inequality even in the attainment of affordable homeownership. I find that various exclusionary social and cultural mechanisms enabled non-Latino white applicants with middle-class social and cultural resources and entitlement to better navigate and even “game the system” to become the primary beneficiaries of the city program, while project affiliates’ race-class positions made them oblivious to the potential barriers.

INTRODUCTION

Since the Great Depression, homeownership has defined American housing policy from the federal to local level. The United States spends more than \$100 billion annually on housing subsidies for homeowners primarily through the mortgage interest tax deduction. Socially, homeownership supposedly increases neighborhood stabilization and provides more invested citizens. Economically, it offers people a means to leverage their incomes to build wealth. The valuation and promotion synonymizing homeownership with the American Dream make it a standard by which many Americans evaluate their economic success or failure (Shlay 2006). Even funds earmarked for mixed-income housing and neighborhood stabilization are increasingly used for efforts to promote homeownership. However, the U.S. suffers significant and persistent gaps in homeownership by class, race, and gender (Badger 2013; Hall and Sharp 2014; Hanson et al. 2016; Ratner 1997). If cities use mixed-income housing and neighborhood stabilization funds to promote homeownership that low-income people of color cannot afford, such efforts might covertly enact “gentrification by stealth” in low-income neighborhoods (Lees et al. 2002).

Few studies consider the processes that might affect the outcomes of a low-income or mixed-income homeownership program. The empirical literature on mixed-income housing rarely consider the process of obtaining the housing, whether for rent or ownership. Instead, studies in “mixed-income housing” literature show primary concern for neighborhood changes and the potential for gentrification, displacement, or revitalization that follow its implementation (August 2015; Chaskin, Bazuin, and Fraser 2013; Chaskin, Khare, and Joseph 2012). Those focused on housing obtainment processes more broadly identify factors that affect the search for scattered subsidized rental housing like Section 8 (Clampet-Lundquist 2004) and the search and

application for single-family homes and mortgages on the private market (Badger 2013; Hall and Sharp 2014; Hanson et al. 2016; Ratner 1997). Both reveal consistent barriers by race, class, and gender, but do not attend to “affordable” homeownership.

In this study, I interrogate whether an explicit focus on the creation and sale of income-restricted houses can overcome inequities in the attainment of homeownership. In 2005, the City of Durham committed an estimated 48-million-dollars reserved for neighborhood revitalization to a three-phase project, which included the construction and sale of 48 new single-family homes called The Bungalows. Over half of the houses were made “affordable” for purchase by those with low-incomes. I ask: what processes explain the obtainment of “affordable” housing? Can subsidized housing costs, reduced interest rates, and grant support for down-payments promote homeownership for low-income families? If not, what explains the outcomes?

To answer these questions, I use an Extended Case Method approach that includes fieldwork in urban planning and housing forums, interviews with project affiliates, existing residents, and new residents in the Bungalows at Southside, and historical and contemporary policy and government documents. Using an intersectional theoretical lens that contextualizes differences in non-material class resources, I conduct an ethnographic content analysis on the program stipulations and documents and interview participants’ accounts of the project proposal, navigation, and outcomes. I use each to identify persistent, unseen barriers and practices that reproduce existing patterns of racialized, classed, and gendered inequality even in the attainment of affordable homeownership. I find that various exclusionary social and cultural mechanisms enabled non-Latino white applicants with middle-class social and cultural resources and entitlement to better navigate and even “game the system” to become the primary beneficiaries

of the city program, while project affiliates' race-class positions made them oblivious to the potential barriers.

In the next section, I review the use of housing policy for poverty eradication and neighborhood stability and the particular valuation of homeownership to achieve those goals. I articulate how housing policy entrenched inequalities, particularly along racial lines, and the relevance in contemporary housing obtainment. I follow with my theoretical framework, which draws upon existing scholarship on inequalities in housing obtainment and other institutional processes to predict mechanisms that affect attainment of affordable homeownership.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Housing policy has long been used by federal and local governments to promote social goals like poverty reduction (Shlay 2006). From the New Deal forth, the federal government has used financial and regulatory tools to create and maintain low-income rental housing (i.e., “public housing projects”) and promote homeownership as acts of social welfare and control (The National Housing Act of the New Deal H.R. 9620, Pub.L. 73–479, 48 Stat. 1246, i.e., the Better Housing Program). In the post-WWII period, homeowners were believed to have a greater stake in their country and fear political unrest; increased homeownership provided insurance against dissent, so federal housing policy centralized the promotion of homeownership through the private market (Oliver and Shapiro 2006; Shlay 2006). Per this goal, The Federal Housing Administration and Veterans Administration provided subsidies in the form of low-interest loans and reduced down payments. Coupled with Title III housing benefits in the GI Bill and rising wages, the share of mortgages obtained through government programs increased significantly in the next decade. In 1940, FHA and VA mortgages accounted for 13.5 percent of mortgages. Five

years later, they accounted for 25 percent, and by 1950, they accounted for 41.9 percent (Chevan 1989).

Homeownership retains a social and cultural meaning that makes it an appealing goal for not only federal and local governments, but also for families. The policies implemented in the post-war period to ease home loans facilitated wealth accumulation and intergenerational financial security, making homeownership a source and symbol of middle-class status and an apparent stepping stone for families to achieve “the American Dream” (Shlay 2006; Massey and Denton 1990; Chevan 1989). Federal and local governments encourage homeownership for its association with community attachment, social stability, and individual and social responsibility (Hall and Sharp 2014; Rohe et al. 2002). It remains the most valued form of housing tenure in federal housing policy (Shlay 2006).

Efforts to ease mortgage financing and facilitate homeownership that became commonplace practices after World War II, including tax incentives and reduced financial regulations, remain today, despite significant changes in financial structures, American family demographics, economic trajectories, and crime. Public funds to homeowners account for roughly \$195 billion in subsidies via tax deductions for mortgage interest (Collinson et al. 2015). By the 1990s, even funds formerly reserved for public housing (e.g., multifamily rental housing projects) were redirected towards homeownership efforts during the 1990 implementation of The Homeownership and Opportunity for People Everywhere (HOPE) program. The first three waves of HOPE provided grants to local entities for homeownership programs, direct financial assistance in home buying to low-income families with incomes up to 80 percent of the Area Medium Income (AMI), and funds for direct purchase and rehabilitation of owned single-family properties (Department of Housing and Urban Development).

In the United States, homeownership attainment is inexorably tied to race, class, and gender position. Historically, institutional and interpersonal discrimination in labor and housing constrained black Americans' housing obtainment opportunities. In the post-WWII era, black veterans could qualify for Title III housing benefits in the GI Bill, but VA loans required cooperation from local banks. Consequently, homeownership opportunities for non-Latino white veterans engendered post-war "non-Latino white flight" to the suburbs while rampant racial discrimination in mortgage lending kept black families renting in increasingly segregated central cities and neighborhoods (Massey and Denton 1993; Oliver and Shapiro 2006; Rothstein 2017). At the same time, real estate agents steered black residents to poor neighborhoods regardless of income, homeowners' associations used discriminatory policies to keep black residents out of non-Latino white neighborhoods, and banks restricted black homeownership to segments of cities that were already racially segregated (Massey and Denton 1993; Pager and Shepard 2008).

The entrenched patterns of financial exclusion in the U.S., such as the racial earnings and wealth gaps, have long been cited as the primary explanation of racially disparate trends in homeownership in planning literature (Rohe 2002). Because housing is not a codified social right, but a privilege wherein those with the means are able to obtain safe, stable, housing (Lew 2016), racial and gender disparities in housing obtainment are often dismissed as fair differences of income or associated cultural characteristics like "financial literacy" along race and gender lines (Rohe 2002).

Certainly, the earnings and wealth gaps by race and gender and its causes in the labor market relate to homeownership differences by race. Wealth predicts the ability to meet mortgage down payment requirements (Gyourko and Linneman 1995) and credit favorability (Massey and Denton 1993), and middle-class non-Latino whites maintain greater wealth than

their black counterparts (Oliver and Shapiro 2006; Killewald 2013). That said, numerous scholars have identified and examined the sources inequalities in housing obtainment and its associated externalities to find discriminatory and exclusionary processes across race and gender that go beyond earnings. black Americans still suffer higher rejection rates for mortgage loans and receive less favorable mortgage terms, including higher interest rates compared to non-Latino whites of similar income levels and age (Ross and Yinger 2002; Hanson et al. 2016). Even middle-class black families are more likely to be denied housing than low-income non-Latino white families (Reardon, Fox, and Townsend 2015). In mortgage lending, the lender's discrimination against the applicant better explains racial disparities than the applicant's "financial literacy" or wealth (Pager 2003; Hanson et al. 2016). While black and Latino applicants tend to have less familiarity with mortgage financing (Ratner 1997; Cogswell 1996) and lower credit scores than non-Latino whites of similar age and income, black and Latino applicants remain 80 percent more likely to be rejected for a mortgage even when controlling for these wealth-related characteristics like credit scores (Ladd 1998).

Economic constraints through structural gender sorting have also historically made housing obtainment—and homeownership in particular—concomitant with marriage for women (Hartmann 2006; Drew 2006). Women experience occupational segregation, gender-typing of workplace tasks, exclusion from workplace social networks, and unequal distribution of household labor that restrict their wealth (Schilt 2006; Ridgeway 2011; England et al. 2007). For many of the same reasons that women are seen as less reliable in the workplace and pushed into gender-typed tasks and positions, they are also seen as unfavorable or risky candidates in mortgage lending compared to men (Ladd 1998). Consequently, they are less likely to own homes or grow wealth through homeownership, particularly if they are unmarried (Smith 1990).

CASE BACKGROUND

In the 1970s and 1980s, many former industrial cities in the United States appeared at risk of indefinite decline from depopulation, disinvestment, and unemployment (Massey and Denton 1993; Goetz 2013). The markers of “urban crisis” could be seen throughout the City of Durham, North Carolina. The departure of the mainstay tobacco and textile industries left downtown with large, vacant warehouses and misguided redevelopment projects. Nearby, the construction of the Durham Freeway left dilapidated homes, vacant lots, and high poverty rates in downtown-adjacent neighborhoods (Abrams 2018).

Southside, a small community of single-family homes and townhouses just south of downtown Durham, suffered notorious displacement after its targeting for Urban Renewal in 1958 the construction of the Durham Freeway shortly after. Its disrepair led to some of the highest poverty and crime rates in the subsequent decades (Anderson 2011). In the 1980s, new economic development projects created commuter employment centers like Research Triangle Park on the periphery of Durham County. Subsequent transportation planning choices—including the construction of I-40 and the siting of fast-moving, one-way arterial streets and highway entrances in historic black neighborhoods—ensured that the dilapidation and displacement spread beyond black neighborhoods in South Durham to those east and north of downtown.

However, the turn of the century delivered Durham and many other central cities an unexpected “resurgence” characterized by steady population growth, capital inflows, and increased demand for residential and commercial development (Florida 2015). White, middle-class professionals began to relocate to urban, working-class black neighborhoods at record rates (Badger 2019). The black neighborhoods that suffered the worst consequences from earlier

planning decisions in Durham were targeted for revitalization in the 1990s and early 2000s after appearing on North Carolina's Distressed Urban Tracts list (High and Owen 2017). The mayor at the time, Bill Bell, sought to bring about an urban "resurgence" with a neighborhood anti-poverty campaign that centralized homeownership (Willetts 2017). In Eastway, a historically black neighborhood in East Durham, The Department of Housing and Community Development acquired and demolished 46 "dilapidated" houses and relocated public housing residents from the remaining public housing. With \$35 million HOPE VI funds, the City replaced the public housing complex and 46 homes with 30 new single-family homes, 16 condominiums, and a complex of assisted housing units for seniors (Durham Housing and Community Development 2013).

In 2005, with the resurgence well underway, Durham City Council approved a staggering 48-million-dollar, three-phase, mixed-income housing project to revitalize its low-income Southside neighborhood with expansive provisions for the construction and sale of new single-family homes: The Bungalows at Southside. Per requirements of the federal mixed-income housing funding sources, half of the homes were kept "affordable" for those with low incomes by capping the price of the homes and limiting the income permitted to qualify. In addition, the City offered grants for mortgage down-payment, reduced interest payments, and mandated housing counseling for potential homebuyers (City of Durham Department of Community Development 2013). According to project affiliates, The Bungalows program would address "social and economic challenges that go along with high tenancy...people moving in who don't care about the neighborhood and do things to actively hurt people in the community". Yet patterns in homeownership have historically been gendered, raced, and classed due to the multiplicity of factors that constrain wealth.

The Bungalows consisted of the construction and sale of 48 new single-family homes, 24 of which were made “affordable” for purchase by those with low-incomes through income caps, grants for mortgage down-payment, reduced interest payments, and required housing counseling for potential homebuyers (Durham Department of Housing and Community Development 2013). The City of Durham offered a loan of \$20,000 to “qualifying buyers” that was forgiven at a rate of 3.33 percent annually. Duke University, an elite private university in Durham, offered a similar forgivable loan of \$10,000 to qualifying employees. The City also attempted to ease mortgage interest rates by partnering with the North Carolina Housing Finance Agency (NCHFA) to offer an \$18,000 deferred mortgage loan at zero percent interest without any repayment until the house resold and a potential second mortgage of up to \$20,000 at two percent interest.

The Bungalows provide an ideal case to explore a common, but relatively underexplored, form of housing provision in the United States and potential factor in the reproduction of urban inequality. Since the 1990s, the federal Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) has allocated more than \$6 billion to mixed-income redevelopment projects similar to Southside (Castells 2010; Goetz 2011). After the rise of neoliberalism, the federal government began to decentralize housing funds and policy by providing local housing and community development authorities greater flexibility and discretion in their use of housing funds while simultaneously providing less funding overall. Although mixed-income housing funds can be used to build or redevelop rental housing, municipalities have significant incentives to use their discretion to convert rentals to single-family houses and promote homeownership instead (Mixed-Income Housing Database 2016). Due to the valorization of homeownership, many municipalities use funding sources previously used to create affordable rentals to redevelop public housing for sale

and subsidize the costs with grants or loans for down payments and closing costs (Department of Housing and Community Development 2001; Mixed-Income Housing Database). As in the Eastway project, City officials reasoned that the high crime, high tenancy, and concentrated poverty in Southside were severe barriers to attracting that private investment. They concluded that, in addition to mixed-income rentals, the construction of single-family homes in Southside “to stabilize the area” would provide an essential first phase of the project (Durham Department of Housing and Community Development 2013).

Even with the affordability provisions, rapid demographic changes followed the sale of the Bungalows. Working-class black residents in the neighborhood and community activists began to question the intentions of the program and the means for overcoming housing barriers. Even with mounting evidence that white families were the primary group to benefit from the program in the historically black neighborhood, city officials remained steadfast in their characterization of the plan as a success for providing neighborhood stability and offering low-income families the opportunity to build wealth through homeownership.

Through this case, I investigate whether homeownership opportunities made “affordable” with the explicit aim to benefit working-class families produce equitable outcomes. If not, what processes explain the persistent inequalities that result even in the affordable homeownership effort? In the next section, I discuss social and cultural capital—two theories of non-material class-based resources—that contextualize inequalities by race, class, and gender position in other institutions. I emphasize their implications for the reproduction of inequalities through exclusion, especially as it pertains to housing obtainment.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Non-Material Class Resources

Studies of urban inequality throughout the 20th century focused on race and the non-material class resource of human capital, which popularly framed scholarship on “inner-city poverty” and its reproduction (Wilson 1987). Scholars argued that a lack of access to jobs, transportation, training, and proper education denied poor black residents access to the human capital necessary for upward mobility and could be remedied with inner-city economic development (Porter 1997). Other forms of non-material class resources like social and cultural capital have since shown more promise for explaining not only urban inequality but broader inequalities in the United States. Though their studies are oft-rebuked, Florida (2002) and Putnam (2000) brought widespread attention to the relevance of both social and cultural capital in urban relocation and housing patterns in their discussions of “creative” and “diverse” cities.

Social capital refers to the power embedded and accessed through social relationships (Coleman 1988). As people access information through informal channels, social capital leads to other forms of capital, and exclude those that lack beneficial relationships and network access from particular opportunities to produce stratification (Lin 1999; Chua 2014). Cultural capital, though similar to social capital in its exclusionary potential, refers to the cultural “signals,” “toolkit,” or “repertoire” that provides benefit in a particular social context. Following Vaisey (2009) and Vaisey and Valentino (2008), it is an immaterial endowment people possess to signal their belonging in a group. Social capital explains access to particular groups, while cultural capital provides the means to signal belonging within that group. They mutually constitute each other and legitimate resultant stratification as the product of economic achievement (Schwalbe 2008).

Like other resources, social and cultural capital vary considerably by social position. Non-Latino white individuals and men—non-Latino white men in particular—tend to be within social networks that include those in positions of power, providing access to beneficial social capital (McGuire 2000; Smith 2000; Ditomaso 2013). Since non-Latino white, middle and upper-middle-class people occupy most positions of power in the United States, they also control the valuation of cultural capital in many institutions where group belonging has significant consequences for other forms of capital (and therefore power, status, and resource accumulation). Most formal educational settings in the United States employ non-Latino white teachers of middle-class background, which leads to a greater valuation of middle-class cultural capital transmitted by non-Latino white, middle-class parents and downward tracking of students of different race-class backgrounds (Roscigno and Ainsworth-Darnell 1999; Lareau 2003; Yonezawa, Wells, and Serna 2002).

Social and cultural capital have implications beyond childhood schooling; their relevance persists in the navigation of and inclusion in institutions in adulthood. In the labor market especially, in-group favoritism commensurate with social and cultural capital limits non-white, working-class, and female workers' perceived "trustworthiness" and reliability, which disadvantages them in promotion and hiring (Branch 2001; Royster 2003; Maldonado 2009). Middle-class cultural capital also provides comfort with institutional rules and ease navigating bureaucratic processes required in institutions such as higher education, the legal system, and the labor market that provide pathways to other forms of capital and thus power, status, and resource accumulation (Kinsey and Stalans 1999; Sanderfur 2008; Hurrell, Sholarious, Thompson 2012). In the university setting, for example, middle-class students display greater comfort asking for assistance when confronted with uncertainty or unfamiliar institutional processes, and show

greater likelihood seeking aid and accommodation. In contrast, working-class students tend to display frustration with various bureaucratic processes and a reluctance to seek help, and, consequently, are more likely to drop out (Aries and Seider 2005). Since financial, educational, and legal institutions provide a gateway to power, status, and resource accumulation in the U.S., those who lack beneficial social and cultural capital are subjected to exclusion that further entrenches existing inequalities by race, class, and gender (Horvat and Davis 2011; Reay 2004).

Social and Cultural Capital and Housing Pathways

Social and cultural capital factor into housing patterns of exclusion and sorting through “housing pathways”—the manner of finding housing opportunities—that partially contextualize the racially disparate outcomes in homeownership discussed previously. The selective dissemination of information by race perpetuates the continued disadvantage of black families in homeownership and neighborhood residence (Edelman and Luca 2014; Havekes, Bader, and Krysan 2008, 2016). Real estate agents provide less information to black families about neighborhoods and homes available, and mortgage brokers provide black families with less information about homeownership and the mortgage process (Pager 2003; Turner et al. 2013; Turner et al. 2019). At the same time, non-Latino white families and real estate agents view black families as culturally distinct and threatening to property value and exclude them from non-Latino white neighborhoods, even when they share a class position (Faber 2018; Korver-Glenn 2017). Studies on diverse neighborhoods and mixed-income housing indicate similar exclusionary processes. New, higher-income residents in income-diverse neighborhoods view low-income residents as culturally distinct and exclude them from neighborhood groups, and engage in limited interaction, ultimately perpetuating social closure even in class-diverse housing and neighborhoods (Pattillo 2007; Hyra 2008; Freeman 2006; Brown-Saracino 2009).

Findings on broader housing obtainment processes can provide a starting point for understanding the obtainment of affordable housing, but the unique stipulations required for affordability and the variability of rules and requirements for its obtainment necessitate special consideration. Case studies outside the United States provide some clarity on processes that affect the obtainment of affordable housing and evidence of the importance of non-material class resources. Boterman (2012) and Hochstenbach and Boterman (2015), for example, show how the possession and use of social and cultural capital in Slovenian countries affects the use of subsidized housing (“social housing”) and ultimately, pathways out of disadvantageous housing and neighborhood conditions. Those with beneficial social and cultural capital deploy it to obtain social housing in symbolically attractive neighborhoods temporarily, where they better access resources to permanent housing. Those who lack the social and cultural capital to access resources to permanent housing rely on working-class networks and skills to continue to find temporary housing.

The limited scholarship that investigates the obtainment of affordable rental housing within the United States shows some similar processes characterize its pathways. Clampet-Lundquist (2004) finds few working-class women in need of affordable housing do not attempt to navigate state programs because of the reputed enormity of their bureaucratic barriers. Like those in Slovenian countries, most rely instead on non-material social resources, like their mothers, boyfriends, or others in their social network rather than seek independent housing. For women who do search for independent housing, few use formal means of navigation like newspapers, websites, or agencies for fear that their credit will not withstand scrutiny.

Working-class women of color are particularly reluctant to rely on formal means of navigation to housing obtainment. When low-income households choose to participate in formal

affordable housing programs, they tend to have difficulty navigating the institutional rules, face landlord rejection for their use of housing vouchers, and encounter roadblocks due to program stipulations and limitations like provided voucher rent, and lack of support for required credit checks, security deposits, transportation, and moving costs (Graves 2015; Clampet-Lundquist 2004).

Given the evidence of exclusion through social and cultural capital for predicting the use and navigation of various institutions by race, class, and gender—including housing in other countries and Section 8 housing in the U.S.—I expect to find that a dual-process characterizes affordable homeownership attainment in Southside. First, I expect that those from working-class non-white families and women in particular will not have the institutional familiarity or financial, social, or cultural resources and information to attain “affordable” homeownership in Southside. Even those who have the financial resources may be unconvinced of their qualifications because of past negative experiences with formal institutions (i.e., discrimination and/or surveillance), lack of entitlement, and lack of social and cultural resources and information to assess their own candidacy. Second, I expect that project affiliates and private partners will perceive applicants and their reliability, qualifications, and suitability for housing differently by race-class-gender position and favor those of a similar race-class background as their own. Together, I expect these will characterize a dual process of exclusion—first in search and application for an affordable home, then in approval for its ownership—that prevents working-class, non-white families from attaining homeownership.

DATA AND METHODS

To investigate affordable homeownership, I employ an Extended Case Method (ECM) to data collection and analysis that assumes the researcher enters the field with a theoretical

framework in mind to frame the case and its interpretation, and later, elaborate existing theory with new empirical observations (Tavory and Timmermans 2009). As articulated, the need for housing, the growing use of mixed-income housing funds for homeownership, and the existing barriers in homeownership attainment necessitate scholarly consideration of affordable homeownership efforts. In this article, I interrogate, clarify, and contextualize processes of affordable homeownership attainment. To accomplish this aim, I use theories of non-material resources and their variability by race, class, and gender to guide my analysis of a case, consistent with an ECM approach to explore The Bungalows at Southside mixed-income homeownership effort through content analysis of public documents, in-depth interviews, and participant observation.

Data Collection

My data collection included three qualitative data forms aligned with the ECM ethnographic approach: field notes from participant observation, transcripts of semi-structured interviews, and textual public documents. The collection process consisted of several iterative steps. First, I enrolled in one course in City and Regional Planning—Urban Revitalization—to familiarize myself with terms, policies, and culture in housing and community development, with many potential research questions in mind. The courses often required I attend urban planning events and forums, during which I became immersed in the culture, social network, and institutions of urban planners in ethnographic participant observation. During that time, I saw an opportunity and need for sociological scholarship on urban planning practices. I began collecting field notes and obtained Internal Review Board approval (Appendix A) that established my data collection methods and protocol for data storage. I enrolled in another course in the City and

Regional Planning Department— Affordable Housing Finance—where I became aware of the Southside Revitalization and its relevance to trends nationwide.

I narrowed my focus to Southside and sought all relevant city documents on the Project from the City of Durham through various governmental websites, including the Durham City Council, Department of Housing and Community Development, the North Carolina Housing Finance Agency, and from its private partner B. Wallace (the builder) through their websites, internet searches, and public records requests to the City. Relevant documents for the Bungalows included the budget, outcomes spreadsheet, meeting minutes for each Council meeting with Southside on its agenda, land permissions and infrastructure maps, zoning, and Request for Qualification forms and approvals for building, infrastructure, and federal grant applications. Most relevant documents were readily available online from their governmental source, but a few technical documents, including the infrastructure and land use maps for projected Southside parcel changes, required I visit the Durham Housing and Community Development and Planning Departments in-person to make photocopies.

I also searched for all content on Southside in two local papers: *The Indyweek*, an alternative weekly paper, and *The News and Observer*, a statewide local paper, which yielded ten articles of relevance since 2009, when the first phase was completed. I used the public documents to create a list of relevant project affiliates, their location, website, and contact information, and their role in the plan. I also drafted a written timeline of the project from inception to roll-out, and noted components that received particular attention in the marketing of the plan or Council minutes.

When I felt confident that I had a decent understanding of the project timeline, policies, and aims, I used a purposive sampling process to begin recruitment for interviews. Criteria for

participation in the interviews included affiliation with the Southside Revitalization project during its development or implementation, including city officials and employees in organizations contracted for the project, and new and longtime residents of the Southside neighborhood. I conducted semi-structured in-depth interviews with residents and project affiliates between March 2017 and January 2018 (n=18).

I met the first participants through fieldwork in urban planning events, including attendance at Young Planners of the Triangle (a professional networking group for planners in their twenties and thirties) gatherings, several forums on housing and gentrification in Durham, and my fieldwork in the City and Regional Planning courses, where many area planners pursue degrees. Public documents on the project provided the remaining project affiliate names, but cold-calling and emailing proved an unsuccessful means of contact. I instead relied on snowball sampling once I began conducting initial interviews, which yielded more fruitful results. In the end, only two project affiliates I sought to interview declined.

The recruitment process for resident participants initially seemed straightforward, but proved more difficult as I progressed. I made one contact in the neighborhood, Brother Kay, at the start of my research through my attendance at housing and gentrification forums in the City of Durham. Brother Kay provided the names of every new resident in the neighborhood in his capacity as the former president of the Southside Neighborhood Association. He also provided the names of the longtime residents who he thought would be most willing to speak to an unknown researcher. Although the longtime residents Brother Kay recommended did agree to interviews, two failed to show up to our meeting, and one rescheduled multiple times and ultimately agreed to speak only by telephone. The new resident recruitment was less difficult. Many of the calls and emails went unanswered, but those who were willing to meet with me

were more familiar with the Southside Revitalization than I expected due to their affiliation with the Neighborhood Association. They had a wealth of knowledge on the neighborhood and the experiences of their neighbors because of interaction in the neighborhood group.

The resident participants ultimately consisted of black men and black women in their fifties and sixties, representative of the demographics in Southside that preceded The Southside Revitalization, and three non-Latino white residents between the ages of 30 and 40 that relocated just before or during the completion of The Bungalows in 2012. The project affiliate participants included non-Latino white men 40 and older, and two non-Latino white men in their thirties, and one non-Latino white woman age 44. Throughout this paper, I refer to them with pseudonyms and generalize identifying titles (e.g., “senior project affiliate”) for project affiliates.

The interviews lasted between 30 minutes and 3 hours, with the average taking about an hour and forty minutes, and took place in private locations of the participants’ choosing. Participants each signed an informed consent form based on the approved criteria, which included permission to record and transcribe the interviews. I recorded each interview using a digital recorder.

During interviews, I employed a semi-structured format consisting of open-ended and follow-up questions. I developed an interview guide using knowledge gained from public documents, my participation in and observation of urban planning events and courses, and local forums on gentrification and housing as well relevant scholarship on mixed-income housing and mortgages (guide in Appendix A). I revised the guide as I progressed through the interviews in response to unexpected findings. I also allowed myself to veer from the interview guide when relevant or potential useful for understanding the processes at work (see *Analysis* section for description on the iterative process between collection and analysis). To reduce social

desirability bias, I attempted to remain neutral about the project mission, specific policies, processes described, and project outcomes during interviews. After each interview, I immediately took detailed notes on impressions of conversational dynamics, body language, and setting. After I completed interviews with all relevant project affiliates, I made a final attempt to contact unresponsive residents, one of which yielded my last interview. After its completion, I focused on analysis with the knowledge that further data collection might be required.

Analytic Procedure

Consistent with the Extended Case Method (Burawoy 1987), my entire analytic process was iterative; I evaluated and re-evaluated my findings as I progressed in a continual process of verification, discovery, and theoretical elaboration. The process characterized ethnographic content analysis, which allows for the development of theoretical relationships and categories to refine emergent themes (Altheide 1987). When a new, relevant piece of information surfaced, I returned to sources, noted potential probing questions for future interviews, and sought additional relevant documents. I began the analysis process while still engaged in data collection to develop my interview guide. I interpretively evaluated the project timeline, specifications, relevant stakeholders, and identified similarities and differences between the Southside Bungalows and other mixed-income redevelopment and affordable homeownership.

I then conducted open coding of the relevant public documents in Atlas.ti, a program for qualitative data storage and analysis. I used the literature on mixed-income housing, homeownership, and housing pathways and my field notes to identify summative codes. The first round of coding yielded summative codes related to material constraints/emphasis on income and culture of poverty/emphasis on individual deficit⁵. I used the same iterative analytic approach to

⁵ Each summative code is attached to more granular sub-codes like wealth, challenges, jobs, education, poverty, devaluation, self-help, housing counseling, self-sufficient, unemployment, skills, human capital, financial literacy.

engage in open coding of each interview transcript. As I progressed, I found evidence that disputed and verified other accounts and used relevant sources to better contextualize any divergence and/or alignment. Then, I began connecting codes using relevant literature and my theoretical framework. In Atlas.ti, I looked at patterns of code association to identify three emergent themes: feigned naivety and the increased relevance of wealth, managing “red tape” with social and cultural capital, and the salience of intersectional social position. Ultimately, the process generated three themes that modified and expanded existing theory on mixed-income housing and housing pathways. I outline my findings in the subsequent section.

FINDINGS

In this section, I discuss the outcomes of the Bungalows affordable housing effort in Southside through three emergent themes. I find definitions and provisions for “affordability” based on outdated beliefs about barriers to housing obtainment allowed a wide range of wealth-based social and cultural capital among qualifying applicants. Consequently, even attainment of affordable homeownership involved the use of non-material middle-class resources that non-Latino white applicants were more likely to possess. An applicant’s social position affected their discovery of the program, comfort with financial and institutional rules, awareness of financial opportunities and assumed qualification for their benefits, ability to secure required documents and handle unexpected costs, and final evaluation by private partners.

Ignorance of Class-Based Resources

The first theme emerged through interviews with project affiliates, who described several ways that their efforts to enact a truly affordable program were frustrated by forces beyond their control. First, they described how increasingly permissive “affordability” standards allowed those with incomes that nearly matched the Area Median Income (AMI) to apply for the houses.

According to Perry, a senior level project affiliate, when the Department of Housing and Community Development first began discussions with City Council, they intended for the income cap to qualify for an affordable home in Southside be set at 30 percent AMI, but after formal approval of the Southside Project, the federal funding used to acquire the land for The Bungalows raised the cap to 60 percent Area Median Income (AMI) or below. Those at 30 percent AMI could still apply, but other significant distinctions exist between applicants at 30 percent AMI and sixty percent AMI that affects their apparent suitability for homeownership; many employed in jobs at the high-end of the qualifying income spectrum now had the opportunity to apply for the affordable homes. Through continued interviews, I found that the increased income cap allows a wide range of class-based social and cultural capital between applicants.

As the project progressed, project affiliates sought special status to designate the whole neighborhood a single “Neighborhood Revitalization Strategy Area” so that, according to another project affiliate, John, they could “better control the infrastructure” for the wellbeing of residents. However, the designation also allowed them to provide a greater return-on-investment promise to their private partners, since the treatment of Southside as a Neighborhood Revitalization Strategy Area would allow them to raise the income cap from 60 percent AMI to 80 percent AMI. In Durham, that qualified an individual with a maximum annual household income of \$37,950, a two-person household income of \$43,350 for, and a three-person household income of \$48,750. Again, their apparent ignorance of the consequence of a particular choice increased the competition for the houses and the relevance of non-material resources: an applicant at 30 percent AMI could apply for an affordable home in Southside but had to compete with 80 percent AMI applicants.

At the same time, the project affiliates neglected to assess the demand for housing in downtown Durham. Instead, they asserted that significant concessions were required to attract qualified homebuyers to a dangerous neighborhood with a bad reputation. According to project affiliates, when they presented the initial proposal for the Revitalization, neither they nor the city and county officials who approved it thought that they would attract *too many* qualified applicants. They were more concerned that they would attract none. John articulated:

You had tremendous disinvestment going on. You had a third of the parcels that were occupied, but out of those, there were only 26 owner-occupied properties. And when we started looking at, you know, developing a plan for Southside, the neighborhood school was vacant and boarded-up and the city was getting ready to demolish it. I went before the city officials, and kind of gave them an update of where we were with looking forward at developing some homeownership units. And I showed them photographs and the condition it was in and they were so embarrassed that it had been allowed to get into that condition. That was Southside in 2005. Just an embarrassment. black residents in Durham...to them, this had always been the ghetto you wanted to get out of.

With the belief that they would struggle to find qualified applicants, the project reasoned that deed restrictions on the resale of the affordable Bungalows would be a deterrent to already hesitant qualified buyers. Consequently, the affordable Bungalows did not include deed restrictions to limit the profit that a homebuyer could make upon resale. The Bungalows therefore offered an opportunity to purchase a three or four bedroom house half a mile from downtown Durham at a reduced cost and resell it at market-rate.

To their supposed surprise, the Department of Housing and Community Development had no difficulty attracting potential homebuyers to the affordable housing program in Southside.

The “urban resurgence” that began around the country at the turn of the century, characterized by population growth, capital inflows, and rising housing demand, had already hit Durham by 2005. The first Bungalows were not sold until 2010, but project affiliates neglected to reassess housing market trends and mortgage lending patterns before proceeding with the Bungalows component of the project. The raised income cap and the lack of deed restrictions to attract qualified applicants led to significant interest in the Bungalows and thus competition between 80 percent AMI applicants with professional jobs, middle-class families, and current incomes at the high-end of the qualifying income range, and those closer to 30 percent AMI from working-class backgrounds working in service. The efforts the City undertook to address barriers to housing obtainment failed to consider how these non-income barriers associated with race, class, and gender would factor into applicant navigation, competition, and ultimate selection if the program attracted many qualified candidates.

Managing “Red Tape” with Social and Cultural Capital

Compounding the effects of the increased income cap and great competition for the Bungalows, I found that after the plan was written and enacted, information about the program and the navigation of the stipulations and various qualifying measures for program participation and the down payment grant required middle-class social and cultural capital that non-Latino white applicants from middle-class families were more likely to possess.

First, I discovered that applicant awareness of the homeownership program largely came from social networks that disseminated the information, rather than formal channels and outreach. As Allison explained:

I heard about it from one of my old co-workers who worked at Popular Brewery. I went over to my friend’s house and she lived in Southside. She was one of the market-value

homes, so the more expensive homes, and we were sitting on her deck talking about things and she, like, pointed to, like, one of these lots, like – because this was, now, three years ago so there weren't as many houses. And she's like, "Oh, my God, you should apply to live here." And I was like, "Yeah, right. You realize how much money I make. Like, I can't buy a house." And she was like, "No, no. They have this, like, Affordable Homeowner Program." And it was funny because I was like, "Well, I can't afford to buy a house, but I also, like, have a stable job. I don't think I would qualify as affordable homeowner either." Because I never considered myself as, like, a low-income person or anything like that. But she was like, "No, no, no, look it up." So – yeah. So she just encouraged me and gave me her real estate agent's phone number. And what was so funny is, I called him and he picked up immediately. It was like, "How much money do you make? You qualify?"

Indeed, Allison and other applicants who ultimately did become homeowners, all of whom were from middle or upper-middle class families but presently low-income themselves, spoke of the word-of-mouth information dissemination that led them to the program. Middle-class and non-Latino white residents were far more likely to have heard of the program through their own city involvement and their professional social channels. Many black, low-income potential applicants heard of the program only because non-Latino white friends or coworkers informed them.

When I asked about how the Bungalows program was marketed, project affiliates focused on the "public outreach" efforts they conducted for the Revitalization project more generally.

John, for instance, said:

We went to all of these neighborhood association meetings to drive home what we wanted to do for the neighborhood...talk about the stability and the benefits that come [from homeownership], and the older women, they were the most receptive.

Jennifer, a resident who attained a home, provided greater context:

Honestly I think a lot of it was [promoted] to existing homeowners of the neighborhood who were engaged in the neighborhood association. The City kind of pitched it like, 'We're not displacing anyone. We're buying up abandoned lots or lots owned by absentee landlords,' and like, 'This is going to help with the drug problem and violence.' But as far as what would be required for the houses? No, I have no idea how anyone heard about that because I heard about it from Destiny. And when she told me I didn't really believe her.

Even with its reliance on informal dissemination, many low-income black individuals applied for the program. They soon found that they had to possess significant class-based institutional familiarity determine *whether they could* apply for the program and complete the pre-approval process. Jennifer explained:

At the beginning, it went very fast...I got a tour, I filled out the application. Like, that was so fast and easy. And then the rest of it took a really long time because – and this is – when I say negative things, I'm, like, not trying to bash the city. But, like, so much of the things were, like a huge a pain. I had to close the door and really quickly scan my personal documents during work time. So if I did have a job where I was like a cashier or a waitress, I wouldn't have been able to do those things. So I think the process –people with office jobs—it definitely favors them.

Allison echoed Jennifer's description of the pre-approval process with the City:

I was very lucky that I had an office, like a printer and a scanner because if I didn't have those things, I would not have been able to give them the things they needed. Like, they would, you know what I mean, be like, making requests out of nowhere. "I need 2013 and '14 tax returns by the end of the day."

The difficulties in the process were apparent to Sharon, a black female friend of Allison's who began the process of pre-approval, but decided against it:

Jennifer texted me in April and said I should try to get one of the houses, that I am exactly who the program is for... They [the City] didn't turn me away right away or anything but they wanted me to go to them with all of this stuff. Like in person, go down to the City. When I get off [work] I am with my kids. I don't know. Maybe I should have listened but it felt like too much, it was stressful.

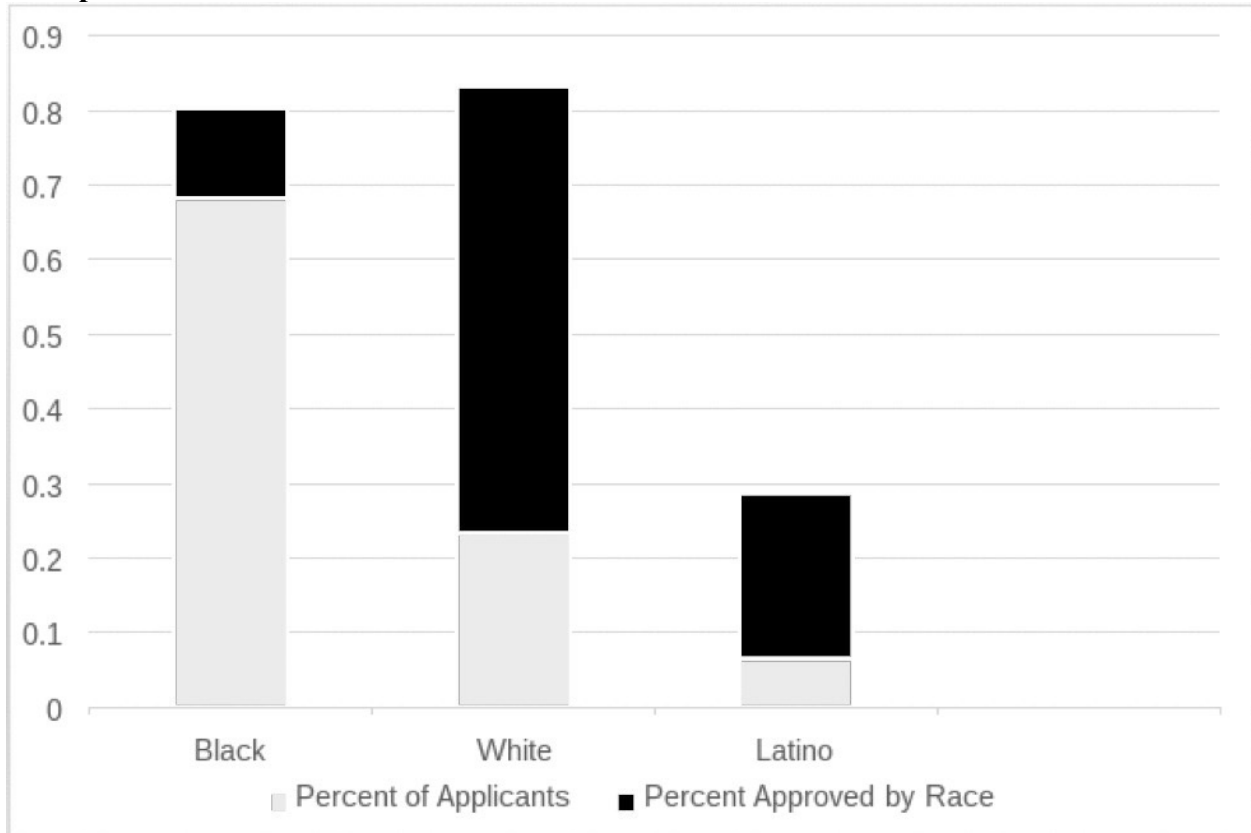
Indeed, the "red tape" encountered in the affordable home buying process required a particular set of class-based resources and comfort for navigation that non-Latino white applicants, who were more likely to come from middle-class families, possessed.

To offer homeownership opportunities in Southside while maintaining the affordability of the homes, the City took several measures beyond the income cap to qualify for the affordable homes, but the efforts the City undertook neglected non-income barriers to home buying. City officials restricted the cost of the homes and capped the qualifying income of applicants, but the program required a myriad of wealth-related resources to verify readiness for a down payment grant and mortgage assistance including: a maximum "front-end" ratio, or housing expense to income ratio (i.e., all monthly housing payments of principal and interest, taxes and insurance, and any fees) of 35 percent and a maximum "back-end" ratio (i.e., all monthly housing payments of principal and interest, taxes and insurance, and any fees plus any other outstanding monthly

debt expenses of the applicant) of 41 percent. The requirements further specified at least 12-month pre-application trends in creditworthiness, verification of rental history for the two years, evidence of on-time rent payments for the past twelve months, no judgments within the past twelve months, no outstanding federal or state tax liens, non-medical collections paid in full, no medical collections exceeding \$5,000, no past due accounts reported in the last 12 months, no more than two late payments within the previous 12 months, and three credit references.

Since the raised income cap and the high demand for housing in downtown Durham allowed those with middle-class backgrounds and corresponding wealth to apply, intersectional differences in access to and navigation of the down-payment and mortgage assistance played a significant role in determining who attained homeownership. The competition for down-payment and mortgage assistance between those who were non-Latino white and from middle-class backgrounds—some of whom worked managerial jobs, marketing positions, research jobs at Duke University, or in medical care—and those from working-class backgrounds who were primarily black and worked in service—produced expectedly racialized outcomes. The dataset obtained from Department of Housing and Community Development shows that of those who applied for the low-income housing through the Southside program, only 12 of 94 black applicants were pre-approved, or 13 percent and 2 out of 9 Latino applicants or about 22 percent were pre-approved, while 19 of the 32, or 60 percent non-Latino white applicants were pre-approved (Figure 3.1).

Figure 3.1 Percent of Applicants to Southside Program and Percent Approved by Racial Group



Allison, a non-Latino white applicant who obtained an affordable home in Southside, provided an account that articulates the impact of the “screening criteria” on applicants:

The City made us [applicants] jump through so many hoops it was kind of nuts. I wasn't even sure I would get a home after I went through this super stressful application process because it just seemed like so many people wanted them and I barely qualified. My income was right on the edge and I got a raise right in the middle of the process. And they requested so much about my financial history I honestly didn't know how it was going to work out in whatever model they were using. I thought there was a good chance something would count against me somewhere in there.

Allison's explanation echoes public documents that show wealth-related resources and associated middle-class social capital and cultural capital needed to compete for the program and its income assistance. Mid-level project affiliate Perry provided a similar explanation:

You know, there definitely can be screening criteria, I wanna be very clear here, I don't know for sure if this is the case, but I'm just trying to help you frame this out... there's screening criteria for criminal history, for credit, other things, then I know there were these classes they had to take. I think that definitely has a very important piece that you'll need to talk about with John, because I don't know.

The non-Latino white applicants' middle-class backgrounds equipped them with social and cultural capital that provided significant advantages in navigating the required “hoops” for attaining down payment and mortgage assistance through the program.

Access to wealth-based resources beyond its commonly measured forms of income and debt—particularly affluent social contacts—by race-class position also affected applicants' abilities to compensate for various funding gaps that were not initially apparent to applicants

who began the process. The unforeseen costs of the program required significant class-based financial but also social resources that non-Latino whites were more likely to possess.

For the 25 “affordable” Bungalows, mortgage and down payment assistance was provided by the City of Durham, but did not cover the entirety of the cost. Potential homebuyers could compensate for the gaps through small grants from the North Carolina Housing Finance Agency (NCHFA), which had its own minimum credit requirements that had to be met by the applicants. If they were unable to secure all monies they needed from the NCHFA, they had to find another supply for the down payment for their “affordable” home. In addition to the necessary means to compensate for gaps in the down payment, The Bungalows required \$20.00 per month in “association fees”, in addition to taxes and insurance estimated around \$250.00 per month (Durham Department of Housing and Community Development 2012). The total monthly homeownership cost was around \$870.88 per month in addition to the 20% down payment for the house (roughly \$32,400, depending on particular features).

When asked about how applicants compensated for the gap between the city grant and the required money for down payment, taxes, fees, and any other unforeseen costs, John explained that many applicants “used their savings”. Allison confirmed that she and other residents who attained The Bungalows had to “have some savings, but not too much”. Peter, another Bungalow homeowner, explained that he hadn’t used the entirety of his “college fund” and it provided the bulk of the remaining funds for his down payment, but he also received a grant through a “first-time homebuyer” program he had heard about from friends. The access to wealth that was not one’s own through a middle-class family and social networks affected applicants’ abilities to compensate for various funding gaps not initially apparent to applicants when they began the application process.

For those who followed through with the pre-approval and down payment application processes, the barriers imposed by the City to overcome supposed “financial literacy” barriers worked as an additional frustration for applicants, who saw it as yet another bit of red tape or a “hoop” –in Jennifer’s words—meant to weed them out. The Bungalows included an in-house Certified Housing Counselor to provide applicants for the affordable Bungalows with “the knowledge and tools they needed to improve their credit standing and financial education and get them on the path to homeownership”. Once pre-approved, all Southside homebuyers were also required to complete pre and post-purchase counseling. Project affiliates’ inaccurate assumption that disparities in homeownership were the product of individual financial literacy failures, rather than intersectional differences in class-based resources and discrimination, actually worked to *deter* those most in need of affordable homes in the City of Durham: black, working-class, single mothers.

The middle-class advantage non-Latino whites possessed proved useful even beyond the more logistical navigation processes of pre-approval, down payment assistance, and grants. Obtaining final approval from the City while maintaining qualification allowed those more economically capable of tolerating bureaucratic pace and process—those who had greater flexibility in their job and current housing—a better chance at management. As Jennifer explained:

I checked my mail and the letter saying I was approved to be a Southside resident was in my mailbox. But then once I got the letter then there was so much work to do after that too that I was very thankful I had, like, an office job or otherwise I wouldn’t have – I had to turn in so many things and it was on, like, quick deadlines. Like, if you missed a deadline you lost the house. It turns out [the City told me] a house that is halfway built,

the woman who that house was for, who was an affordable homeowner, she no longer qualifies. Do you want her house instead? And I was like, what? She is just out of the program now? So yeah, there were a lot of stressors like that, about what we could do wrong or what we could overlook.

Jennifer's account illustrates how residents with leases that required 60-days' notice for termination or without flexible office jobs that allowed them to meet sudden expectations found the uncertainty process in the process towards approval or rejection unmanageable. Often the attainment of a home in Southside also required assistance from knowledgeable friends and family employed in finance, law, or real estate, to overcome some of the imposed barriers to attainment, for which an upbringing in middle-class families and communities proved beneficial.

When asked about his pathway into the neighborhood, Jack said:

Well, when we were looking for houses our number one thing was location. I think that's a big driver of most people buying the homes there. Also, they were super affordable since the prices were set through a competitive bid between the two builders that the city selected five or six years ago. People who closed on their houses three years ago were buying a house based on six years ago prices and a competitive bidding process, not an open market system. That's what helped keep the prices low. It was a great deal and we knew that downtown the market would get crazy. It was going to be a smart investment.

Jack's account suggests that some of those who obtained homes used their awareness of housing and financial processes to their advantage. The non-Latino white applicants were far more likely to have been raised in the middle-class, which equipped them with the social and cultural capital they could use to meet the requirements for affordable homes. They saw homes in Southside not

necessarily as places they wanted to live, or in Allison's words, to "put down roots", but a smart investment.

In some cases, the racialized class advantages went beyond navigating the institutional processes required for affordable homeownership to overt manipulation of the process for their advantage. Jack, a market-rate non-Latino white resident in the neighborhood, described his neighbors who attained affordable homes:

That couple [pointing to large house next door] for instance...their parents paid off all their cars and paid off a bunch of stuff before they filled out the application to make sure that they met all the requirements". Friends and family of those who did attain affordable homes were able to help them manage the picture presented regarding their qualifications and need.

Allison echoed:

I know a lot of our neighbors went through the low income housing thing even though they weren't necessarily the people who were being targeted. For example, I know one couple just delayed getting married so that one of them could buy the house and meet all the requirements.

Chris, a City employee who did not work on the project, but lived in Durham at the time, elaborated:

Hell, before I worked for the City, I heard about the program and thought, that sounds like a get rich quick scheme. I had my issues with participating because of what I knew it would look like and all that people think gentrification is—but I also thought, hey, someone else will take advantage of this, better it be someone who actually cares about

diversity and community. And I actually did reach out, but at that point, it was too late, they got so many applications all the lots were already gone.

That an employed urban planner thought he could qualify for one of the affordable homes and use it to his advantage only emphasizes the failures of the program to overcome exclusionary processes to provide those truly in need of housing a home. With applicants at 80 percent AMI participating in affordable housing program with those of Extremely Low Incomes of 30 AMI, variability in class-based social and cultural capital played a significant in the housing obtainment outcomes in Southside. Ultimately, the navigation of the “red tape” required for the pre-approval grant application process, down payment financing, and program requirements necessitated middle-class social and cultural capital that non-Latino white applicants were more likely to possess.

Together, the raised income cap of 80 percent AMI and high demand for housing near downtown meant working-class black applicants had to compete with qualifying non-Latino white professionals who better met the City’s definition of home-buying readiness in various class-based measures. Additionally, the non-Latino white applicants possessed social and financial resources to acquire funds to cover unforeseen costs as they appeared. That these differences in class-based resources disadvantaged black applicants is consistent with past research that demonstrates how wealth gaps constrain the ability to meet mortgage down payment requirements (Duca and Rosenthal 1994), that middle-class black Americans have less in investments and savings and higher debt (Oliver and Shapiro 2006) than their non-Latino white counterparts, and the relevance of both for racialized outcomes in homeownership (Boehm and Schlottmann 2004).

The Salience of Intersectional Social Position

In Southside, I found the social position of single black women with children particularly salient to neighborhood and housing experiences. Their particular circumstances as housing seekers and residents and others' perceptions of them each played a significant role in shaping the outcomes of The Bungalows. The salience of their experiences as black women with children first appeared when project affiliates appealed to them with antiquated notions of the “inner-city” to emphasize the importance of homeownership for neighborhood safety. Many Southside residents were skeptical of the plan and insisted on provisions for rentals or townhomes over single-family houses, but when the project affiliates convinced older black women in the community that it would be more than simply new houses—that it would help black families increase safety and stability—the older black women of the neighborhood seemingly gave their support.

In their outreach to Southside residents, project affiliates invoked the benefits of homeownership for the non-homeowners, a message that resonated most with older black women in the community. When John spoke of the public outreach for the Bungalows, he proudly said that “the older black women who have been in the neighborhood their entire lives” were active participants and “the most receptive.” When Jennifer discussed the outreach, she said that older black women were told “this [homeownership] is going to help with the drug problem and violence” and added that, as a resident of the neighborhood for a few years now, she knows that many of those women had “sons that were victims of gang violence decades ago.”

Stereotypes about the inner-city and fear associated with it can be sourced back to the 1970s, when many of these women were residents of a Southside experiencing the aftermath of the Durham Freeway construction, and also subject to ubiquitous assumptions that urban poverty

was a product of a “tangle of pathology” of delinquency, educational deficits, and crime (Moynihan 1967). Media and cultural representations of segregated black neighborhoods continued to associate poverty with the “tangle of pathology” well into the 1990s (Quillian 2012). Even the *New York Times* produced stories on the “inner-city” drug and crime epidemic and its ills that featured claims about “the destruction of the nuclear family among black people, particularly in a population where more than half the families are headed by women” (Kerr 1987).

To appeal to those most troubled by memories of the Southside of a past era, project affiliates repeatedly asserted that the program would be “more than bricks and mortar”—not simply a way for the City to increase its tax revenue (Housing and Community Development 2012). Brother Kay, a resident of Southside his entire life, explained:

We knew what was ... well ... you know, there was all kind of crime and all, back in the day. We was what you call a target neighborhood. But we were organizers for a vision we had, fruit trees, walk-ability. I can let you see that document another time. Ecovillage. That’s what we were trying to do. The city’s been in over here for the long haul. They’ve been cold and ... you know. The city’s always been in here. But that’s the thing. That’s the reason the place got in the bad state it got in. It’s a historical process. That you just ... some people might wonder, how could somebody 40 or 50 years ago envision that downtown was gonna come back. And when it comes back like a river, it needs to claim its border. And Southside is part of downtown borders for the new thinking. When they came in and they acted like oh this will be a weed and seed community—more than bricks and mortar—I say, bullshit....I used to tell people, when you see somebody stand at the top of the hill and say, “That’s a wonderful vista,” our neighborhood is gone.

They're getting ready to take our neighborhood. They don't care about vistas. When they say "vista" that sounds like somebody wants to build a wonderful house. They don't care about community or crime, they care about their taxes.

Skeptical from the beginning, Brother Kay's account speaks to how appeals to the older black women of Southside were necessary to garner apparent support for the program and construct appealing optics ahead of its presentation to City Council.

The intersectional position of black women with children also proved consequential in the City's pre-approval process for the affordable houses. Black women with children were the most likely to begin the application process but also the most frequently rejected.⁶ Sixty-seven black women applied for the program—44 of whom were unmarried with children—but only five made it through the pre-approval and down payment processes required by the City to the final stage of housing obtainment. John again relied on outdated ideology of the inner-city to explain the disparity:

You know, it was common for them to start the process then to have their mothers talk them out of it. And basically they said, "That's the 'hood. You know, I got out, you shouldn't go...be going back." I was seeing the same thing elsewhere, where we had blighted properties and were redeveloping for new homeownership opportunities, and it was next to impossible, uh, to persuade a young African-American family to buy the home.

⁶ Out of the share of black women with children who applied, only 9 percent of black women with children were approved (constituting 6.5 percent of all applicants and 4 percent of the black applicants). Black women with children were the most represented group in the applicant population, followed by white men. Of the 32 white men who applied for the program, 60 percent made it to the private mortgage stage.

Sharon, a single, black mother who started the process but withdrew, offered a different account. Expanding on her earlier account, she touched on the intersectional difficulties faced by black women with children:

I don't have the same job as Jennifer—she's in the back, she does the co-op *business*. I work on the floor and I get paid minimum wage. I don't have debts, my family always helped me and I been at the co-op for...about five years. But I never imagined a house until Jennifer mentioned it...and it turns out it wasn't for me. I think they [the City] wanted people who don't have kids... They [the City] didn't turn me away right away or anything but they wanted me to go to them with all of this stuff. Like in person, go down to the City. When I get off [work] I am with my kids.

Rather than an affordable housing option with eased barriers as John described, Sharon described a constrained choice. Her experience was plagued by the City's ignorance of her familial and occupational demands, which caused her great frustration and stress.

Sharon's account echoes studies that show that unmarried women with children face unique barriers in affordable housing obtainment and retention. The ideal family in U.S. society equates non-nuclear family structures with poor values, "broken" homes, and children in need of discipline and supervision. In housing specifically, the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) has a long history of using its discretionary power to enforce hegemonic definitions of the family by serving "no-fault" evictions disproportionately to non-nuclear families. Similarly, local housing authorities have enacted provisions that require "caretakers be the legal guardians of children living with them in federally-subsidized housing" that exclude non-nuclear family structures—more common amongst black women—from public and subsidized housing (Vale 2002:299). Sharon's struggle to participate in the program because of

its neglect of her position as a working mother speaks to the barriers faced by single black women with children in attaining housing in general, but particularly affordable housing, which requires those with already low-incomes somehow gather class-based resources to navigate the bureaucratic process.

The intersectional position of black women with children proved consequential once more in the final stage of the affordable homeownership process. The Southside Revitalization was approved in 2010, just after the Financial Crisis gave mortgage lenders the discretion to tighten their mortgage underwriting qualifications. At the same time, the urban resurgence brought many competitive 80 percent Area Medium Income (AMI) applicants for the down payment assistance provided by the City and its nonprofit partners. The standards used by private lenders to determine fitness, readiness, and risk of potential home-buyers for mortgages show that of the applicants who made it to this stage, all of the non-Latino white and Latino applicants obtained the required mortgage and went through the other requirements (e.g., housing counseling) to close on a Bungalow, but only one-third of the black applicants did. Of the five black women pre-approved for the program by the City who made it to the private mortgage stage, none of them closed on a home. When asked why so few black families closed on homes, Perry explained:

We explained that there are a lot of positives to aiming for homeownership to take with the negatives. Positive are more opportunities for families, more ...well, the wealth effect. With new investment, you're growing the number of opportunities and the interest and that builds value. Certainly, that previous neighborhood didn't offer opportunities. Job seekers, residents, people who wanted to live down there. There just...it was limited to a very narrow economic social strata...it depends on your value and what you prioritize,

right? We wanted to build wealth and that required we create opportunities for homeownership but also grow the value of the neighborhood.

Perry's claim inaccurately implies that racial differences in recognition of the value of homeownership can explain the intersectional inequality that black women experienced, but conflicts with City data. Black mothers did not show a limited interest in homeownership—in fact, many applied—but exclusionary institutional experiences ensured they were rejected. Compounding this, since these exclusionary processes happened at each stage of the project, the disciplinary, interpersonal, and ideological experiences of black mothers appeared to result from a fair and democratic process rather than social and cultural capital requirements and discrimination by private lenders (Collins 1990: 265; Branch 2011).

Social and cultural capital produced racialized outcomes at each stage of the process for affordable housing obtainment, but the private mortgage process allowed for subjective evaluation of applicants. Private lenders were able to determine whether an applicant “met guidelines” based on their fit with underwriting standards, which involves judgements about applicant's source of income, family structure, liabilities, and assets. The City assumed that barriers to housing obtainment would be resolved through income assistance and financial literacy counseling, but neglected the competition for downtown housing, distinctions in wealth and social and cultural capital, and intersectional barriers those factors would impose on black women with children in the subjective evaluation for mortgages. Findings show the ambiguous “meets guidelines” qualification produces disparate-impact discrimination in its subjective determination of worthiness and reliability of applicants (Williams, Nesiba, and McConnell 2005:182). The barriers black mothers face in housing obtainment in combination with the assumptions about black mothers, including their risk and unreliability as borrowers and

undeserving nature due to reliance on welfare, naturalized the racialized outcomes of the affordable housing outcomes in Southside.

CONCLUSION

In Southside, the processes to finance, enact, and implement an affordable homeownership effort for neighborhood revitalization posed serious barriers to providing homes to those most in need. With a qualifying income cap that crept higher as the project progressed allowed for great variability of wealth and related social and cultural capital between income-qualified applicants. As a result, the measures required by the City and its partner financial institutions for home-buying readiness—the required flexibility in down payment, taxes, and association funds, and scrutiny of debt and other forms of financial liability—ensured that non-Latino white applicants from middle-class families and currently in “professional” jobs had an advantage over working-class black applicants.

Through my Extended Case Analysis, I show how these processes were realized in various stages of The Bungalows project. In the funding stage, increasingly permissive “affordability” standards allowed those with incomes that nearly matched the Area Median Income to apply and increased the range of class-based social and cultural capital between applicants. In the policy enactment stage, the requirements to qualify for the neglected wealth and social and cultural capital differences that played a significant role in granting non-Latino white applicants the homes. For those who made it through all the initial hoops, the mortgage lenders engaged in subjective evaluations of equally-qualified applicants in the competitive program, which produced disparate-impact discrimination against single, black mothers.

In the end, even those who attained affordable homes concluded that the program resulted in questionable outcomes. As Jennifer said:

I think its intentions were good...but I think the city made the process, at least for the affordable homeowners, difficult for any diversity of a population to get these homes because of the demands and restrictions, and so they didn't get probably the affordable homeowners that would – I don't know, that were actually like more deserve this home like people from Southside or...just more people who don't look like me.

While the findings of this study importantly reveal a previously neglected link between social position and the reproduction urban inequality by showing how revitalization and the promotion of homeownership can induce rapid demographic change, its scope is limited. Incorporation of fieldwork in other neighborhoods undergoing similar revitalizations would Interviews would provide greater insight into how these processes do or do not manifest. Moreover, incorporation of long-term ethnographic field work would provide richer data for confirmatory and contradictory evidence of interview accounts.

To account for the intersectional nature of processes that affect affordable housing obtainment, future research in the housing arena must ask questions relevant to the lived experiences of those affected by interlocking oppressions and seek methods that elevate the voices of those individuals. Macro level research on racial residential patterns and audit studies on gender, familial, and racial housing discrimination can only reveal the consequences of oppressions, not the intricate intersectional processes that reproduce housing inequalities. Qualitative attention to the intersectional position and experiences of housing seekers and will allow scholars to more fully understand and address those practices that maintain racialized, classed, and gendered patterns in housing obtainment and their legitimization through seemingly equal, democratic opportunity. In order to fully appreciate and confront housing and

neighborhood inequality and its consequences, scholars must account for the intersectional nature of oppression in practices that affect housing obtainment, retention, and residence.

DISCUSSION

Previous scholarly work suggests the importance of race, class, gender, and family status in creating homeownership disparities, yet few scholars have utilized an intersectional approach to understand its persistence or how these disparities bear on the outcomes of mixed-income redevelopments. In Southside, working-class people of color—women in particular—were less likely to close on an affordable Bungalow than qualifying non-Latino white applicants. Even when they completed the application process and met all “on paper” qualifications, the non-Latino white applicants’ background in middle-class families and communities equipped them with class-based advantages in wealth and related social and cultural capital over black applicants of similar income.

The emphasis on homeownership as the preferred housing tenure in federal and local policy has historically entrenched racial, class, and gender disparities in housing obtainment and institutional processes guarantee transmission even when housing is made affordable. In future housing and community development efforts, municipalities should reevaluate the promotion of homeownership as a component of any plan intended to benefit low-income people. Under neoliberalism, reliance on a multitude of public and private partners and funding sources in increasingly underfunded housing departments makes it difficult to control all elements of an affordable homeownership plan and its stipulations.

The outcomes of The Bungalows at Southside demonstrate the difficulty in overcoming barriers to housing obtainment for those who most need affordable housing through homeownership. Even homeownership efforts that include measures to bridge gaps in

participation, wealth, and “financial literacy” are subject to class-based demands of the home buying process and raced, classed, and gendered evaluations of responsibility and mortgage worthiness. To lessen the risk of rapid demographic change, preferable strategies to homeownership for revitalization of low-income communities of color include: a focus on developing amenities, organizational infrastructure, and public spaces, refurbishment of existing homes/rentals, and the development of affordable rentals for stewardship under a community land trust (Fraser, Chaskin, and Bazuin 2013).

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CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION

In Durham, North Carolina a debate recently ignited over draft plans to connect downtown to a historically black, low-income neighborhood, with a 1.7-mile greenway on a former rail line. Loaded arguments in support and opposition ensued, including fears of racial displacement, gentrification, and environmental catastrophe. Like each planning issue highlighted in this dissertation, stark racial and class distinctions characterized the sides. Upper-middle-class white homeowners with houses along the downtown stretch of the proposed project voiced confusion at the resistance to carbon-neutral transit. The low-income black and Latino renters of the low-income neighborhood on the end of the proposed route expressed outrage at their need to defend their neighborhood from unwanted, unrequested improvements for the “sustainability class” (Willets 2018). The articles in this dissertation, and the urban planning issues they interrogate, speak to the importance of the physical environment for social life. Cities and their neighborhoods are constituted of physical space and structures, but imbued with meaning through the social processes they contain. With its mandate to design and construct elements of the physical landscape in low-income central city neighborhoods, housing and community development planning often finds itself accused of ignorance or malice at the center of conversations and debates about the handling of zoning, affordable housing, and revitalization. The impact of its choices reach far beyond their immediate environment (Gieryn 2000: 465).

The rhetoric has changed over time, but the orthodox approaches to housing and community development in low-income neighborhoods lack substantive reform since the 1990s (Harvey 2009). Its policies to increase resident “self-help” with human capital development and housing counseling, to stabilize neighborhoods with new, single-family homes, and to redevelop low-income housing into mixed-income developments, better fit the “inner-cities” described in

policy documents of the Nixon era than the in-demand central city neighborhoods of the present, which have less crime, more amenities, and growing, diverse populations. Yet housing and community development practitioners continue to allege the benefits of these practices in proposals, exchanges with policymakers, organizational/professional standards of their profession, and educational materials.

In the preceding chapters, I investigated the housing and community development practices in low-income central city neighborhoods commonly deemed “distressed”. I provided a critical analysis of urban planners and the ostensibly benevolent actions they take to revitalize neighborhoods to “plan for the needs of the disadvantaged and to promote racial and economic integration” (American Planning Association 2018; AICP Code of Ethics 2018). With a case study of revitalization, a plan to promote low-income homeownership in Durham, North Carolina, and a survey of practicing urban planners, I showed the relevance of sociology to contextualizing the symptoms of urban inequality commonly observed in the literature such as racialized displacement. Urban planners maintain that their practices are in the best interests of the neighborhood and its residents and blame dissatisfaction with planning outcomes on unpredictable market forces beyond their control (Flyvbjerg 1997), but I find their choices—and their ideological influences—more aligned with market interests than they realize or admit.

In this chapter, I integrate the findings of my three articles to articulate an overarching explanation of inequality reproduction through urban planning. I show how planners’ motivations for undertaking revitalization, shaped by neoliberal paternalist ideology, lead them to seek control over low-income neighborhoods to impose their concept of stability, and provide opportunities for low-income residents to reform into the citizens that fit the new neighborhood image. The policies they implement to supposedly provide affordable housing and increase

neighborhood stability align with the standards of their middle-class ideals and expedite market processes of real estate speculation and racial turnover in the low-income neighborhoods. My findings suggest that urban planning as a field justifies each of these actions, as planners' professional socialization activities strengthen support for neoliberal practices. As a whole, my research shows how actors rarely included in scholarship, initiate, expedite, or compound the housing and demographic outcomes commonly centralized in the literature—segregation, racial turnover, gentrification, racialized displacement, eviction, and the suburbanization of poverty—in ideological, professional, and policy processes that long precede those outcomes. I contextualize my findings within the historical and political economic trends that transformed cities and housing and community development from the 1960s to the present.

The Urban Crisis, the Culture of Poverty, and the “Inner-City”

In the wake of the Civil Rights Movement, President Lyndon Johnson charged the assistant secretary of labor, John Patrick Moynihan, with the task of exploring “urban ghettos” for his War on Poverty agenda. Moynihan’s response, “The Negro Family: A Case for National Action” (1967), focused on cultural deficits and faulty family structure in black communities. The report sourced urban poverty to a “tangle of pathology” that included delinquency, educational deficits, and crime, caused primarily by the decline of the black family and reproduced by faulty culture. It drew heavily on the work of anthropologist Oscar Lewis (1966), who argued that unemployment and lack of social mobility result in a “culture of poverty,” characterized by low impulse control, a need for instant gratification, present-time orientation, reckless sexuality, and single motherhood in black communities.

The culture of poverty thesis undergirded urban planning and housing and community development efforts for decades after Moynihan, its influence plain in slum clearance and related

forms of “renewal”, triage planning, and all revitalization with a poverty “deconcentration imperative” (Goetz 2013). Even as sociology moved away from cultural explanations for urban poverty towards structural factors associated with institutional discrimination and exclusion (Wilson 1987; Massey and Denton 1993), the treatment of poverty as synonymous with cultural deficiency and immorality never disappeared. During the “urban crisis” of the 1970s and 1980s, scholarship on the urban “underclass”—those cut off from the labor force with persistently low income (Jencks and Peterson 1991; Wilson 1990)—continued to paint a picture of black “inner-city” residents as welfare dependent and criminal, even as it sourced the original disconnect from mainstream society to structure. Charles Murray defined the underclass as “a certain type of poor person defined not by his condition, for example, long-term unemployment, but by his deplorable behavior in response to that condition, for example, unwilling to take jobs that are available to him” (1994).

The endurance of the culture of poverty in the “inner-city” is owed to its seamless fusion with the myth of meritocracy in the United States—the belief that class position is determined by hard work and merit. Accordingly, the failure of the poor to “succeed” in upward mobility is easily attributable to their failures. The meritocratic myth is so pervasive that even those on welfare (Hays 2003) and in public housing (MacLeod 2009) show evidence of belief in its principles. Coupled with the history of racial oppression and cultural images that perpetuate an association between blackness and criminality and welfare dependence (Hays 2003; Collins 2000), vague references to cultural reproduction of economic conditions commonly explain racial inequality. With the neoliberal shift in political economy in the 1970s, the policy response to central city conditions morphed. Projects began to emphasize market-oriented approaches to capitalize on the inner-city’s “competitive advantages” (e.g., its location and consumer market),

and its “human capital” (Porter 1997). However, the originally implied need—the social ills of the “inner-city” —remained.

Neoliberalism and Neoliberalization

In the late 1970s, scholars in urban geography began to theorize, critique, and show the correspondence between neoliberal ideology and its devaluation of welfare and public goods and the proliferation of public-sector revitalization projects that emphasize competitiveness and poverty deconcentration (August 2016). Neil Smith’s (1979) rent gap theory provided a critique of the dominant approach to understanding land value and urban restructuring out of the Chicago School. He argued that those concerned with urban restructuring and its consequences should redirect their focus to “the sphere of circulation” to show the relationship between finance capital and patterns of urban inequality (Smith 1979:24). As neoliberalism expanded its reach and ideological control, theoretical adherents did as he suggested and documented the development of “a new gentrification” under neoliberalism, initiated by the state in partnership with private developers (Newman and Ashton 2004). Meanwhile, sociologists focused on the social cost of urban restructuring. They showed how the consequences of housing and community development in central city neighborhoods were borne disproportionately by low-income, black residents (Hyra 2014, 2008; Tach 2009; Bucerius et al. 2017), who experienced alienation, cultural loss, and resentment after transformation of their neighborhoods for middle-class residents (Freeman 2006). Between these two broad scholarships—urban geography and sociology—remain the largely unconsidered urban planning profession that mediate the neoliberal political economy and the detrimental outcomes of housing and community development for low-income, black residents.

My research responds to this intellectual gap by drawing upon Marxist theory of political economy and the evidenced racial and class hierarchies in American society for an investigation of how and why housing and community development efforts produce the outcomes urban sociologists observe. In Chapter Two, I investigate the planners themselves, and the beliefs, dispositions, and preferences that contextualize their practices in Chapter Three and Chapter Four. I sought to discover whether planners believe that residents are to blame for their experience of neighborhood “distress” and whether they prefer neoliberal solutions to those issues, and if so, what explains those attitudinal dispositions. I found that a sizable majority of planners are non-Latino white and from wealthy backgrounds, the two social positions my findings reveal to be positively correlated with individualist attitudes towards distressed neighborhoods, or the sourcing of neighborhood poverty to personal failures of the poor. At the same time, planners work within a neoliberal context that distinguishes between the deserving and undeserving poor and filters racial stereotypes of the culture of poverty through a seemingly race-neutral economic lens of self-sufficiency, discipline, and reform. I found that planners experience professional socialization that leads to greater support for neoliberal urban planning policies, regardless of their race and class position. Simply put, urban planners are professionalized to conceive of distressed neighborhoods through a neoliberal lens. The results from the multivariate analysis in Chapter Two show the reach of neoliberalism beyond organizational and institutional agendas to personal perceptions and dispositions. Neoliberalism reduces people—including low-income residents—to “neoliberal investor-subjects” (Langley 2006:919).

In Chapter Three, I explored the motivations and incentives to undertake revitalization—often with methods shown to further induce many negative outcomes for low-income residents—

despite the evidence of capital inflows in central cities nationwide. I focused on the housing and community development practitioners' incentives and motivations for undertaking revitalization of low-income neighborhoods in a "resurgent" city and the implications therein. Using a case in Durham, North Carolina, I showed that their understandings of the low-income Southside neighborhood echoed the "inner-city" of the 1970s. Their motivations for revitalization melded the so-called culture of poverty with the conception of the ideal resident as self-disciplined, upwardly mobile, middle-class, and professional. The project affiliates articulated how the low-income residents deserved a neighborhood transformed to fit the standards of middle-class professionals, and simply lacked the understanding, skills, and competence to achieve it. Accordingly, they treated the transformation of the low-income neighborhood to fit the standards of middle-class professionals as an imperative of their work as housing and community development planners. Acting on their neoliberal paternalism, they used revitalization as the vehicle to institute "spatial poverty governance", to control and reform the poor through market-based welfare policy.

In Chapter Four, I demonstrated some implications of spatial poverty governance by investigating an effort to stabilize a neighborhood with mixed-income homeownership in Durham, North Carolina. I showed that in the case of Durham, beliefs about the low-income residents and their neighborhood paradoxically drove planners to write policies and assume means that excluded the low-income residents most in need of housing. They wrote aspirational policies meant to incentivize professionalism and stability that required low-income residents obtain grants, mortgages, and possess time and financial flexibility. Each requirement was met more easily met by those with the social and cultural capital provided by a middle-class upbringing. Because class divisions are racialized, those able to attain affordable homeownership

were non-Latino white. As a result, the affordable homeownership effort did not prevent middle-class, white influx to the neighborhood, but rather expedited it. Ultimately, the effort normalized and justified state-induced racial and class transformation of the low-income neighborhood under the guise of providing provisions for affordable housing and maintaining neighborhood stability.

Looking Forward

Without reforms, planning efforts that restructure the urban landscape by assuming individual and cultural failings of low-income residents, taking control of their neighborhoods, and implementing market-based solutions to their supposed deficits will continue. As demonstrated in Chapter Two of this dissertation, “affordability” is now commonly invoked to simply lower barriers to market-rate development, often in historic neighborhoods with a large black population, with no guarantee of future affordability. The ubiquity of neoliberal thought has ensured that few in power oppose the logic that simply providing development incentives and permissive development standards will solve the problems of the new urban crisis, in spite of urban geographic scholarship that shows these market solutions to in fact be the cause. Even in the supposedly progressive, diverse City of Durham, planners and policymakers simply assume that there are no alternatives to a market-oriented “trickle-down” approach. What we see in the current era of housing and community development is not simply the “roll out” of neoliberal policy, but a more pernicious state agenda to take control of low-income neighborhoods for maximum development for the middle-class by private market interests while touting a social welfare agenda of “affordable housing.” Neoliberal paternalist housing and community development solutions promote the transition of naturally-occurring affordable housing to luxury condos or single-family homes and for wealth accumulation.

To challenge the current housing and community development agenda, the findings of this dissertation show the need to address the orthodox approach to the practice of housing and community development and the socialization of planners. Right now, in the midst of the affordable housing crisis, housing and community development practitioners are transitioning more, not less, of public lands to the private market. For this I see value in bringing urban geography and sociology research into planning education and planners' research through collaboration. Throughout the 20th century, little work joined sociologists and urban geographers, and even less joined either discipline with urban planning. On this front, the growing popularity of "radical planning" shows some promise. It expressly seeks to integrate the principles of social justice and urban planning to provide a platform for scholarship that challenges the status quo in urban development (Albrechts 2015). Its journals amplify research concerned with power and the control of urban space and resources. Integrating its findings into planning education might be one avenue towards a more critical approach to planning practice. By fostering academic collaboration between fields that produce scholarship on planning's worst outcomes such as sociology and urban geography and scholars that teach urban planning, professionalization processes in planning could expose planners to ideas that better equip them to challenge neoliberal logic and promote alternatives. A greater emphasis on critical scholarship in the academic components of planning training and education must be matched with attempts to temper neoliberal influence on housing and community development.

Since planners are entrusted with housing and community development, they are best positioned to strengthen resident power and control over the processes that transform low-income neighborhoods. Some have posited that providing housing vouchers or subsidies might temper the housing issues concomitant with the urban resurgence (Desmond 2016).

Unfortunately, there is no incentive for private interests to build affordable housing or set affordable rent. If we treat housing like any other commodity, for purchase and sale on the private market, we allow for profit incentives to enter a critical piece of social welfare. A voucher program and renter subsidies simply subsidize developers' and landlords' profits by having the public pay for the gap between private market rent and what low-income residents can afford. Without solutions beyond the private market, profit-seeking will continue to corrupt efforts. Rather than implementing a revitalization program in partnership with private partners, those funds could be used to foster neighborhood organizations that are resident led-and-run, a housing trust, or, ideally, both.

Community land trusts provide an example of a self-sustaining, resident-led, alternative to the private-market housing and community development practices promoted by contemporary urban planners. If planners were to use their power over land use to take land out of the private market for the purpose of creating a housing trust (Fujii 2016) the land would instead be owned by the community or municipality and rented to residents. Rent monies would be reserved for maintenance of the property (Sungu-Eryilmaz and Greenstein 2007), thus distinguished from private market rent, where owners use rent or property resale to gain profit and build wealth. The longest sustained community land trust—the Champlain Community Housing Trust (CHT) in Burlington, Vermont—began with funds from City Development Block Grant funds, the same funds used for the Southside Revitalization project. A diverse group of 15 representatives, or “trustees,” elected by those who reside on CHT property and stakeholders from local government and organizations (including housing and community development planners) control the CHT and its budget, rather than private developers. Now, nearly all (80 percent) of its maintenance funding comes from fees that developers pay to build in Burlington and the subsidized rents that

residents pay to live in its housing (CHT 2016). If planners cede greater control to residents, provide a critical voice against market interests, and offer alternatives to the orthodox approaches in housing and revitalization, they can assist in efforts to reduce urban inequality rather than exacerbate it.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Interview Guide for Planning Professionals

Introduction to study: Thank you for agreeing to be interviewed. I will be asking the Southside project, but also about your professional perspective and the planning profession generally. I am interested in how planners view the work they do and how that relates to their own life experience. [Hand them IRB form and summarize]

First, I would like to learn about your background and current professional position.

Can you tell me a bit about your background?

Can you briefly explain the concept of neighborhood revitalization?

What should the goals of revitalization be, in your opinion?

What role does mixed-income housing redevelopment play in revitalization, in your opinion?

Can you briefly explain your department's involvement in revitalization projects?

Who should benefit from revitalization projects, in your perspective?

Can you briefly explain how you understand neighborhood distress?

How would you explain the concept of "public-private partnerships"?

In what capacity is your department involved in public-private partnerships?

In your experience working on revitalization projects within public-private partnerships, how would you assess the extent to which your organization shares interests with its private partners?

In your experience working on revitalization projects within public-private partnerships, how would you assess the extent to which your organization's interests *differ* from interests its private partners?

What has been [name of company/organization] role in Southside's revitalization?

What was the purpose of the Revitalization, from your perspective?

How do you define success in this case?

What issues is the plan addressing, from your perspective?

What were the origins of these problems?

Can you tell me about the process of making the Plan?

Was the history of the neighborhood considered? If so, how?

I am interested in your perspectives on the ways different groups have been influential in shaping the Plan's implementation. Let us start by talking about the developers in this case.

What effect did the public-private partnership have on the direction of the Plan?

Did your organization's interests differ from the neighborhood residents, from your perspective?

What was required to qualify for the redeveloped homes?

Probe: how was disadvantage/need measured?

Who handles screening for the affordable rental units?

What was the process of applying for the redeveloped homes?

What about the rental housing?

Do you believe everyone had equal opportunity in attaining a redeveloped home?

In your opinion, to what extent has the Revitalization been successful?

What factors do you think contribute to the success and/or challenges of the Revitalization?

What is your sense of how the Plan impacted the existing Rolling Hills/Southside residents?

Was the history of the neighborhood considered in the development of the Plan? In what ways?

Probes: Is race relevant to the neighborhood residents' experience of the Plan's implementation?

Is the history of the neighborhood relevant?

How do you think the neighborhood changed since Phase I? [probe: Why do you think the existing residents left? Demographic change?]

Probe: What about the supply and demand of both affordable and subsidized *rental* housing?

[probe: scale of demolition, lack of long-term affordability]

What is your perception of the neighborhood after Phase I?

The mixed-income strategy has been cited as helping to strengthen the local economy through the creation of jobs across different industries. How and to what extent does the mixed-income development strategy contribute to economic development?

How do you define successful economic development?

Are there any individuals that you would recommend I reach out to interview for this study?

Interview Guide: Neighborhood Residents

Introduction

Thank you for agreeing to be interviewed. Just to be clear, I will be asking the Southside revitalization project, but also about your perspective on the neighborhood more generally.

[Hand them IRB form and summarize]

Neighborhood reinvestment projects by community development departments are often referred to as “revitalization projects”. What should the goals of revitalization be, in your opinion?

How would you define successful revitalization for your neighborhood?

What was the purpose of the Revitalization of Southside, from your perspective?

What issues or concerns was the plan addressing?

What caused those issues in the first place, from your perspective?

In your opinion, to what extent has the Revitalization been successful?

What factors do you think contribute to the success and/or challenges of the Revitalization?

Do you believe the Plan addresses the neighborhood concerns you mentioned? If so, how?

Do you think the history of the neighborhood was considered in the development of the revitalization Plan? In what ways?

What has been your experience working with the project staff (including the City of Durham planners, Self-Help Credit Union, the North Carolina Housing Finance Agency, McCormack Baron Salazar)?

To what degree do you think your perspective on the neighborhood differs from the planning officials?

New residents: What was your experience with the requirements for your home? What was required to qualify for the redeveloped homes? Do you think the requirements were reasonable?

Another resident said that homeownership was not a priority of neighborhood residents, therefore the push for homeownership was not in the interests of the existing residents. How would you respond?

How did you hear about the homes in Southside?

Do you believe everyone had equal ability to attain the redeveloped homes?

How do you think the neighborhood changed since Phase I?

How were you and those you know in the neighborhood affected by the plan?

What is your sense of how the Plan impacted the existing Rolling Hills/Southside residents?

Some activists have said too little was done stabilize the rent of existing residents, and consequently, many are being priced out. Living in the neighborhood, do you feel that's the case?

Is there anyone you recommend I speak to?

Consent Form for Interview Research Participation

Study Title:
Mixed Income Housing as Economic Development

Principal Investigator:
Tessa Permut, M.S.
tpermut@ncsu.edu
IRB Study
Number: 12641

I am a doctoral student at North Carolina State University. I am conducting a research study, which I invite you to take part in. The purpose of the study is to help urban planners revise and perfect policies and practices to best assist disadvantaged communities in community development and affordable housing. I am doing this study with guidance of faculty at NC State and the Department of City and Regional Planning at UNC-Chapel Hill. This form has important information about the reason for doing this study, what we will ask you to do if you decide to be in this study, and the way we would like to use information about you if you choose to be in the study.

You will be asked to answer some questions about your background, your perception of the Southside project, and your perception of urban planning and its goals as a profession. Study participation will take approximately one hour. Your participation in this study does not involve any physical or emotional risk to you beyond that of everyday life. If you are uncomfortable with any of the questions, you are free to not answer or to skip to the next question. As with all research, there is a chance that confidentiality of the information I collect from you could be breached – I will take steps to minimize this risk, as discussed in more detail below in this form. Taking part in this research study may not benefit you personally, but we may learn new things that will help others in the urban planning profession to better assist communities and therefore residents of future redeveloped neighborhoods. Taking part in this study is completely voluntary. If you choose to begin the study you can withdraw at any time without consequences of any kind. Participating in this study does not mean that you are giving up any of your legal rights.

The records of this study will be kept private. Your study data will be handled as confidentially as possible. Results of this study may be used in publications and presentations. If results of this study are published or presented, individual names and/or identifying information will not be used unless you give explicit permission for this below. To minimize the risks to confidentiality, I will securely store interview tapes and password protect and encrypt interview transcripts. If you have questions or want a copy of the interview transcript contact me at the email address or phone number above.

Consent for use of identifying information:

_____ (initial) I agree to allow the researchers to use identifying information collected during this study in reports.

_____ (initial) I agree to allow the researchers to use identifying information collected during this study in presentations.

_____ (initial) I agree to allow the researchers to record and transcribe audio collected during this study.

Statement of Consent: I have read the above information, and have received answers to any questions. I affirm that I am 18 years of age or older. I consent to take part in this research study.

Participant's Signature

Date

APPENDIX B

Survey Instrument

For my dissertation I am conducting a study on how urban planners think about planning, their motivations, and their backgrounds and I am asking for your participation. Your responses are critical to this study and will help us to better understand the planning profession.

Participation involves completing the following survey that will take about 15 minutes.

Participation in this study is anonymous; no participant names will be collected. The results of the survey will be reported only on an aggregate level to ensure anonymity for all respondents.

There are no risks involved in participating. Completion of this survey is entirely voluntary and you may choose to withdraw at any time. Your completion of this form acknowledges your permission to participate in this project.

If you have any questions or concerns regarding this study, please contact the primary investigator, Tessa Permut, at tpermut@ncsu.edu.

Draft Questions for Survey

Block 1

Do you identify as a man, woman, or other?

Man (1)

Woman (2)

Other (3)

Which race and/or ethnicity best describes you (Select All)?

American Indian or Alaskan Native (1)

Asian / Pacific Islander (2)

Black or African American (3)

Latino (4)

White / Caucasian (5)

Multiple ethnicity / Other (please specify) (6)

What is your age group?

18-25 (1)

26-30 (2)

31-50 (3)

51-65 (4)

>65 (5)

Prefer to not answer (6)

When you were growing up, were your living quarters owned/mortgaged or rented?

Owned or mortgaged by someone in your household (1)

Rented (2)

How would you describe the community in which you lived during high school?

Suburban or Small Town (1)

Urban (2)

Rural (3)

Which of the following best describe the dwelling in which you lived during high school?

Apartment (1)

Townhouse (2)

Duplex or divided single-family house (3)

Single-family house (4)

Which of the following best describes the community you currently live in?

Urban (1)

Suburban or Small Town (2)

Rural (3)

Which of the following best describes the dwelling you currently live in?

Single-family house (1)

- Apartment (2)
- Townhouse (3)
- Duplex or divided single-family house (4)

What is the highest level of school you have completed or the highest degree you have received?

- Less than high school degree (1)
- High school degree or equivalent (e.g., GED) (2)
- Some college but no degree (3)
- Associate degree (4)
- Bachelor degree (5)
- Graduate degree (6)

If What is the highest level of school you have completed or the highest degree you have received? = Bachelor degree

Or What is the highest level of school you have completed or the highest degree you have received? = Graduate degree

Display This Question:

How did you finance your college degree? (check all that apply)

- Financial Aid (1)
- Inheritance/parents/benefactor/trust (2)
- Need-based scholarship (3)
- Merit-based scholarship (4)

Is your current residence owned/mortgaged or rented?

- Owned or being mortgaged by you or someone in your household (1)
- Rented (2)

Father or male guardian's highest level of education attained:

- Some high school (1)
- High school graduate (2)
- Some college (3)
- College graduate (4)
- Some graduate school (5)
- Graduate degree (6)
- N/A (not raised with father or male guardian) (7)

What is your current household income?

- \$19,999/year or less (1)
- \$20,000–\$49,999/year (2)
- \$50,000–\$99,999/year (3)
- \$100,00–\$199,999/year (4)
- \$200,000/year or more (5)

Mother or female guardian's highest level of education attained

- Some high school (1)

High school graduate (2)
Some college (3)
College graduate (4)
Some graduate school (5)
Graduate degree (6)
N/A (not raised with mother or female guardian) (7)

During the course of your childhood (birth –18), how frequently do you recall the following activities happening? Never (1) Sometimes (2) Somewhat frequently (3) Frequently (4) Very frequently (5)

Your family listening to classical music in your home (1)
Attending art museums/galleries (2)
Attending plays/ musical performances (3)
Receiving music lessons (6)
Participating in dance lessons/dance team (7)
Receiving academic tutoring (9)

Which best describes your high school?

Public magnet (1)
Public non-magnet (2)
Religiously-affiliated private (3)
Non-sectarian private (4)
Home schooled (5)

Since age 21, have you been a member or participant in (check all that apply):

A professional organization unrelated to urban planning (such as the Bar Association or a union) (1)

A sports or recreation organization (such as a golf club, soccer league, or run club)? (2)

A cultural education or hobby organization (such as an improv group or book club)? (3)

A religious-affiliated group (such as a church or synagogue)? (4)

A school group, neighborhood, civic or community association (such as neighborhood watch)? (5)

A service club (such as Habitat for Humanity, Knights of Columbus, the Legion)? (6)

A political group (such as a Political Action Committee) (7)

Block 2

If What is the highest level of school you have completed or the highest degree you have received? = Bachelor degree

Or What is the highest level of school you have completed or the highest degree you have received? = Graduate degree

Display This Question:

Did you take courses in urban, city, or regional planning as an undergraduate?

Yes (1)

No (2)

If What is the highest level of school you have completed or the highest degree you have received? = Graduate degree

Display This Question: In what discipline did you attend graduate school?

Urban, city, or regional planning or design (1)

Business (2)

Landscape architecture (3)

Economics (4)

Law (5)

Public Health (6)

Other (please list) (7) _____

Do you read any of the following? (check all that apply)

Planning (the monthly magazine of the American Planning Association) (1)

JAPA (2)

City Journal (3)

Urban Land (4)

GOOD Magazine (5)

Planetizen (6)

CityLab (7)

Strong Towns (8)

Shelter Force (9)

Which professional conferences do you attend?

APA National Planning Conference (1)

CNU (2)

ACSP Annual Conference (3)

Urban Land Institute Fall or Spring Meeting (4)

Local planning conference (5)

Other (6) _____

None (7)

Approximate number of years have you been working in the planning profession:

0-2 years (1)

2-5 years (2)

6-10 years (3)

11-20 years (4)

21-30 years (5)

31+years (6)

Do you maintain any of the following professional affiliations (check all that apply)?

American Institute for Certified Planners (1)

American Planning Association member (2)

Congress for New Urbanism (3)

Association for Collegiate Schools of Planning (4)

Community Development Society (5)

Young Planners Group (6)

Local APA chapter (7)
CZO (10)
Other (please list) (8) _____

Block 3

When you think about a successful neighborhood revitalization effort, to what extent are the following important? Please rate each statement (1-6)

- Attracting middle-class residents (1)
- Construction of new market-rate single-family homes (2)
- Eliminating blight (3)
- Construction of new market-rate apartments (4)
- Economic development initiatives to attract private investment (e.g. tax-incentives for opportunity zones) (5)
- Increased homeownership rates (6)
- Use of eminent domain for acquisition of abandoned property (7)
- Decreased crime rates (8)
- Provision of subsidized housing (9)
- Housing counseling for existing residents (10)
- Public-private partnerships (11)
- New Urbanist design (12)
- Creation of mixed-income housing (13)

Please read the following sentences and indicate your agreement or disagreement (1-6)

Respect for authority is something all children need to learn.

I am proud of my country's history.

Men and women each have different roles to play in society.

I think it's morally wrong that rich children inherit a lot of money while poor children inherit nothing.

Competition is a good way to discover and motivate the best people.

Personal income should not be determined solely by one's work, everybody should get what he/she needs

Gentrification can be a good thing

Please read the following sentences and indicate your agreement or disagreement (1-6):

"Distressed neighborhoods are the result of ..."

A lack of amenities that makes it challenging to attract businesses (1)

Weak workforce training that fails to connect people with available low-skill jobs (2)

High crime that deters private investment (3)

A lack of skills to work at the competitive level that is necessary to make it (4)

A lack of motivation (5)

A lack of education (6)

Low levels of financial literacy (7)

A lack of human capital (8)

A low level of individual responsibility (9)

A culture which perpetuates welfare dependence (10)

Mothers having children outside of marriage (11)
A culture which does not teach how to save, spend, or manage money wisely (12)
An absence of middle-class values (13)
A society in which the wealth of some is contingent on the poverty of others (14)
Discrimination against minorities and the poor (15)
An economic system that fosters competition over cooperation (16)
The poor being taken advantage of by the rich (17)
The low wages some businesses pay (18)