INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

From CONTESTED_CITIES to Global Urban Justice

Stream 2

Article nº 2-013

ACTUALLY EXISTING POLITICS OF SCALE

SIRI J. COLOM

ACTUALLY EXISTING POLITICS OF SCALE

Siri J. Colom

Connecticut College

scolom@conncoll.edu

ABSTRACT

This paper looks at the challenges of scalar politics from the grassroots by examining the pro-tracted struggle of public housing in New Orleans post-Hurricane Katrina. Much of the work on scalar politics does not fully take into account systems of domination outside of class, and many address scale only from the intersection of the urban with the global. However, when we con-sider politics from the ground up and the possibility of scalar political action, the way in which race operates adds a complicated set of challenges to class-based tactics. In New Orleans the stigma of public housing residents was layered upon claims that the housing units had been de-stroyed in the flood. This complicated one of the key tactics, that of occupation, as racialized discourses were mobilized to delegitimize the protest actions and delegitimized some of the broader (scalar) claims. The article follows a struggle that embodied the complexity of the claims around participation and belonging at the heart of a scalar politics.

KEYWORDS: Politics, Race, Housing, Scale, New Orleans

1. INTRODUCTION

One the of challenges of the "right to the city" is in imagining the scalar political practices generated in response to the neoliberal city. Building on Lefebvre's concept, Purcell (2002) suggests these new scalar practices would emerge within two areas: first, a rescaling of democratic participation and the rescaling of how political belonging is defined and determined. Much of the work on politics of scale (Brenner 1999, MacLeod & Goodwin 1999) or on the production of scale (Smith 1992) have analyzed politics from the perspective of change in the political economy of the city, particularly as it relates to globalization. Less work analyzes the on-the-ground scalar nature of the politics of response to neoliberal urban governmentality. But how do "scalar politics" (McKinnon 2010) and scalar practices look from the grassroots? What are some of the difficulties emerging from the practice of scalar politics? This paper explores the question of participation and belonging and the way in which race intersects to complicate political action.

The case of public housing in New Orleans post-Hurricane Katrina provides a unique location to investigate scalar politics from the ground. Public housing is inherently a site of scaled politics: all level of institutions meet from local, to state, to federal agencies. The tactics that residents engaged in to protest the closure of their homes were also scalar in nature as they had to focus on local, state, and federal governing bodies. Their claims were also scalar, by claiming a right to the city while challenging a discourse that relegated them to wards of the state and therefor citizens with diminished rights.

This focus on a local political struggle and local tactics can help us overcome one of the key critiques that has emerged within the scalar literature: that of it's rigid and hierarchical nature which can be seen as "reifying" power as top-down (MacKinnon 2010). Just like actually existing neoliberalism (outside its ideological form) require us to consider the embeddness of places within institutions, social spaces, and particular political times (Brenner and Theodore 2002), actually existing grassroots politics must respond to various scalar institutions, organizations, and social spaces. Hurricane Katrina created an environment ripe for neoliberal policies to rapidly take hold (Klein, 2007). But, many of these attempts were met with local resident's vocal critiques as they saw their homes and lives become the collateral damage of years of negligence. No where was the response more vociferous than around the closure of public housing.

A key intervention of this work is that much of the work on scalar politics does not fully take into account systems of domination outside of class. The way in which race operates requires a different set of tactics. In the case of New Orleans public housing, Black residents did not have a privileged set of protest tools that other groups may have access to. If residents were arrested, they lost access to housing vouchers. Combined with this was the insertion of many families within the racialized incarceration system. Given these constraints residents engaged in what I call a "politics of visibility" that was: first, scalar, engaged in multiple levels of governance (including the international); second, spatial, utilizing the homes and streets as loci of the struggle; and thirdly, was symbolic, protesting the racialized symbolic domination which limited access to the state.

1.1 Background

The story of the closure of public housing in the New Orleans in the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina is one of the great ironies of the rebuilding landscape in the city. During the time when the need for housing was at its greatest, all scales of government worked assiduously to keep public housing units closed and prevent residents from returning.

Public housing stock, much of it built to last a century, was some of the strongest in the city, and had withstood the flood far better than many other similarly situated houses. Nevertheless, the Housing Authority of New Orleans (HANO) declared most of the units uninhabitable and refused to let residents return, even to gather belongings. Because the flood also precipitated a severe housing shortage, the dramatically increased housing costs made finding housing for those same former residents close to impossible. Outside of the structural difficulties of returning to a city without resources, the most difficult hurdle was the social stigma towards public housing residents. Even former progressive City Council President Oliver Thomas stated that the city didn't "need soap opera watchers right now".[1] This struggle over the political belonging of public housing and its residents has continued for a decade since the storm.

Since the 1950s, public housing in New Orleans has been almost exclusively Black, a result of the historical role of the government policies combined with widespread discrimination in creating a segregated housing market. When, in the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina in 2005 public housing was closed and boarded up by local and federal officials, the move was widely seen as an attempt to reduce the poor Black population in the city. In response, a broad coalition emerged to protest the closure and to push to reopen public housing. Former residents were supported by local civil rights leaders, national organizations working for housing rights, as well as young, predominantly white anti-racists volunteers who had come to the city to work around rebuilding. In 2007 after City Council voted to redevelop public housing into mixed-income and private-public funded developments, members of the coalition worked to reconfigure the coalition and scale the claims with a broader focus on housing and the "right to the city."

With this move tensions emerged around the material claims of the local residents and the broader universal claims of the theoretical. The 'real' claims on former leaders of housing and work to support families, meant many individuals faded to the background, whereas some former residents became almost career protesters as time went one. But they continually had to fight the insidious ways in which race confounded political actions of protest.

2. METHODS

Research for this paper emerged from a larger project that focused on three post-Katrina housing struggles. Research involved multi-qualitative methods of in-depth interviewing, archival research, and participant observation. Fieldwork was conducted for 18 months during 2010-2011 with smaller site visits earlier in 2007, 2008, and later in 2012, and 2015. The latter included hundreds of hours of attending public meetings, board meetings, organizing meetings, as well as, participating in volunteer work throughout the city, and attending and participating in protests and cultural activities throughout the city. The research utilized for this paper also involves in-depth interviews with key figures involved in public housing activism, local housing officials, and former residents. It utilizes historical research of archival data from directly after the storm (2005-2007), and finally it includes ethnographic research of housing protests, court hearings, public forums, city council meetings, strategy gatherings, and everyday life in the community around public housing.

3. THE PROBLEM OF VISIBILITY

Some identities are less open for negotiation, they have become in Sara Ahmed's (2004) language "stuck" to particular figures, making it more difficult to be seen as equals in the

---

[1] Cited in Flaherty (2010), originally from the editorial, "No Welcome Mat?" Gambit Weekly, February 28, 2006.

political sphere. Rather, visibility works against them, especially the way in which the visibility of gender, race, class, and space come together in the figure of many former residents. Often represented by powerful women in public housing, they were also coded by political leaders and through the local media as examples of 'the problem'. Like Rep. Baker from Baton Rouge who demurred, "We finally cleaned up public housing in New Orleans. We couldn't do it. But God did.", many openly viewed the flooding of public housing as answering a political need to rid themselves of a "problematic" group.

Those who are most vulnerable to market forces are nominally 'protected' under a shrinking welfare state, while at the same time, their inability to effectively engage in the market criminalizes them (Wacquant, 2001). Race, combined to render residents in New Orleans public housing that much more visible. This placed those who receive any form of welfare, in particular housing or food, in a difficult double bind: increased stigma comes with nominal state protection as well as surveillance. And because state assistance almost never serves as a means for social mobility, it only increases the stigma associated with being a welfare recipient.

The politics of belonging in the struggle around public housing reflect the tension between the expulsion of a particular group of people from the political sphere (poor and black), and the desire of those who are excluded to assert their place and become politically "visible" particularly outside of the city to the state, national, and even international audience.

3.1 Myth of Destruction

One of the most oft repeated lines from agencies and groups responsible for overseeing the repair of New Orleans public buildings was that the reason for demolition was due to the building being "destroyed" and "beyond repair" because of the storm. This myth of destruction— was repeated in each press release and in every media report.[2] While the level of destruction for many buildings was significant, the truth was more complicated. Many building sustained severe damage that required, in some cases, millions of dollars in repairs. This myth was repeated over and over again in official statements and in private conversations. Needless to say, in order to convince the public that buildings were too damaged to repair, required that no one be allowed back in the buildings. If the myth of destruction was to be believable, no one could have access to the buildings as people willing to clean and restore their old homes or workers willing to restore their hospital would clearly prove this myth false. In both cases, this is exactly what happened.

The Housing Authority of New Orleans's (HANO) website claimed that much of the public housing stock was destroyed as a result of Hurricane Katrina: "Much of HANO's housing stock was destroyed in 2005 as a result of Hurricane Katrina" (HANO 2012). The evidence is that many of the buildings were far from destroyed. In fact, besides reports to the contrary (Ouroussoff, 2007), most of the housing was repairable. And much of the disrepair was evidence of pre-Katrina disregard. As interviewees pointed out, no one seemed concerned *before* the storm about the level of disrepair. Edward Goetz (2013) has remarked that a "discourse of disaster," justified demolition well before the storm, since the 1990s. Thus, notion of disaster from without (through a flood) compliments the already strong discourse that they were destroyed from within as well.

In 2006 the Loyola Law Clinic hired Juan Fernandez, an Associate Professor of architecture at MIT to do an independent assessment of the Lafitte projects. Looking a sample of 140 of the 850 apartments he concluded, "no structural or nonstructural damage

---

[2] Despite repeated reports by engineers and architects that the buildings were sound and worth repairing rather than replacing.

was found that could reasonably warrant any cost-effective building demolition."[3] This did not stop every public official from continuing to claim that the reason they were redeveloping the "Big Four" (C.J. Peete, St. Bernard, Lafitte, and B.W. Cooper) was because of damage sustained during Katrina. No official responded directly to the study.

Other times, the common sentiment was that the only way for a 'fresh' beginning was to destroy the buildings themselves[4]. The meanings and history of the buildings threatened the new vision for the institutions and the city. This cultural memory and the attachment of the developments to the Black community is the least tangible yet in many cases the most powerful. This worked both ways, local leaders representing the establishment did also not want buildings that housed deep memories. The public housing 'bricks' with their colloquial names of 'magnolia' and 'calliope' held more sway decades after being renamed, and would be hard to sell as mixed-income housing in their old form[5]. Lofts and older manufacturing locations are more palatable locations to reinvent and certainly hold less stigma than public housing. It suggests that we need to consider the power of place that memories housed in physical structures hold in any analysis. The symbolic power they hold, particularly for those who used them, transcends the facts of the flood.

Behind the assertion of natural destruction, it was clear that it was the *people* themselves who were damaged beyond repair. Residents had been called vermin in on-line comments,[6] they were seen as leaches on the system. HANO officials said openly that they wanted to "pass" over people who were not working. (Flaherty, 2010: 186). In one case, a representative from suburban Metarie, next to New Orleans, proposed sterilizing male and female residents in public housing in order to "reduce the number of people that are going from generational welfare to generational welfare"[7] (187). The local daily, the *Times-Picayune*, fed the flames publishing article after article that openly suggested the problem with public housing was its residents.[8]

Some residents became lightening rods for the politics around welfare, poverty, gender and race. To organizers, Shay[9] was a key ally in a fight in which residents were hard to come by. She was glad to speak in front of the camera, often had preacher-like sound bites, and had the time and energy to show up to every protest. Most former residents still lived outside the city since being displaced, many others feared reprisals from HANO if they were to become politically active. And plenty did not have the time nor capacity to come out and protest.[10]

To opponents of government assistance for housing, Shay was the poster child of the "welfare queen": living for all but one of her years in some form of subsidized housing she represented all that was wrong with government-assisted social service programs. People did not hold back in comments in the local and national papers about the problems they saw with residents of public housing. And there was the "proof" in an article published the day prior to when the order for demolition was to go before the City Council in 2007. In

---

[3] Cited in letter to Alfonso Jackson from the National Housing Law Project, from Aug 31, 2007

[4] This same discourse of destruction emerged in the struggle around the closure of Charity Hospital—the large public hospital.

[5] For example, Charity Hospital would always be understood as providing "charity" which was against the "programmatic requirements" of the new hospital whose leaders hoped to attract new insured customers.

[6] One such example, full comment from NOLA.com posted by deaconblue01 on 12/21/07 at 2:48PM "Many of those poor excuses for humanity are the very vermin living in public housing. That's what people are protesting for? Get real."

[7] The representative suggested men get vasectomies and women would get tubal ligations as a condition of receiving welfare.

[8] Particularly in the six months leading up to the City Council vote on public housing in 2007. I discuss one particular example in the following pages. After that point, it relied on the fair and well-researched writing of Katy Reichdahl for its housing coverage.

[9] The name is a pseudonym, however, she became a major public figure and will be easily identifiable for a local audience.

[10] see Luft and Griffin (2008) for an good analysis of gender and housing in New Orleans after the storm.

the article, Shay talks about difficulties of living on the edge, while she is provocatively photographed with a wide-angle lens to highlight her large screen TV and brightly colored flowers on the coffee table (Weaver, 2007). Several interviewees said the article represented months of biased coverage in the *Times-Picayune*, which made very clear in news coverage and editorials where it stood on the question of demolition.

An organizer pointed out with some exasperation that there was little wiggle room for people who live close to the edge. Any day they miss work is money they cannot use to feed or clothe their family.

> "Nothing can really be done to fix it…the federal government is in charge of dealing with poor people, so there will never be a policy that addresses it adequately. It's a two-tiered system [for low-income people]: anyone who can afford market rate does, but then has to face the vagaries of the market, and possibly homelessness, foreclosure, or doubling up. Or you are one of the few people who has a voucher and you hold onto that for your life because you see how unstable the market it, but then you spend your entire life being criticized for being a welfare queen."[11]

There was great frustration from organizers at the double bind that former residents were in which made them less likely to be visible on the front lines of protest. It also represents one of the key dilemmas of scalar politics within racialized regimes of domination. Residents and allies aimed to focus the issue on housing and the right of former residents to return to their housing, but constantly had to battle with the discourse of the "worth" of the residents. Residents continually noted how they had to justify their belonging and their ability to participate in the future of the city.

3.2 Occupation

Occupation was a key public tactic that those struggling for housing rights of the former public housing residents utilized. Building on local (Black Panthers to pre-Katrina organizing in local public housing), national (Right to the City Alliance) and international movements to claim housing and land as a right, the tactic of reclaiming the public housing unites, streets, public space, and public meetings became a key form of protest, it was within these occupations we see the key role that the police played in limiting the capacity of the protesters to re-open public housing.

There were a number of key occupation of public spaces. Each occupation was met with force. I will focus briefly on three. Each also challenge us to think about what "public" means.

3.2.1 Occupying Public Housing

January 2007 on Martin Luther King, Jr. Day a group moved into St. Bernard public housing development. A large crowd of former residents met on the neutral ground near St. Bernard, they cleaned up apartments and readied them to be symbolically lived in. In direct contradiction to the claim they were uninhabitable, they threatened to destabilize the Housing and Urban Development (HUD) and HANO's argument. Quickly, HUD and HANO sent injunctions to have the people removed (Hammer, 2007). Lawyers working for the former residents claimed that people had a right to return to their homes. Even as renters, they held legal leases. They pointed out that the audit showed the units could be rehabilitated and that another engineering study supported the structural integrity of the buildings. HANO attempted to gag a lawyer working for former residents asking him to refrain from, "prejudicial extrajudicial statements to the press and others." They also

---

[11] Interview notes, 10/17/10

threatened to bring him before the bar association if he continued to speak to the media.[12] Finally, in the early hours of the morning on January 31, 2007, while most of the media slept, a SWAT team removed the occupiers and arrested two non-residents.

3.2.2 Forcibly Expelled from a Public Gathering

December 20, 2007 was the watershed moment for public housing in New Orleans. The vote to demolish was to come before City Council and the few months prior there were numerous actions around the city in protest of the possible demolition. Those pushing to reopen the developments were gathering in full force to protest the meeting and the assumed outcome. Up until that day people assumed the final vote would be 5-2 in favor of demolition. The final 7-0 came as a shock to most except a few who received warning of the impending vote late the night before.[13] Protestors arrived early, and found City Council chambers full of people with no connection to housing. Without warning the doors were closed and no one else was allowed in. Standing outside, the numbers continued to grow and the police were called in to hold the line between the metal fence that separated the City Council chambers from the outside[14].

There was a tremendous amount of rage at the police from residents who wanted to get into the meeting, most had no idea that similar strategies were being used inside to contain dissent. One woman yelled, "You come MACEing these people out here and tazing these people out here cause they're standing for their rights. You goddamned right I'm pissed off, you're doing it to my people, my people!" One pastor who had made it into City Hall chambers cried out, "Let the people in! Let the people in! There's seats right there…and right there! What is wrong with you all!" Inside, as emotions escalated, police began to forcible subdue some of the protestors. Suddenly, the police grabbed one man pushing him to the floor, and pandemonium broke out. The video recording the meetings for live streaming suddenly turned off. While in the background you can hear a quiet incredulous voice asking, "this is America?" (see endnote above for source of videos).

Many of those involved in the struggle up to that point were devastated. "It was depressing and I don't think we ever recovered," said one person.[15] Another said,

> "No one knew what to do. Everyone was really depressed… The way they took down the buildings was by taking down a corner of the building and leave them open. You could look in and see full family rooms, you saw furniture and pictures on the wall. It was sitting like that for months."[16]

A number of important activists become seriously ill during in the process and as they left to recover there was a vacuum of leadership. Residents felt despondent and those in the city looked for alternative housing. In one meeting that following February, Asante a key local activist, angry at the way the meeting was devolving, shouted, "you know there are no more residents anymore, only former residents."[17] He suggested a need to change tactics and focus, something that was about the right of all people for housing. As one person said, "That meeting seemed like an important turning point, the two ways to express grief"

[12] letter cited in http://katrinareader.org/police-arrest-public-housing-activists-new-orleans-federal-officials-try-silence-leading-attorney-lo; accessed May 15, 2011

[13] Flaherty suggests the lopsided nature of the vote demonstrates that it was not about money and investment as the housing market in the city was never strong, but was more that the elite (white and black) did not want poor blacks back in the city as they were seen as "criminals and parasites" (Flaherty, 198).

[14] sources of footage from outside: http://blog.nola.com/updates/2007/12/protesters_at_city_hall_are_ta.html & clips sources of video from inside from Luisa Dantas and Michael Boedigheimer of JoLu Productions, Robbie Leppzer of Turning Tide, Jacquie Soohen of Big Noise Films, Broderick Webb, and Mavis Yorks available here: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cMBWAXfGsc4; accessed May 2011

[15] interview, Oct 17 2010

[16] interview, Oct 15 2010

[17] ibid

3.2.3 Arresting the protestors

Memorial Day 2010, a group of housing activists from social justice groups, housing rights work, lawyers, and former residents, gathered near a building that had served as the center of organizing[18]. The event was part of a weekend of activities to commemorate housing and land rights and included representatives from Chicago as well. Two large banners stretched across the group proclaiming, "Housing is a Human Right" and "Right to Return." Other marchers held smaller spray painted posters reading, "Let the people in" and "Bring the People Home". The banners had traveled all over the city, having been unfurled at countless other housing protests. They were also constantly remade as they were confiscated as quickly as created, particularly in 2007 in the lead up to the City Council decision on public housing.

The group walked around Columbia Parc—the new mixed-income development replacing the former St. Bernard public housing complex. They then marched into the leasing office to peacefully sit in the waiting room. They sat down on the floor, the couches, and stood around the edge of the room, chanting, "no justice, no peace" while employees frantically got on phones. Organizers spoke through a megaphone pointing out the multiple reasons former residents had been kept from returning home and the need fight the injustice. People milled around and waited to see who would make the next move, sometimes they chanted, other times they sat and chatted. A murmur of went through the crowd as the New Orleans Police Department's SWAT team arrived. They moved in past the protesters and directly to the video monitors in a small room visible from the main waiting area. Soon after the leadership called for everyone to leave the room.

A few days after the weekend events, police arrived at Shay's door and told her she was being arrested for battery. When she asked for what, they told her for her involvement in the protest. An employee of Columbia Parc was filing charges that she pushed and injured her arm. Asante, reflected on the event and the use of police a number of months later:

> "If you're working for housing for the poor, for public housing, then the police take liberties against poor people and treat poor people in a manner different because they feel that these people don't have the same rights. If you're living in poor neighborhoods, which public housing was the symbol, you were poor you were probably less educated, probably Black, probably a woman, or child of a poor Black woman, probably politically the least probably to participate in normal political system. You were the perfect victim because no one cared about you. They would be more repressive and more brutal in that environment…The real indicator is a lack of material worth. You don't have anything, you don't count."[19]

Even as protests waned around St. Bernard, they were reignited starting in 2011, and continuing through 2015, over Iberville, the public housing development closest to the French Quarter that had been eyed by developers for years. HANO and HUD officials began conducting public meetings in the initial planning stage, unlike the previous developments. Many residents noted the irony. The meeting's purpose, however, remained narrow (Reckdahl, 2012). At one meeting about Iberville redevelopment one woman sarcastically said, "You decide to redevelop our homes and then you ask us what color we want it!"[20] Instead these public meetings diffused the energy of the activity on the streets. Meetings turned into shouting matches, at one point a developer storming out of the room after being shouted down by former residents. But this then gave 'proof' to leaders and developers that they were dealing with unruly residents and their out-of-town instigators. They were able to narrow participation even further by creating a residents group to

---

[18] The following section is from fieldnotes taken during the event, May 28, 2010
[19] Interview Asante 10/6/10:
[20] fieldnotes, Oct 18, 2010

comment on the plan and to serve as the go-between for residents at Iberville and HANO and the developers. The group was given a stipend for their service.

4. CONCLUSION

Public housing units have increasingly become the target of redevelopment through demolition (Crump, 2002; Hackworth, 2007). As the neoliberal state becomes more defined by spaces of exclusion and an atrophied set of formal democratic avenues, which make traditional forms of rights-based protest less effective, some authors have begun to ask what are the possibilities for politics in neoliberal spaces (Tyler, 2013). But it remains important to ask how race intersects in the ability for certain residents to claim a right to the city. In this case, race became a tether that limited the effectiveness of organizers broad claims around rights of housing.

Public housing is situated in place, and it retains a stigma that does not merely cohere to particular bodies but is also located in particular spaces, in this case the urban housing project. Space matters as a location from which to organize, the New Orleans experience highlights how fundamental this becomes, and why tenant-based housing activism is becoming increasingly difficult in the neoliberal city. Stigma is more powerful when attached to a space; and in contrast, a politics situated in participation in and belonging to the city without a physical place looses its efficacy. It also suggests that calls for a "right to the city" (Harvey, 2008) will be ineffectual without first, a space from which organize and second, without addressing the challenges of racialized regimes of domination.

REFERENCES

Ahmed, Sara. 2004. *The Cultural Politics of Emotion*. New York: Routledge.

Arena, John. 2011. "Black and White, Unite and Fight? Identity Politics and New Orleans's Post-Katrina Public Housing Movement" in Cedric Johnson, ed, *The Neoliberal Deluge: Hurricane Katrina, Late Capitalism, and the Remaking of New Orleans*. University of Minnesota Press.

Cass, Julia, and Peter Whoriskey. 2006. "New Orleans to Raze Public Housing." *The Washington Post*, December 8. Retrieved August 13, 2014 (http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2006/12/07/AR2006120701482.html).

Dantas, Luisa, and Michael Boedigheimer. 2007. "New Orleans City Council Shuts Down Public Housing Debate." *Youtube.com*. Retrieved August 5, 2013

Flaherty, Jordan. 2010. *Floodlines: Community and Resistance from Katrina to the Jena Six*. Chicago, Ill: Haymarket Books.

Goetz, Edward G. 2013. *New Deal Ruins: Race, Economic Justice, and Public Housing Policy*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Hackworth, Jason. 2007. *The New Liberal City: governance, Ideology, and Development in American Urbanism*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Hammer, David. 2007. "Housing Agencies Sue to Remove Protesters - Group Is Occupying St. Bernard Complex." *Times-Picayune*, January 23. Retrieved August 13, 2014 (http://www.nola.com/treme-hbo/index.ssf/2007/01/housing_agencies_sue_to_remove.html).

Harvey, David. 2008. "The Right to the City." *New Left Review*. 53:1–18.

Housing Authority of New Orleans. 2012. http://www.hano.org/our_story.aspx; accessed 11/21/14

Klein, Naomi. 2007. *The Shock Doctrine: The Rise of Disaster Capitalism*. 1st ed. New York: Metropolitan Books/Henry Holt.

Luft, Rachel E. with Shana Griffin. 2008. "A Status Report on Housing in New Orleans After Katrina: An Intersectional Analysis." In *Katrina and the Women of New Orleans*, eds. Beth Willinger. New Orleans, LA: Tulane University Newcomb college Center for Research on Women.

MacKinnon, D. 2011. "Reconstructing scale: Towards a new scalar politics." *Progress in Human Geography* 1-16

Ouroussoff, Nicolai. 2006. "All Fall Down." In *The New York Times,* Section 4, Page 1. November 19

Purcell, Mark. 2002. "Excavating Lefebvre: The right to the city and its urban politics of the inhabitant" *GeoJournal* 58: 99–108

Reckdahl, Katy. 2012. "Iberville public housing redevelopment discussion is short on answers" *The Times-Picayune.* May 31. Retrieved 8/8/13. (http://www.nola.com/politics/index.ssf/2012/05/iberville_public_housing_redev_1.html)

Smith, N. 1992. "Contours of a spatialized politics: homeless vehicles and the production of geographical scale." *Social Text.* 33:54-81

Tyler, Imogen. 2013. *Revolting Subjects: Social Abjection and Resistance in Neoliberal Britain.* Zed Books: New York

Wacquant, Loïc. 2001. "Deadly Symbiosis When Ghetto and Prison Meet and Mesh." *Punishment & Society* 3(1):95–133.