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Warped Foundations: The Creation of Home and the Spatial Realities of Homelessness

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Honors Project in American Studies

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To all of my friends who helped me explore these ideas in conversation from their inception until today, thank you. My family, who gave me the opportunity to come to college and link the classroom to the city, also left me with a deep appreciation for the urban and a need to see justice. And finally, to Zoe, who has heard these ideas for a long time and inspires me every day to work, write, and think through her own dedication and brilliance.

Introduction

I spent my teenage years in an inner-ring suburb of Philadelphia, in a 1950's era split-level home with a sizeable backyard and a two-car driveway. This particular situation, with some slight architectural variation, was the norm for that well-established place, one of the older suburbs in the country. However, only a mile from that house was an abandoned state mental hospital. Once considered a new and exciting addition to the Pennsylvania inpatient mental health system, the state hospital eventually became overcrowded and dilapidated, and was finally closed in 1998.[1] Most of the former residents of the hospital, following the national trend of deinstitutionalization, moved to community-based settings, a relocation supported by both advocates for mental health treatment and local politicians, some of whom described the hospital residents as "doing things objectionable to the neighbors."[2] One has to imagine that many of these former patients, while released from the oppressive environment of the state institution, experienced homelessness in Philadelphia at some point; as in other major metropolitan areas, the community mental health settings designed to succeed the state hospitals simply could not handle the influx of patients, resulting in the huge expansion in hypervisible homelessness in the early 1980s.[3] Meanwhile, the hospital lay vacant for years, crumbling on both the inside and the outside and becoming an important landmark for local teenagers, full of feral cats, graffiti, and a permanent smell of marijuana.

Yet the fate of the Haverford State Hospital was always planned to recreate something new, to somehow give something back to the residents who for so long endured those "objectionable" neighbors and the stark emptiness of the derelict complex. Today, 15 years after the hospital closed, the place is unrecognizable. A community

recreation center, several baseball and football fields, five miles of hiking trails, and most importantly, housing, now dot the landscape of the old hospital, now called the Haverford Reserve. But this housing, which ranges from large "carriage homes" with names such as "The Pembrey" and "The Treymore" to luxurious condos for senior citizens (designed in "the traditional Normandy vernacular")[4] carries with it something else: the weight of home. The word itself appears everywhere in the promotional materials, from the main website where all of the different residences are only referred as "homes," not houses or dwellings, to the developers' fact sheet of quotes by residents, where nearly every quote references home.[5] It seems as though in order to erase the past of this land, seen as ignominious at best and either haunted or containing some physical remnant of its former "residents" at worst, the developers and the township have gone to great lengths to emphasize the role of home in this new development.

The story of the Haverford Reserve/State Hospital provides a particularly explicit example of the relationship between home and homelessness in the United States. Throughout this paper, I argue that the two are inextricably and undeniably linked, often obscured by policy or geography yet always connected through the cultural production and material realities of both conditions, housed and homeless. Indeed, the word "homelessness" re-entered the American popular lexicon in the early 1980's to refer to people newly "unhoused" by the economic recession; however, by several years later the term also included other conditions *associated* with homelessness such as vagrancy, substance abuse, and mental illness, showing that the word cuts deeper than the physical structure of housing and instead gets to the heart of who can find "home" in America.[6] Another way to observe the power of naming in the conundrum of homelessness is more

contemporary; the difference between the language of home in the Haverford Reserve, a vocabulary of spending power, choice and individualism could not be more different than the language of "affordable housing" and other nonprofit or government structure geared towards people experiencing homelessness, which emphasizes collectivity, pragmatism, and convenience. It is important to state this up front, if only to create clarity in the understanding that home and house, homeless and houseless all carry deep connotations that cannot interchange with one another. In many ways, this project is an intervention into that space between "house" and "home," where all assumptions as to the power of each become players in the greater search for the end of homelessness, a future sadly distant from our present reality.

In engaging homelessness and home, I utilize an interdisciplinary approach. Many scholars have studied homelessness from several of the key disciplines that I engage in this project, particularly from geography and cultural studies, with a healthy side helping of public policy. But by integrating these approaches, I hope to explore these multidimensional and often tricky issues from all sides at once, rather than only one angle at a time. The choice to engage homelessness through an interdisciplinary lens that utilizes frameworks of critical race theory, critical urban studies, geography, and cultural studies is both an intervention and a statement. In injecting interdisciplinary scholarship into this conversation, I hope to make a meaningful contribution to both academic discussions of homelessness in the separate fields and the ongoing public discourse of how to end homelessness. However, this choice also reflects my belief, which I argue throughout, that we must locate homelessness itself at the intersection of multiple systems of inequality: hierarchies of race, spatial injustice, access to transportation, and,

of course, the system of housing in which all of these inequities remain included. To get a fuller picture of the connections between homelessness and home, the interdisciplinary approach attempts to tie all of these structures to the people, places, and stories engaged throughout the project. The ideas and theories engaged within are not meant to simply represent a random smattering of ideas about home and homelessness from across the disciplines, but rather reflect an intentional process of putting each in conversation with another, both inside and outside of academic discourse and policy-based conversation.

My own work with people experiencing homelessness has profoundly altered my life journey and anchors my positionality in this project. I grew up in several different homes, all of which were stable and safe. As someone who has never experienced homelessness, both my work and writing in the field are grounded in the goal of creating space for critical consciousness and the ultimate realization of empowerment of people experiencing homelessness. Although they never make an explicit appearance in this project, the work of Paulo Freire and Myles Horton foregrounds my own understanding of my position in both writing this paper and working to end homelessness. Freire, who established the role of the facilitator as separate from the teacher in *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, made it possible for organizers working to end homelessness to create situations where people experiencing homelessness are the experts on their own situation. And Horton, who founded the Highlander Center, which served as a major education site for leaders of the civil rights movement, understood the role of an ally in a movement perfectly; he never called himself an organizer, but rather thought of his work as providing a space for analysis and education, which would then become self-organization.[7] In my work at Peace House, which serves as a central point of analysis in

Chapter One, I have tried to embody these values in becoming a facilitator first and an

organizer second. But I have also held jobs and internships that focused much more on

policy or advocacy, and so remain aware of my own role in perpetuating this system.

Likewise, as a white male who grew up in houses owned by my parents in multiple

geographic locations, I write from a perspective of privilege in all of the systems that I

critique in this project. I see this project, through its investment in the interdisciplinary

approach, as a way to continue this practice of facilitation, albeit with a new medium and

audience. I have tried to weave the narrative much the same way as I would facilitate a

conversation, with full awareness of the silenced histories and voices that need to come to

the forefront in order to begin the comprehensive work of understanding and ending

homelessness.

Chapter One begins with an seemingly basic question: Why haven't we ended

homelessness? I present this chapter first partially as a response to the prevailing trend of

spending many words describing a problem and few words focusing on the solution.

However, I also wish to focus the conversation quite clearly on the stories of people who

experience homelessness, and also those who work to end it. This chapter comes first to

highlight the injustice and total unacceptability of our present situation, lest it get lost in

layers of analysis and argument. After a description of the broad picture of homelessness

that is both statistical and spatial, I move to the main focus of the chapter, a critique of

the role of the Non-Profit Industrial Complex (NPIC) in ending homelessness. Using my

own interviews with advocates at nonprofits dedicated to ending homelessness, I show

the ways that the NPIC structures the spatial realities of homelessness through its

infrastructure, and how those spatial realities too often limit the ability for people

experiencing homelessness to create home in such a way that profoundly addresses the structural roots of homelessness. Peace House Community, a transformative drop-in center in Minneapolis, presents an alternative to the structure of the NPIC and the possibility to consider a movement to end homelessness as a movement of resistance, a key idea explored in depth throughout the chapter.

I then turn to the connection between homelessness and the dominant model of home in Chapter Two. An historical examination that of the creation of the dominant model of home through the housing policies of the years immediately after World War II and the centering of the single-family detached house is followed by a geographic study of the connection between this dominant model and homelessness. Using the Twin Cities as a case study, I look at John S Adams' model of housing sectors and use his theory of vacancy chains to further explore the connection between the spatial spread of the dominant model through the suburbs and the options of home available to people experiencing homelessness in the city. The chapter then focuses on the idea of crunch assimilation, which I define as a process of sped-up assimilation forced by the material expectations of the dominant model of home. Crunch assimilation is the product of a reliance on the dominant model of home, structured by the NPIC and brought out through cultural expectations and narratives. The stories from the Minnesota Oral History of Homelessness project are the primary evidence behind this argument of crunch assimilation, alongside an analysis of single room occupancy (SRO) housing as also affected by this phenomenon.

In the final chapter, I show how these connections between home and homelessness are reinforced through cultural production and discourse. I engage several

key texts across multiple periods in determining how the discourse around homelessness initially developed as a commentary on the order of the city. The chapter then moves to a discussion of belonging and fit as seen through representations of home and homelessness in Robert McCloskey's *Homer Price* stories, Barry Levinson's movie *Avalon* (1990), and the recent hit film *The Soloist* (2009). In these texts, home and homelessness are shown as fitting into a natural ordering of the city, where the commodity of the home remains dominant and people experiencing homelessness disrupt the natural flow of people in space, thus showing them as out of "fit." In the final examinations of cultural texts, I look at how this concept of fit plays out in the hip-hop artist Macklemore's song "City Don't Sleep" (2005) and in James Mollison's photographic essay "Where Children Sleep." Both of these texts intervene in the dominant discourse of homelessness, with Macklemore's lyrics explicitly tying the current spatial realities of homelessness to the creation of home and the racialized wealth inequality in the United States at large. Mollison's photographs, meanwhile, suggest an expansion of the meaning of home to include a transnational perspective and a broader definition of how individuals fit into their homes and how those homes fit into the larger landscape.

Home, then, is created through spatial processes and cultural discourses, both of which also structure homelessness and circumscribe the lives of people experiencing homelessness. But "home" itself is not a neutral ground; rather, the dominant model of home lies on warped foundations, battered around by its creation through racist policy and its perpetuation through the lens of a hegemonic representation. The spatial realities of homelessness, which stem from the stigmatization and harassment that comes with

being confined to public space while also excluded from it, also lie at the feet of the dominant model of home. It is a twisted scenario, and one that hundreds of thousands of Americans live on the short side of every day. Yet by stepping into the uncomfortable conversation of homelessness with the perspective of its rootedness in home forms the crux of this investigation. By beginning to draw out the reasons we have not yet ended homelessness, I hope to dig beneath the foundation of the home to find the roots—some economic, some geographic, and some cultural—that bind us all together and can lead to the end of this tangled thread of homelessness.

Ending Homelessness: Why Not?

I guess I'll be referred to the owner's manual full of loners/full of all the homeless

throwaways and the stoners/soldiers of the streets with 8th grade diplomas/ And

the world awaiting their shoulders as a bonus.

"Tip the Scale," The Roots (*Undun*, 2011)

Why do millions of Americans experience homelessness each year? In a nation that has prioritized the creation and promotion of single-family housing since the advent of the New Deal and the dawn of our social safety net, how did (and do) we create such an incredible mismatch between ideas of home and realities of homelessness? Many inequities in the United States can certainly be seen through a geographical mismatch lens, particularly food, transportation, and racial justice. However, in order to understand how a society like ours might go about ending homelessness, we must understand homelessness primarily as existing at the intersection of all of these inequities: race, housing, health, urban planning, and space/place all play a crucial role in the creation and perpetuation of cycles of homelessness today. Thus, I wish to complicate the commonly held notion that the solution to homelessness is simply more affordable housing; while lack of housing is clearly one aspect of experiencing homelessness, other social factors and constructions play a huge role in retaining homelessness as an important piece of the American economic and social fabric. As the epigraph from The Roots suggests, homelessness cuts much deeper and ultimately implicates the privatization of urban space, seen through the marginalization of some to benefit others, all connected by a region and its resources.

This chapter begins an exploration of the spatial realities of homelessness in America by initially attempting to paint a picture of where homelessness occurs and who it primarily affects. With the problem thus clearly defined, the chapter turns to a discussion of modern efforts to ending homelessness, with a critical eye towards the state's handling of the issue through a racialized and spatialized Nonprofit Industrial Complex. Through interviews with advocates, I explore the specific role of homelessness in the NPIC, and ultimately argue that the physical infrastructure of the NPIC structures the spatial reality of homelessness through its interaction with the ongoing forces of capital that constantly act to privatize the space of the city. Using the idea of spatial realities to structure this argument helps connect critical urban theory such as Henri LeFebvre's Right to the City, subsequent analysis on the particularities of homelessness as key to understanding the privatization of citizenship and space, and the theories that structure the NPIC. I argue that the NPIC's physical infrastructure, itself racialized through its interactions with urban space, structures the spatial realities of homelessness, defined as simultaneous confinement to and exclusion from public space.

I conclude with a nonprofit case study through a look at my own experiences at Peace House Community, a site that provides a safe and empowering space for people experiencing homelessness in Minneapolis. In addition to limiting the possibilities of home, the NPIC also tends to paint a picture of homelessness as requiring policy-driven solutions rather than people-driven solutions. Peace House counteracts this by providing a space of resistance that, through intentional conversation, acknowledges the interconnectivity of homelessness with other systems that marginalize people, opening the possibility of a movement to end homelessness that resembles a movement of

liberation more than a movement of policy. Although small in scope and limited in capacity, Peace House offers an alternative notion of what home might look like for people who do not have access to their own private structure, a space of conviviality and solidarity that I argue is necessary in the transformative work of ending homelessness.

Describing Homelessness Statistically and Spatially

Although flawed because of the ultimate transience and liminality of the situation of urban homelessness, point-in-time (PIT) counts remain the most statistically sound way to measure homelessness in a given place at a given time. This particular method of quantifying homelessness, which requires a veritable army of volunteers, has stood the test of time and become one of HUD's requirements for communities receiving federal funding towards ending homelessness under the McKinney-Vento Act of 1987. HUD also places temporal limits on the counts: they must be held at least every other year, always in the last week of January.[8] A typical PIT count might be coordinated by a lead organization, possibly the most active organization in a community's Continuum of Care (CoC), the structure through which HUD distributes funding to every metropolitan area in the country. No matter what agency or entity organizes it, the count inevitably involves many, many housed individuals asking about the housing status of other individuals or families on the street at night. The Census Bureau conducted the first homeless count in 1990, when it was known as "S-night" and consisted solely of interviews on the street; PIT counts today include shelters, drop-in centers, transitional housing, and any other places where people who fit the official definition of homelessness might reside.[9] These changes have largely coincided with a broader understanding of homelessness and now appear less invasive than the previous reliance on dead-of-night conversations with

strangers assumed to be homeless. Unsurprisingly, both homelessness and the system

built to (hopefully) end it and (sometimes) manage it have come a long way since 1990,

both in their understandings of insider/outsider power dynamics and in locating the

spaces in which homelessness exists.

What, then, is the current drawing of homelessness through numbers and maps?

In January of 2011, 636,017 individuals were counted as homeless nationwide through

PIT counts.[10] More were sheltered (392,316/62%) than not (243,701/38%), while more

people were counted as individuals (399,836/63%) than in families (236,181/37%).[11]

Unsurprisingly, some demographic groups are more prone to experience homelessness: 1

in 13 people released from prison or jail experience homelessness in the year following

their release, and for youth released from foster care, the odds are even larger at 1 in 11.[12]

African-Americans are at particular risk to experience homelessness; in 2010, one in

every 141 members of black families stayed in a homeless shelter, roughly seven times

the rate for white individuals in families.[13] Perhaps one of the biggest roadblocks to

ending homelessness is its interconnectivity with the larger systems of education, foster

care and criminal justice, which themselves connect to one another and remain

problematic due to the institutionalized racism running within. These statistics frame

homelessness as at the intersection of these inequities formed around race and class. The

systems at the heart of this intersection carry with them deep spatial inequities as well—

for example, in California, the vast majority of privately-run prisons are located in the

Central Valley, at least 5 hours from the major urban areas where homelessness is

predominantly located, putting incredible spatial strain on families and economies.[14]

Homelessness, therefore, lies at the intersection of multiple spatialized and racialized inequalities, a formulation that proves useful repeatedly throughout this project.

The geography of homelessness today is highly regionalized. The metropolitan areas with the highest rates of homelessness are primarily located in the Sunbelt: Tampa, New Orleans, Fresno, Las Vegas, and Honolulu.[15] Homelessness in these areas, unlike Los Angeles and San Francisco[16], correlates more to the epicenter of the recent US housing crisis than it does to climate or culture.[17] However, the raw population numbers of people experiencing homelessness tell a more expected story of urban America: aside from the Tampa/St Petersburg MSA, the metropolitan areas with the highest homeless populations are those of New York City, Los Angeles, San Francisco/Oakland Bay Area, and Washington, DC.[18] The overall trend of population growth has been towards those Sunbelt cities with higher rates of homelessness over the past twenty years; with this migration comes the dominant model of home, given even more space than before to expand against a less-dense landscape. On a macro-level, then, the geography of homelessness follows the expansion of the dominant model of home.

Overall statistics are important in painting a picture of homelessness as a nation-wide phenomenon; however, an examination of homelessness within a given metro area more clearly displays context and the ways in which homelessness exists at the intersection of American capitalism and a failed, racially overdetermined housing policy. As implied by the epigraph from The Roots at the start of this chapter, homelessness and home cannot exist without one another. It is through exploration of the paths of homelessness at a local level, with the national context as necessary background, that I intend to explore the spatial connection of home and homelessness. In the next chapter,

an examination of housing submarkets and the primary location of homelessness within the Twin Cities metropolitan area focus on this localized analysis. But in order to reach that level analysis, we first need to look at the structures that inform the work to end homelessness, as it exists today.

Contradictions of Compassion: The Homelessness Non-Profit Industrial Complex

Advocates and academics alike have long known that people experiencing homelessness are explicitly excluded from urban public space while simultaneously confined to it. Don Mitchell persuasively argues that homelessness serves a key role in understanding the control of urban space by selectively defining the public, noting that statements in the media associating homelessness with park closures or limitations on use (which invariably link to policies such as divided park benches to prevent "sleeping rough" and regulations regarding "appropriate" public behavior) "ignore the possibility that homeless people's use of a park for political, social, economic, and residential purposes may constitute for them a legitimate and even necessary use of public space."[19] These assumptions, constituted in the cradle of capitalism's appropriation of urban space, create what Mike Davis and other LA School theorists called "zones of containment," contributing to Loic Wacquant's definition of a "carceral city" where "quality of life" and "zero tolerance" carry the day.[20] The spatial reality of homelessness in the urban core thus is one of controlled public space, policed behavior, and limited access to the amenities of the space even as confinement remains in place.

Meanwhile, nonprofit organizations and government programs predominantly organize American attempts at ending homelessness while negotiating this spatial

conundrum. I focus on the nonprofit end of this spectrum here because these organizations work at a variety of levels from grassroots action to policy, whereas the government investment in ending homelessness is purely one of resources and public policy. Officially, the first time that the government first invested in ending homelessness as a policy goal with financial backing came in 1987, with the passage of the McKinney-Vento Act. But communities began responding to homelessness without the benefit of official sanction or support much sooner, particularly in the early 1980's in the midst of the previously-discussed hypervisibility.[21] The heavy involvement of foundations and the state in ending homelessness invites a critique of a structure that often bureaucratizes people in dire situations. By placing homelessness as existing at the intersection of multiple institutionalized spatial inequalities, the connections between the spatial realities of homelessness and the infrastructure created to address it become of paramount importance. Understanding the spatial realities of homelessness leads us towards seeing homelessness as a condition of privatized space and the continuing loss of the city to the interests of global capitalism. Thus, the "blame" for not ending homelessness shifts away from non-profit organizations and instead towards a structure that requires homelessness and housing inequality to continue its very existence—an incredibly important shift when we consider that the entire process for receiving funding to end homelessness hinges on "out-performing" one's neighboring organizations in the eyes of the funding partner.

This fundamental contradiction lies at the heart of the Non-Profit Industrial Complex (NPIC), theorized by the INCITE! Women of Color Against Violence collective, and in particular the writing of Dylan Rodriguez and Ruth Wilson Gilmore. In order to consider shifting ending homelessness from a public policy framework to a movement of

resistance and liberation, we must first attend to the ways that homelessness fits into the NPIC. Rodriguez defines the NPIC as "the set of symbiotic relationships that link together political and financial technologies of state and owning-class proctorship over public and political intercourse, including and especially emergent progressive and leftist social movements."[22] Using the prison industrial complex as an interrelated corollary, Rodriguez carefully shows the central role of foundations and state-sponsored funding of non-profits in the dismantling of radical social movements in the US since the 1970's. The link between the PIC and its non-profit counterpart comes through the surveillance and overpolicing of racialized bodies which he sees as posing a threat to white communities on the Left. The NPIC itself comes out of this surveillance, creating a web of organizations that survive and thrive on funding, which Rodriguez argues actually have enabled "more vicious forms of state repression."[23]

How does homelessness fit into the NPIC? After all, Rodriguez mostly confines his argument to the decline of grassroots movements for racial and political equality, such as black liberation struggles in the US and Palestinian anti-apartheid struggles in Israel; the anti-homelessness movement, if it can be named as such, has little in common on the surface with these movements. However, we must remember that "the NPIC promotes a social movement culture that is non-collaborative, narrowly focused, and competitive."[24] Part of this "culture" is the fundamental contradiction between radical "abolition" work and the need to survive in an economy that capitalizes everywhere, including on the suffering of others, a contradiction particularly apparent in the work to end homelessness. Importantly, measurements of homelessness such as those presented earlier not only help describe the problem but also sustain the financial apparatus that funds organizations

working to end homelessness, contributing to the nexus of government and private

funding that constitutes a non-profit industrial complex.

"Linda," an advocate at an organization working to end homelessness in the Twin

Cities, explains the ways that this culture impacts her work, and her questioning of her

dual role:

> A world without homelessness means that me and thousands of others don't have a
> job, because my whole job depends on there being homelessness. And we have
> created an entire infrastructure, not just here in the TC but all over the country, where
> thousands of us, I mean, are employed because of homelessness existing. And so I
> wonder about that, from both sides. One, how sincere can my efforts to end
> homelessness be if I know that I lose my livelihood if...I mean, can I really work
> authentically to end homelessness, knowing that there's no homelessness means I
> don't have a job. I think that's a question we really have to be honest with ourselves
> about, those of us who work in this field. I have been accused of being a "poverty
> pimp," more than once. And you know, while I get mad and blustery about it,
> somewhere in the dig is a bit of truth, that there are lots of us who are making decent
> livings based on people remaining in poverty and homelessness. And so I think we
> just kind of...have to wrestle with that as a society, and as individuals, what does that
> look like?[25]

As Linda describes, the work to end homelessness has itself become an industry with its

own economic infrastructure, which makes it an integral part of the NPIC. The

infrastructure of ending homelessness, however, is not only economic but also physical.

These physical structures of the homelessness NPIC— shelters, supportive housing, drop-

in centers—contribute to the policing of racialized bodies in the carceral city, hence

forming the *spatial reality* of homelessness defined earlier by the problem of confinement

and exclusion to public space.

The location of the infrastructure of the NPIC further illustrates the key role that

race plays in understanding efforts to end homelessness, not just in the previously-

illustrated overrepresentation of African-Americans but also through how these structures

meant to end homelessness contribute to the racialization of space. In the Phillips

neighborhood of Minneapolis, home to the vast majority of organizations working to end

homelessness in the Twin Cities, people of color make up 60% of the population[26]; with

this comes overpolicing and racial profiling in what has sadly become the usual treatment

of low-income neighborhoods in American cities. People experiencing homelessness,

many of whom don't even stay in this neighborhood, enter into this relationship as

already targeted bodies and as clients of the organizations. Linda's quote below shows

both how homelessness is racialized and gendered and how it again lies at the center of

multiple modes of inequality:

> I think when people think about people in homelessness, they think about African-American men. I think when they think about people in poverty, they think about African-American women and black children. You know, which, the reality is, women and children make up way more of people in homelessness than men of any race, but I think race is a huge factor in all of this. And I think our historical and contemporary racist economic practices have led us to this point in lots of ways.[27]

The NPIC thus lies at the center of the racial and spatial constraints that make up the

spatial reality of homelessness. Into this situation we can read the fundamental

contradiction of the homelessness NPIC as existent on two interrelated planes: one, the

economic problem of paying "professionals" to profit off of homelessness (as discussed

by Linda) and two, the physical infrastructure that, although intended originally to

manage and now to end homelessness, *structures the spatial reality* of homelessness in

the urban core today. The homelessness NPIC thus shows itself as multi-dimensional and

emerges as a lynchpin of punitive urban policy and racialized understandings of public

space, and indeed of the public itself.

Supportive Housing

How do organizations working to end homelessness work to create home within this spatial reality of homelessness? In order to get at this question I found it helpful to imagine a world without homelessness, rather than simply reacting to the daily reality of homelessness. This returns to an earlier point: questioning the solution of housing as the final savior to the person or family experiencing homelessness. After all, we don't construct this phenomenon as "houselessness," but what if we did?[28] What different implications can we tease out from this slight shift in frame? The idea of the integrated city, a city with no visible spatial injustice and people of all kinds of economic means living in proximity, surfaced repeatedly in my interviews. "Fiona," a volunteer coordinator and advocate at a shelter, explained her vision of this imagined place:

> I see a huge expansion of housing. Namely, affordable housing, and in every
> community. You know, this is something that belongs on every block of every
> neighborhood, not just certain neighborhoods. I see...what else do I see...I think I
> see, I mean, even a more fundamental community change beyond what kind of
> structures and buildings do we have for people or what kind of nonprofits are
> open, I think it takes a community that cares, and a community that really
> understands the fundamental value of home, understands the cost effectiveness of
> giving everyone a home, and is committed to that, you know, that says that it's
> completely unacceptable that our neighbors are sleeping outside all winter in
> Minnesota.[29]

In this combination of "house" as physical structure and "home" as a supportive community with an added economic incentive, we see the genesis of supportive housing, which by definition relies on geographic proximity. Robert Rosenheck provides a helpful definition:

> Programs offering such proximal integration of clinical or case management services
> and augmented housing resources are often called supportive housing programs.
> Although there are many variations, all combine dedicated housing resources or
> subsidies with human services that represent a combination of community-based
> mental health services and practical assistance...it is widely believed that these
> services need to be intensive, offering contact one or more times per week; flexible,

practical and community-based rather than office-based, and sustained for many years.[30]

Providers often refer to supportive housing as a model that combines housing and services, and one that remains closely tied to the idea of "housing first." This last model, developed in New York in the early 1990's by Dr. Sam Tsemberis through his organization Pathways to Housing, removes barriers to housing that might result from mental illness or chemical dependency by immediately providing housing, then works with participants to remain in housing and address those barriers through supportive services.[31] Supportive housing, though it is often permanent (referred to as PSH within the community of providers), sometimes requires treatment or psychiatric care prior to entering the program, and thus does not always follow a harm-reductionist housing-first model. However, it does tend to concentrate together more in space, whereas many housing first programs (including the national model of Pathways in New York) use a scattered-site model. This difference in the relationship between housing and urban space found between the models of single-site and scattered-site provides fertile ground for further analysis; I focus primarily on these subcategories of supportive housing as the dominant models used today towards ending homelessness.

In its most basic form, supportive housing clearly imagines a certain concentration of space for people experiencing homelessness with "multiple barriers." The key questions to ask about single-site housing revolve around structures of spatial inequality, rather than around access and mobility. Does it perpetuate a racialized form of space within the urban core? And perhaps more importantly, does it alleviate the confinement of homelessness to one area as in early spatial constructions of Hobohemia/Skid Row, or does it continue the trend of segregating people experiencing homelessness to an area and

punishing them for using the only spatial resources available to them? Answering these intertwined questions requires a re-imagining of the metropolitan area, and returns to the earlier construction of "houselessness." If "home" comes from an apparently equitable distribution of rented and owned housing *obtained at the fair market rate*, it follows that housing that is visibly *not* fair market, such as housing projects and affordable housing developments aimed to house people experiencing homelessness presents an unequal paradigm to that of "home." And if the former creates an "integrated city," then single-site supportive housing simultaneously acknowledges the existence and reality of homelessness within the urban core while creating designated space to house those who have experienced it.

The implications and politics of location remain incredibly central to this analysis. Scattered-site supportive housing clearly takes significant inspiration from HUD's HOPE VI project, which changed the dominant mode of public housing from one of high-rise "projects" to low-rise homes mixed in with private residential housing, partially in response to the deteriorating conditions of public housing but also no doubt understanding the negative public perception that came with them. In a scattered-site model of supportive housing, a person with housing might never know that their new neighbor previously resided on the street or in a shelter, particularly if that area is located far from those in which homelessness remains concentrated. Like decentralizing public housing, scattered-site housing removes some "geography of fear" from the problem of ending homelessness by situating it not entirely in the urban core.[32] However, this de-concentration also leads to the pressure of inhabiting the dominant model of home "home," (indicating the process of private citizenship that, as Kathleen Arnold notes,

"removes personal and emotional considerations from political ones"[33]) particularly when these housing programs place their sites in suburban areas, far from easy access to services and community-based organizations. In the next chapter, I discuss this in depth through the idea of "crunch assimilation," a term which I use to describe the process of attempting to reverse the intersectional inequalities which create homelessness through removing spatial inequalities by suburbanizing homelessness—a process which I believe only hides from rather than confronts homelessness as a reality of a fundamentally unequal urban area.

For now, I want to emphasize that solving homelessness by simply moving people experiencing it to areas where the notion of "home" is particularly stabilized presents a linear model of homelessness that simply doesn't add up to what we know about homelessness as resulting from structures of spatial inequality. The truly revolutionary side of supportive housing, where housing and social work resources are contained within a small area and linked together, presents an alternative model of home that remains community focused; as Fiona notes, supportive housing, when does well, "[is] the structured organized method that people need, but would also be just a bigger-picture support for everyone in the community."[34] By expanding the definition of home from the private commodity to the larger communal asset, place-centered supportive housing makes a deeper intervention towards ending homelessness than its scattered-site counterpart. It creates the possibility of a home that resists the connection between the current dominant model and the spatial reality of homelessness. In doing so, it offers the possibility to reconceptualize the movement to end homelessness. Currently, a movement of policy where units of housing and money spent per client occupies center stage in the

work to end homelessness. But the recognition of the importance of place and community

in supportive housing's alternative conception of home brings out ideas of belonging and

solidarity, explored in the following study of a transformative nonprofit.

A Place to Belong: The Case of Peace House Community

We're not trying to solve the problem of homelessness, we're just trying to keep people from being homeless for 5 hours a day
~Lila Gilbert, Peace House volunteer[35]

I now wish to explore spaces of resistance to the spatial realities of homelessness

as structured by the NPIC, posing such spaces as a productive counter-example to the

previous discussion of the spatial realities of homelessness, realities that inherently

minimize dissent through exclusion and punishment for existing in the urban milieu.

These spaces or organizations exist in what Gilmore important calls the "shadow of the

shadow state," a space for "gaining liberation."[36] Any space of resistance to homelessness

must simultaneously also resist the aforementioned spatial realities of racialized

criminalization of public space by providing a safe place for people experiencing

homelessness to exist as individuals *and* as a community; by extension such a safe place

also becomes a space of libratory practice.[37] My own experiences at Peace House

Community, a unique organization that provides such a safe and libratory space in the

urban core of Minneapolis, form the bedrock of my analysis here, and provide a helpful

point of departure for understanding resistance to homelessness. Peace House is by no

means the only organization that provides a space for this necessary work; however,

rather than draw potentially uninformed conclusions from organizations that I have never

worked with, I choose here to show Peace House through my own eyes and leave space

for those with more knowledge of homelessness to apply or discredit this narrative as it applies to their experience of resistance in other cities.

Peace House Community was founded in 1985 by Sr. Rose Tillmans, a member of the Sisters of St Joseph Carondalet. Having arranged to rent the room from the owner, and against the wishes of local interests ranging from the adjacent Dairy Queen to the local city councilman, Tillmans opened Peace House as a "living room on Franklin Avenue," a place that served warm coffee and focused entirely on listening, story sharing, and creating a safe environment for people marginalized in the city. As the community grew, it became a major player in the Phillips neighborhood despite its small size; the city councilman and other politicians eventually came around to hail the organization as a positive force in the community, and the owner of the building eventually gave it to the organization for free. At the same time, the homelessness NPIC grew up around Peace House; the building is now wedged between Hope Community and Aeon, both much larger organizations that provide an array of housing and services. Peace House, however, remains incredibly small, with only two paid staff and a microscopic operating budget. Every weekday at 10am, a remarkable community forms to discuss concerns, eat, drink, sleep, and congregate for 45 minutes in facilitated conversation. This structure makes Peace House completely unique from every other drop-in center in the Twin Cities, and constitutes an intentional break from the dominant logic of the NPIC, and with it a total washout of the traditional staff/client dichotomy that structures mainstream organizations.

The conviviality of conversation and relationship at this organization also refute the structures of the NPIC. Walking into the one room that is Peace House, one sees

about 40 chairs arranged in an almost-circular shape; a wide range of people sit on the chairs in friendly conversation, with a particularly noticeable concentration of older white women and middle-aged black men present. The informality is palpable, as people change seats, grab cups of coffee, and sit down to begin or join conversations with multiple groups of people. Conversations (and hence relationships) often begin with either the weather or the local sports teams. This kind of small talk may seem insignificant; however, these conversations form a necessary base towards building an environment of conviviality where the barriers of client and provider present at so many other organizations fall apart to reveal basic relationships built across incredible difference. Indeed, Ivan Illich's definition of conviviality as "the opposite of industrial productivity...mean[ing] autonomous and creative intercourse among persons, and the intercourse of persons with their environment...conviviality [is] individual freedom realized in personal interdependence" goes a long way towards describing the importance of these conversations.[38]

What happens within the physical space of Peace House—conversations ranging from the trite to the empowering and intentional—remains inextricably linked to the negotiations of space in the rest of the city, including on the inside of the previously-discussed "homelessness infrastructure." Unlike many shelters and drop-in centers that I have visited or worked at, Peace House equalizes everybody; there are no desks, no comfy office chairs juxtaposed with hard folding chairs, and no areas that are off limits for anybody. Of course, this intentional interior spatial justice comes with the sometimes-frustrating downfall of a total lack of internet service or office space for any kind of meeting; however, it serves to ensure that all members of the community are "present" in

the moment. Someone might be passed out in their chair during "meditation," the intentional community-focused conversation that occurs for 45 minutes each day, but nobody can hide behind a wall or stare at a screen. The artifacts on the walls of Peace House further this equality; instead of the standard history of the organization, inspirational quotes and colorful posters about justice and equality, the room simply holds a corner with memorials to deceased members of the community, a framed picture of "Sister Rose," and several community-created decorations and works of art. Consistent with the often-expressed desire for the space to serve as an "information center," two bulletin boards sit near the exposed kitchen. One board holds notices about events relevant to community members; a recent glance at this node of information revealed flyers about employment programs, free legal clinics for people looking to expunge past criminal records, and a new community center offering free meals several times a week. Meanwhile, the other bulletin board provides information about Peace House itself, creating an interesting dynamic where volunteers who "run" the organization attempt to explain themselves to the people who form the community that *defines* the organization. This last board contains not only the list of volunteers and board members (along with contact information, again unusual) but also a community-created list of reasons for having "meditation," a daily community conversation that some enjoy for its "silence" while others consider it a time to "listen to everybody's stories, find commonality in issues."[39] Again in contrast to the established homelessness infrastructure, everything is out in the open at Peace House, including bundles of contradictions that create a whole community.

Just as openly, the volunteers who "run" Peace House (if such a place even calls

for government, which many in the organization question) see themselves as not

providing a service, but rather a ministry, in the most radical Catholic-Worker sense of

the word. The quote at the start of this section encapsulates that position, and also raises

in itself a veritable roomful of questions about ideas of radical hospitality, its role in

resisting a cold and unfriendly police state for people experiencing homelessness[40], and

whether "keeping people from being homeless" is in fact a close cousin to ending

homelessness altogether. Typically of Peace House, the community has had this very

conversation many times; in somewhat of a meta-twist on ideas of service and power,

people experiencing homelessness seize the opportunity to critique both the infrastructure

associated with them ("homelessness is a business" remains a popular phrase during these

discussions) and the ways in which Peace House sometimes fails in its goal to empower

all voices (these conversations invariably focus on white privilege within the

community). The creation of a safe space from which to critique the spatial realities that

many people face as soon as they step outside remains incredibly important to the work

of the organization, and the ability to hold difficult conversations about race and privilege

allow this work to continue.

Peace House, then, creates a place of solidarity, where people experiencing

homelessness can share information in a safe environment while actively resisting the

condition of homelessness as structured by the infrastructure of the non-profit industrial

complex. And that linkage of solidarity to spaces of resistance addresses the apparent

contradiction of "solving homelessness" and providing safe space. "Kai," an advocate

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who runs a program that similarly operates "outside of the system," elaborates on this

connection:

> I think solidarity is always about resistance, in some ways. It's resistance to the status quo. In some ways, it's, you know, when I think of solidarity and social justice as opposed to equality and human rights, I am thinking of movements that are about changing the way things are, whereas equality and human rights in my head and in many people's heads…. I'm not the first one to say this, is really about making sure the status quo is available to everybody, right. So let's make sure that I can also have--that I also have access to a fucked up system, you know?[41]

The ways in which the infrastructure of ending homelessness also structures the spatial

reality of homelessness itself show that we need a movement of resistance, one that

resists this "fucked up system" and refuses to perpetuate it. Such movements are rarely

measured statistically—imagine for a moment the Black Power movement submitting

figures to the government, or Cesar Chavez and Dolores Huerta reporting to a foundation

the number of farm workers engaged in the struggle. And while it's hard to imagine a

movement emanating from a somewhat-dilapidated row-home that only reaches 50

people a week, the size ultimately creates a stronger site of resistance; Kai noted that with

size, "the heart and soul, that gets lost…you've gotta keep the grassroots, you've gotta

stay small."[42] By stubbornly refusing any movement towards a more structured and

formal organization and keeping the voices of people experiencing homelessness central

to its work, Peace House opens the door (quite literally) to resistance to homelessness

through solidarity, both within its walls and far beyond its immediate influence in the

wider carceral city.

Conclusion: Ending Homelessness in the "Shadow of the Shadow State"

Resistance to homelessness and the spatial structures that contain it, as

demonstrated through Peace House (and many other spaces that I have yet to myself

experience, with an important nod to the pioneering group Picture the Homeless in New

York), operates on a paradigm of community-based assets and needs, rather than one of

public policy and hard numbers. Perhaps from Peace House and these other spaces of

resistance we see a validation of Ruth Wilson Gilmore's admonition to organizations

working in the shadow of the shadow state[43]: that "the purpose of the work is to gain

liberation, not to guarantee the organization's longevity."[44] Of course, measuring the end

of homelessness, consistent with Rodriguez's discussion of the political logic of the

NPIC and Gilmore's rejection of "project-driven portfolios" in funding grassroots

organizations[45], often relies on statistics that ultimately serve as justification for the

existence of any given organization within the shadow state. Given the ways in which

nonprofits working to end homelessness must fight tooth and nail for the small amounts

of public funding they do get, this policy framework seems necessary. And yet it also

diverts resources and attention from resistance, from a more systemic understanding of

ending homelessness—systemic in the sense that it must link to community-based

knowledges and practices (hence a praxis of ending homelessness), *not* systemic in that it

would require a system (the previously-discussed infrastructure of homelessness) to end

it.

And yet we do have a system; why has it not succeeded in its goal? Fiona gave a

broad, culturally-based explanation:

> Mostly cause people don't want to. Maybe with a mix of people don't know that
> it's possible. Like I said, thirty years ago we didn't know how to end homelessness
> necessarily, and so I think there's one still perspective that it's not my problem, or
> it doesn't exist, or it doesn't affect me, or those people made such bad choices that
> they don't deserve to have a home… The community has to commit. And this is
> true of many things, not just homelessness, I mean, other social ills. We have a
> very American perspective of short-term gains. And so we're not very good at

> long term investments that will yield us the best result in the end... But we've let ourselves do more than we have to because we refuse to say you know, if we just ended homelessness, a little bit more money up front, it wouldn't be so expensive and those people wouldn't be ending up in detox and the emergency room and crisis care. And I think it's just a cultural thing.[46]

The political willpower explanation offered here, while quite pertinent to the survival of organizations and structures within the shadow state, forces people experiencing homelessness into a bit of a bind: they remain in the power of the financial state apparatus, which has a vested interest in retaining not only physical spaces of the city for capitalist use (hence in direct opposition to the right to the city; partnerships between law enforcement and "downtown improvement districts" display this motivation) but also in keeping the reality of home as tantalizingly vague and impossible as ever. When homelessness becomes just another "social ill," agency disappears in the long queue for a system that promises housing but rarely delivers home.

However, when we understand ending homelessness as a resistance movement that requires a creative response to capitalism, all sorts of possibilities emerge, bringing with them agency and power. In response to the same question, Kai noted the following:

> I think this country has such a strong, strong...investment in keeping that dream alive, that if you work hard enough you can make it. And I know that there's tons of criticism and critique about that, but I think it's still so strong, you know, that myth, that if folks just work hard enough you can make it here. And clearly we know that that's not true, that there are folks that have been working super super hard, and they're not making it. So are we trying to end homelessness without trying to change the systems that create homelessness? Because I think then you get into conversations about capitalism, about wealth, right... I don't think homelessness will end while there's such disparity between the poor and the rich in this country. And we have this idea that anyone can make it, they just have to work harder. The meritocracy, yes. So, not everyone who wants to end homelessness wants to critique capitalism, and I'm not sure if we can do one without the other.

Kai's last sentiment succinctly poses the challenge to which solidarity and resistance to homelessness remain the answer. Ending homelessness, as I have stressed repeatedly, cannot exist in a vacuum; the spatial reality of urban homelessness, so structured by the same forces of capitalism that necessitate the NPIC, deserves a response that understands homelessness as existent at the intersection of multiple oppressions, and particularly that of a diminishing right to live—to have a home, regardless of how inhumane that home is—in the urban core. Moreover, anti-homelessness advocates don't have the luxury of fighting a static problem—as David Harvey notes, capital motivates urban renewal through surplus absorption, which constantly marginalizes those already on the edge, where "violence is required to achieve the new urban world on the wreckage of the old."[47]

Small, grassroots operations such as Peace House, operating in the shadow of the shadow state, give people experiencing homelessness a physically *safe* and *empowering* space in the heart of the city to resist the spatial reality of homelessness, perhaps beginning a process of undoing the constant violence of which Harvey warns. But providing housing to more than a few people seems nearly impossible without the heavy investment of either private foundations or government actors—creating, of course, a catch-22 in which the very infrastructure that supports the spatial reality of homelessness also holds the keys (quite literally) to housing people experiencing homelessness. One way out of this conundrum is to follow the call of resistance to neocolonialism and the negative aspects of the shadow state as articulated by Rodriguez, Gilmore, Kai, and countless others by doubling down on our commitment to resisting homelessness. To do this, we need to create self-determining space for people experiencing homelessness to

congregate, educate (Freirean methodology, for example, remains alive and well at Peace House), advocate, and ultimately end homelessness. Supportive housing, as shown earlier, plays a key role in this reorganization of place within space, a resource just as important as an alternative drop-in center for its ability to create broader definitions of home. As a relatively new volunteer at Peace House noted recently, we need more places like this—but not, I would strongly argue, a system of them, else we recreate the lopsided wheel that already exists. The power of places that resist the spatial realities of homelessness lies in their locality and their ability to recreate alternative spaces of home, a power that would get absorbed into the dominant model of home should they lose their ability to resist the NPIC.

Working in the shadow of the shadow state means that I, and others who share a vision of a world without homelessness but also see the dangers of the NPIC, believe in putting the experience of people "in" homelessness before those of allies, thus creating environments of solidarity and liberation. This approach lays bare the interconnectivity of all those who inhabit or occupy urban space in America--where policy normally rules, it instead suggests creativity; where carefully counted numbers carry the day, it brings a more qualitative approach; and where exclusive modes of space dominate, it provides a messy and transformative conviviality rooted in egalitarianism. Resisting homelessness in this way not only counteracts the ways in which "homelessness is a business," it also validates the organic aspects of supportive housing—a closely-connected community and the ideal of the integrated city—and conjoins them with the necessity of fighting back against hypervisibility, negative stigma, and the loss of public space. And the home(s) that must materialize through this resistance must inevitably absorb the connections

between the dominant modes of housing and the spatial realities of homelessness discussed in this chapter. Turning now to an examination of the creation of home, these ideas of resisting historical and current structures of spatial inequality to end homelessness must remain grounded in the creative urgency of a movement of liberation.

The Creation of Home

They say home is where the hate is/My dome is where fate is.

"My Way Home," Kanye West Ft. Common (*Late Registration,* 2005)

The intersection of individual and collective ideas of home with the physical structure of housing presents a troublesome and important dilemma in working to understand and end homelessness. Not only do people experiencing homelessness lack a permanent structure to sleep under at night, they also remain excluded from the most tangible differences between "home" and "housing:" the most direct buy-in to the American Dream, an unrivaled commodity in the capitalist free market, a unique kind of protected privacy. Home creates and operates so many meanings and connects to so many discourses of critical American Studies that naming the importance of home all at once would certainly be futile. Instead, I hope to show the way in which some of these meanings through individual and collective "creations of home" have themselves contributed to the present reality of homelessness which so many Americans face. I want to emphasize that homelessness as we know it today is just as "inevitable" as suburbanization, which is to say not at all inevitable, but rather structured by systemic choices made in the shadow of "home." To do so, I rely on an interdisciplinary integration of ideas and information from theorists across the fields of American Studies, Critical Geography, and Urban Studies, in combination with my own ethnographic interviews with service providers and archival interviews through the Minnesota Oral History of Homelessness project.

In considering the connection between physical structure and cultural idea, I want to foreground and highlight the importance of the single-family detached home, a connection made by theorists in both American Studies and critical geography. In examining this dominant model of home, I delve more deeply into the role that tying the concept of home securely to this suburban ideal plays in racialized conceptions of the nation. But in order to even begin that discussion, we have to not only "place" the dominant model of home but also probe multiple epistemologies of home. Kathleen Arnold advocates for this particular mode of research when she suggests that "a more homeless conception of home/homeland is not giving up on the idea of home altogether...but rather reconceptualizing the idea of home in such a way that what formerly defined home has been radically revised in order to become more inclusive."[48] While I agree with Arnold's urgent call for the reconceptualization of home, my own intervention here prioritizes the stories of people experiencing homelessness, an incredibly relevant way of knowing the city not included in her own analysis of that "homeless conception of home." I intertwine the powerful stories of the Minnesota Oral History of Homelessness Project to show how a theoretical reconceptualization of home must also consider the ways in which the concrete reality of the suburban detached home continues to hold sway in both individual and collective memories and imaginations, even as its import in the overall geography of a city decreases with the growing trend of movement towards the urban core. By taking Arnold's theoretical model and moving it towards personal and collective histories of homelessness, I hope to move towards a conversation that considers "home" as accountable to people experiencing homelessnesss.

To further explore the spatial relationship of the dominant model of home and homelessness, I then present a geographic case study of the Twin Cities metropolitan area. Drawing heavily on John S Adams' thorough study of housing sectors in the metropolitan area, I argue that seeing the social demand for housing alongside the infrastructure of homelessness *within* a given metropolitan area shows a clear connection between the two, and calls into question the role of the home as a commodity that has increased dramatically in size while family size has decreased. Ultimately, we cannot extricate suburban sprawl from the reality of homelessness in all parts of a metropolitan area, despite the best efforts of some to disassociate homelessness from the fundamental contradiction of home as a private commodity and signifier of wealth. As such, the location of homelessness (through where supportive housing and nonprofit services are built) in the context of Adams' housing sectors provides a fruitful analysis of this relationship within the Twin Cities metro. By using a geographic analysis to show one side of the connection between the dominant model of home and homelessness, I hope to pull out connections that are often hidden, which I hope could in turn inform future collaboration between regional planning and the work to end homelessness.

Through centering the spatial experience of homelessness, I explore the ways in which these creations of home have in turn affected the work to end homelessness and the discourses and policy that surround it. The suburbanization of housing for people coming out of homelessness, remains fraught with attempts to catch up to the ideal of home, a process that I call "crunch assimilation" for the way in which it pits the spatial conveniences of the city against the expectations of the suburban home. Assumptions about home as the ultimate end of homelessness play out most clearly in crunch

assimilation, in an analysis that draws comparatively on stories from the Minnesota Oral

History of Homelessness project and Chicago's Gatreaux Program. Through this work, I

argue that this particular creation of home for people experiencing homelessness

represents an unrealistically teleological process that limits the abilities of people

experiencing homelessness to create home on their own terms. Meanwhile, the rise and

fall of SRO (single room occupancy) as a viable solution for people experiencing

homelessness deserves consideration as a key example of a spatial model that repudiates

some aspects of "home" while internalizing others. I argue that the inequities inherent in

SRO hotels and housing manifest because of crunch assimilation and the dominant model

of home. Yet I also explore the potential for such design, in a supportive housing

situation, to actively subvert the exclusive and harmful creations of home that create it.

Connectivity and conviviality through use of place lies at the heart of this query: for such

housing to recreate home, it must fully utilize the urban commons and the power of each

individual to create their own space.

The Dominant Model of Home

In an incredibly poignant moment from the powerful Minnesota Oral History of

Homelessness Project, Dallas, a man experiencing homelessness in Duluth, explains his

vision for his future:

> My dream is to have a uh a home. I mean, not like a you know like a house. I
> mean like you know. How do you get homesick without a home? So a home.
> Someplace I can miss when I ain't there. It doesn't matter what it is a family or
> solo or a one bedroom or six bedroom...someday I want something I can miss
> when I ain't there.[49]

If we allow his central question ("How do you get homesick without a home?") to haunt

our thoughts as scholars and work as activists for some time, it certainly makes any

affiliation with the dominant model of home highly uncomfortable. This oral history suggests that homelessness remains haunted by the home[50]; conversely, Arnold suggests that homelessness occupies a space of *unheimlisch*, or uncanniness in the Freudian sense for American society at large.[51] Dallas' words corroborate a key point of Arnold's critique, that a home is not only a structure but also "involves relationships, a daily path, and daily activities;" as such, his desire to "miss" something shows the uncanniness of the situation and positioning of home/homelessness.[52] What we need to ascertain, then, is the material results and outcomes from this dialectic of home and homelessness, a territory largely untouched by Arnold in her otherwise thorough analysis. Policy that creates home and policy that aims to end homelessness affect one another immensely, but both tend to operate by conflating the material privileges of a detached house with the real necessities of "home" in a capitalist context, implicitly demonizing the urban commons even as the trend of suburbanization remains in remission. We have to try to understand and prioritize the otherized ways of seeing the city, which juxtapose the specter of the dominant model with places that have become recreated as "home" out of necessity, such as subway benches, abandoned buildings, and shelter under bridges. Doing so brings the power of the dominant home into clearer view.

Much has already been written on the negative consequences, some intentional and others less so, of the post-war housing boom most responsible for the creation of "home" as we know it today. The practice of red-lining, which ranked neighborhoods for home loan insurance by the federal government based on the racial demographics of the area, thus severely limiting access to homeownership for people of color, actually began well before the war, with the establishment of HOLC (Home Owners Loan Corporation)

in 1933.[53] However, with the need to house returning soldiers from World War II,

housing developments that catered to "the beribboned war hero who wanted his wife to

stay home" brought a new intensity to the dominant model of home.[54] The massive

addition of single-family suburban homes to the national housing stock during this time

(to the tune of a 7.67 million surplus of homes in 1950[55]) played a crucial role in the

political development of the Cold War, as William Levitt, the largest housing developer

and creator of Levittown, opined that "No man who owns his house and lot can be a

Communist. He has too much to do."[56] "Home" in the suburban sense was thus created

not only as an economic commodity but also a political one. Elaine Tyler May elaborates

on this in her brilliant study of the era, appropriately titled "Homeward Bound:"

> The house and commodity boom also had tremendous propaganda value, for it
> was those affluent homes, complete with breadwinner and homemaker, that
> provided evidence of the superiority of the American way of life. Since much of
> the cold war was waged in propaganda battles, this vision of domesticity was a
> powerful weapon.[57]

Not surprisingly, the very active creation of home during this era coincided with the

previously-discussed destruction of "skid row" in major American cities and a period of

invisibility for people experiencing homelessness. We can then read this period as

creating "home" as an irreplaceable political, economic, and cultural asset which haunts

the experience of homelessness enough to create homesickness without a physical

structure from which to relate.

Not only did the creation of suburban homes provide a valuable commodity for

white middle-class families through tax incentives and land ownership, it also presented

an economic opportunity for those involved in the actualization of the home: "banks,

developers, and construction workers."[58] This multi-faceted commodification of housing

(linked to the commodification of home through gender, which Hayden explores through 1950's era advertisements of newfangled appliances for female domestic labor) extends forwards to the 21st century in housing intended for people experiencing homelessness. Even though much of the infrastructure dedicated to ending homelessness is managed by nonprofit organizations or government entities, private landlords still play a crucial role in the process, particular in scattered-site housing—the form of housing closest to a conventional idea of "home." In a particularly clear example, Fiona, the housing advocate quoted in the previous chapter, herself owns a property in addition to her own home, a "rental duplex" in the same neighborhood. Even though she has great knowledge of the difficulties that face formerly homeless individuals and families through her work, she still must maintain the duplex as a commodity: needing to have the rent paid on time, the place kept relatively clean, and the neighbors appeased through avoiding "questionable activity" that might lower property values.[59] Some formerly homeless tenants could not fit in this situation; Fiona allows that a mixture of factors led to some tenants leaving, including a lack of support from nonprofits and that "some of our neighbors are racist."[60] Here, in a case of the absolute best intentions, the multi-faceted commodity swallows any possible reconceptualization of home, instead requiring absolute adherence to the dominant model due to accountability to geographic, economic, and physical standards of home. And just as the architecture of the 1950's home precluded any alternative economics of gender, structure (both physical and cultural) and location prevent any of the necessary flexibility needed to end homelessness.

So we find ourselves again with homelessness at the nexus of multiple marginalizations, this time through the commodification of homeownership and the

resultant need to profit. We can broadly say that the crushing expectations of home as a normalized piece of Americana have helped to create the present climate of homelessness, where people experiencing homelessness know exactly what they don't have and how unattainable it is. Arnold's concept of *unheimlisch*, which appears at first to only focus on the relationship of the state to homelessness, instead flips to focus on the relationship of the people to the material investment in the resource of home. But how does this play out on the planes of type of housing and location? The following look at the geography of housing and home in the Twin Cities sheds more light on how the dominant model operates.

The Spatial Organization of the Dominant Model of Home

I earlier alluded to the goal of examining trends of housing and homelessness within the metropolitan area as an important method towards understanding the relationship between home and homelessness. The geographic patterns of housing demand and vacancy provide fertile ground to fuse what we have seen so far of the material manifestations of home with a spatial pattern of suburbanization and disinvestment that predominantly shaped Eastern and Midwestern cities in the latter half of the past century. In the Twin Cities, John S Adams identifies three tiers of suburbs growing outward from the central cores of Minneapolis and Saint Paul, and then divides the entire metropolitan area into housing sectors, illustrated on map 1 in the appendix. The housing sectors show the link between the physical geography of the Twin Cities and the market for housing, particularly as that market applied to the outward growth into the three suburban tiers, predominantly in the post-WWII years into the 1970s as the dominant model of home hit its peak. Sectors A, B, and C evolved out of the radial streets

carrying traffic away from downtown Minneapolis, particularly Hiawatha, Nicollet, and

Hennepin Avenues; streets such as Franklin Avenue, which runs east-west between the

three sectors, were more congested and typically carried little economic or social

incentive for crossing sectors.[61] Although the infrastructure that created these sectors

(streetcar lines, new homes in the inner-ring suburbs, and the removal of proximity to

work due to the automobile) is no longer visible to us today, the demand for space in the

search for home in the metropolitan area continues to reveal the relationship between

home and homelessness.

Sector B, identified by Adams as running due south of downtown Minneapolis

along the I-35W corridor and passing through the suburbs of Richfield, Bloomington,

Burnsville, and Lakeville, presents the most interesting study of this theme in the Twin

Cities metro area. As map 2 in the appendix shows, the connection between the physical

construction of home and the location of homelessness is not just cultural, but also

physical along these sectors. The vast majority of shelters and transitional housing for

people coming out of homelessness is located in the Phillips neighborhood, the innermost

part of Sector B and the point of initiation for its vacancy chain. Vacancy chains provide

an important lens through which to see this pattern; as housing is constructed in the

second and third-tier suburbs of the sector, such as Lakeville and Burnsville, population

shifts outward along the lines of the sector, aided in this case by the main arterial of 35W.

Each movement outward results in vacancies moving progressively further back into the

urban core, until the sector is saturated and the chain ends with "demolition,

consolidation into another unit, or permanent vacancy."[62] Such a process has enormous

implications for people experiencing homelessness. In an outwardly-mobile middle-class

sector such as Sector B, housing moves beyond its basic function as shelter and instead serves as a commodity that can appreciate in value, thus providing the spatial component to the previously-discussed cultural appropriation of home. And the particularly robust housing market in this sector left an especially soft urban core behind it, due to vacancy chains—a core that Adams notes made a home for a variety of white ethnic groups (Irish, German, Scandinavian, and Jewish) through the early 20th century, and more recently American Indians and Southeast Asians.[63] The map clearly demonstrates that this space, particularly the Phillips neighborhood, also provides shelter and housing for people experiencing homelessness, more so than any area of the Twin Cities, demonstrating a clear spatial connection between the dominant model of home and homelessness.

In the search for economic and cultural value and power through home, size matters immensely. Between 1970 and 2000, the average home size increased by 50%, while the average family size decreased by 20%.[64] Hayden notes that this translates to the "largest amount of private housing space ever created in the history of civilization."[65]And just as suburban sprawl and homelessness come about from the nexus of both geographic and social policy, the disparity between necessity and reality in home size also has hidden ramifications for solutions to homelessness. We know, for example, that large-lot zoning, the practice of reserving land for larger homes that make greater profit for developers, contributes to the lack of affordable housing in general.[66] This leads to disparities across the metropolitan area in the location of affordable housing, as housing advocates struggle for even a smidgen of funding for affordable housing in the city, while developers can use restrictive zoning to ensure that very few multi-use buildings with affordable apartments can get built anywhere except areas at the end of the vacancy

chain. The disparity in location between affordable housing and the dominant model of home shows a metropolitan area fundamentally warped at its foundation, and one that requires a fundamental change in the conversation towards, as Don Mitchell puts it, a conversation "built on the needs of the poorest and most marginalized residents."[67]

The architectural segregation that occurs from this destructive policy also creates a set of misinformation about the real need for affordable housing, misconceptions that too often find their way into official policy enforced by NIMBYism, or the practice of "not-in-my-backyard" values. In one Twin Cities suburb, for example, residents were asked to rally against a proposed affordable housing development with thinly veiled racial innuendo. The proposed project, citizens were told, would "encourage further development of LOW INCOME RENTAL PROJECTS" and "forever impact our property values, surrounding wetlands areas and our experiences within our small network of parks." The document concludes with a true zinger, asking if community members want their area "to be known as a Corporate Owned Low Income property area? [The suburb] is known as a "star city"…let's keep it that way!"[68] The need for affordable housing complements the idea of a housing-integrated metropolitan area that Linda brought up in an interview in Chapter 1; with this information, we can see that the concentration of affordable housing in the soft urban core creates a socio-spatial dialectic with the consumption of housing in the outer reaches of the sector. In this situation, which harkens back to Edward Soja's work on the racialization and ordering of the city through the socio-spatial dialectic,[69] perceptions reinforce the policy that limits affordable housing, in turn reinforcing those distorted images of what can and cannot create home.

Home, then, becomes not only a commodity for consumption but also one for protection, through the methodology of NIMBYism and the language of property values. The notice encompasses both of the previously discussed frames of viewing homelessness: the sacred/profane and the scary cities. In this example, the suburb becomes sacred space through its "surrounding wetlands areas," which somehow would be threatened by the emergence of a "low-income rental project," despite the probably pollution already occurring from existent development and auto usage. Meanwhile, the city looms large in the background as a space of fear, even though it never receives explicit mention. The very notion of rising property values from the influx of "those people" speaks a volume of unsaid words and deeds, actions that remain inextricably tied to the creation of home in the first place as a space of racialized privilege and power. Just as the creation of the dominant model of home "did little to challenge the racial attitudes of white Americans,"[70] so too has the physical expansion of that idea to an average of seven rooms per household done little to address the stark differences between housed and unhoused. This case of NIMBYism illustrates how the ballooning of the dominant model, with all of its associated homeowners associations and mobilized concern over property values, has a direct affect on both attitudes and policy towards people experiencing homelessness, yet another key connection between the opposite ends of this sector of the Twin Cities.

The link between the size of new development and the lack of home for so many creates a notable entry for examining the spatial ramifications of homelessness in a metropolitan area. This disparity counteracts the possibility of building alternative ideas of home such as supportive housing in ways that allow people to create home themselves

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rather than being forced into somebody else's idea of it. LouAnn, who experienced

homelessness in Illinois, describes her firsthand view of this problematic connection:

> As a matter of fact in Illinois where I lived, there was so many homes, so many
> homes for sale with nobody living in them. And there was so many homeless
> people on the street. In Illinois it's thousands, ten thousands, maybe more. And
> it's a shame that children, babies have absolutely nowhere to go.[71]

In understanding these disparities and attempting to assuage them, particularly on a local

level, the spatial frame becomes absolutely imperative. The argument must not read as a

simple polemic against those who have the resource of housing; rather, as illustrated by

LouAnn's experience and that of so many others, we must remember to show precisely

how the consumption of space through housing impacts people experiencing

homelessness in the urban core and the overall health of the metropolitan area. Showing

the connection on a map, as I have done in this section, is one way to communicate the

central point of this chapter: that homelessness, just like suburbanization, continues due

to the spatial practices of materializing our desire for home, through commodification

and consumption. Adams' sectoral model of vacancy chains, the size and location of

market-rate vs affordable housing within the Twin Cities, and the powerful push and pull

of cultural expectations around the location of home all show the connections that

compose a thriving yet disabled metropolitan area. Disabled from homelessness, yet

pulsing with the possibility to end it, should we choose to better understand and utilize

the spatial connections inherent in these manifestations of home. Stories, such as those

presented here and in the next section, provide evidence in support of these maps while

adding the necessary dimension of experience, key in our next goal of understanding the

process of crunch assimilation and its role in this spatial relationship of home and

homelessness.

Material Connections: Crunch Assimilation and SROs

Spatial relations between the urban and the suburban remain fraught with all kinds of cultural implications, organized primarily around racialized interpretations of place.[72] The particular role played by visible street homelessness in these relations can be analyzed through several lens; for our purposes, the most relevant here are the set of theories organized around the idea of "scary cities," and Yi-Fu Tuan's older (yet still crucial) geographic study of the sacred and the profane. In the case of scary cities, which grows from Mike Davis' terrifyingly prescient social history of Los Angeles (*City of Quartz*), homelessness calls for containment, for overpolicing, and essentially serves as a visceral reminder to a fearful population of the need to control space to safeguard the interests of capitalism.[73] In a recent case study of the policing of people experiencing homelessness in Seattle, Steve Herbert and Catherine Becket observe that such individuals are "oftentimes considered scary by the homed population," and hence banishment, which they show to be not only morally objectionable but also entirely ineffective at making anybody safer, becomes a publicly endorsed strategy.[74] Such fear-based methods, reviled by activists and many academics but often defended as necessary by law enforcement, remain far too common in American cities, and take a particular toll on people confined to public space through the crime of "lurking with intent," which requires no definition of said intent. Broadly, this control of bodies in space shows the staying power of both of these theories, the material results of which have an outsized effect on housing policy and the creation of home, as we shall see shortly.

These spatial perceptions set expectations for the people inhabiting certain spaces, particularly those which are already racialized. In a classic example, Thomas Sugrue

shows the link between perceptions of street-corners populated by black men looking for work in Detroit and the housing and migration patterns of white suburbanites from that area, based off a conceptual map of the city's racial geography.[75] For people experiencing homelessness in the city, how do these spatial realities and perceptions play out between locations? Gary, a formerly homeless man interviewed as part of the Minnesota Oral History of Homelessness Project, shares his experience:

> I pretty much said [in previous parts of the interview] everything that I did when I was homeless and now that I do got a place I'm trying to get myself together a little bit, quit drinkin so much, but, and I just gotta quit comin into town so much but every time I come into town I always run into a bottle or get a bottle so I just got [sic] start stayin home. I gotta get my tv workin right, I gotta get another converter box cuz just recently someone came in my house and took my converter, I gotta get another one. Get another one of those I'll start stayin' home more.[76]

In Gary's narrative, we can see echoes of the discursive power of the "scary cities" narrative, but the power of landscape comes through much more clearly. The geographer Yi-Fu Tuan charts the shifts overtime in "sacred" and "profane" values placed on landscapes, and the ways in which those landscapes contain such values themselves; starting with the late 19th century, he notes that the "amorphous city" was a profane landscape, while the middle landscape (which includes areas with the "order of the city" but also the gardens of wilderness recreation) were "edenic" or sacred.[77] Thus, the idea of "getting in trouble in town" expressed here shows the expression of a landscape that can make recovery from homelessness more difficult, through alcohol in this case. Meanwhile, the "home" located out of town represents safety and refuge from the profane city. To compensate for the implied boredom of this space, a television, where one might conceivably watch shows such as *Cops* or *Law and Order* that propagate the often-racially coded value judgments placed on the profane city, is necessary for entertainment.

The spatial realities and locational politics of homelessness thus extend to housing aimed at ending the condition. Despite Gary's perception that "town" gets him in trouble, the reason that he's presently lacking adequate entertainment undermines the whole dichotomy, since somebody broke into his haven of safety in the sacred space of the suburb. Meanwhile, the vast majority of supportive services for people coming out of homelessness remain concentrated in the urban core, as the map in Appendix 1 illustrates. Well-documented holes in suburban transportation and access to resrources notwithstanding, supportive housing simply defeats its own purpose if it only serves to shuttle someone into an isolated setting. And yet, each time somebody moves into a new structure, they once again create home in their own unique way. Stories such as Gary's serve to remind us the role that understandings of space and place play in such creations of home, and how understandings of home that stem from the exclusive policies of the 1950s still dominate the work to end homelessness.

For very understandable reasons, housing programs for people experiencing homelessness often extend to suburban areas. After all, we ought to have an integrated metropolitan area, and all people, including those coming out of homelessness, should have the ability to move freely between locales according to their desires. Additionally, outlying parts of the metro area sometimes make more sense economically and practically as well; the vacancy rate in Minneapolis hit a low of 1.8% in the summer of 2012, while rental availability in lower-density Saint Paul and the outlying suburbs was significantly higher.[78] However, suburban areas also remain the stronghold of the dominant model of home, and often don't take kindly to architectural or cultural reconceptions of that idea, often displaying resistance through expressed and implied

NIMBYism. When people recovering from homelessness get placed in housing that isolates them from perceived harmful influences, as in Gary's story, they also become agents in the creation of home, adding their own story to the narrative that encompasses both Levittown and SRO hotels.

Gary's story also illustrates the ways in which landscape and expectations play into the location of homelessness. In locations where the dominant model of home remains completely entrenched both physically and culturally, homelessness becomes an aberration, a "hidden" problem, usually constructed in the terms of that space.[79] This leads to crunch assimilation, a term that needs some unpacking here. "Crunch" implies a visceral, material collision caused by two forces meeting one another at some speed. By contrast, we tend to think of assimilation as a longer, slower process caused by the constant erosion of one set of values into the dominant, hegemonic force. Crunch assimilation, then, features a sped-up process of assimilation caused by the *material and spatial reality of the dominant model of home*. When the spatial realities of homelessness, including a lack of privacy, the superimposition of a stigmatized existence onto the urban landscape, and above all location at the nexus of space-based inequalities, are quite literally forced into the structure and geography of the non-flexible home, crunch assimilation occurs. Such a situation does not take always take away from people's ability to individually and collectively create home; rather, as the examples and following discussion show, people coming out of homelessness often successfully navigate this terrain. However, the way in which the dominant model of home becomes the definitive "end" of homelessness in situations of crunch assimilation show a too-often teleological

process, and raises important questions about the politics of location, community, and material resources within a metropolitan area.

One way to see crunch assimilation at work comes from the cultural assumptions made material by the location of housing programs. Lou Ann, a woman experiencing homelessness, describes her experience in a transitional housing program in the suburbs of Chicago:

> ...In one way it was better than where I was, but in another way it made me very ill because their demands were, like, impossible. From morning until, well, I had until my daughter got out of school, I had to go out and look for work every day, which I can understand, OK. But when you go out for work every day and you spend 6-8 hours on the street walking, walking, I got very sick in the fall. Three times I came down with bronchitis.[80]

In LouAnn's story, we see assumptions about work and poverty, ideas that too often became legitimized through policies such as workfare. But complementing the reification of racialized expectations of gender and work here are the ramifications brought on by crunch assimilation. Spatial mismatch theory tells us that more low-level retail jobs exist in suburban areas; but without transportation, how does someone moving directly from a suburb expect to find such work? LouAnn's example shows that the home doesn't simply imply structure or location, but also a set of values about transportation, privacy, and employment, a very narrow window that can't possibly include all who need the benefits of home.

The values and expectations of the dominant model of home shown through these stories bring back shades of a housing program that also employed what I would characterize as crunch assimilation. The Gatreaux Program, operating in Chicagoland (perhaps in some of the same areas that LouAnn lived), would later inspire the HUD's

Moving to Opportunity (MTO) program, both of which attempted to address racial and

residential inequality by moving low-income black families on public housing assistance

to more affluent suburban areas. The original model, enacted in 1981 (15 years after a

lawsuit by the organizer Dorothy Gatreaux), called for black residents to receive housing

in census tracts where the black population was under 30%, in an attempt to directly

combat residential segregation.[81] The concept, that families who moved out of so-called

"blighted" areas would have greater educational and economic opportunities, relied on

some of the same assumptions that come out through LouAnn's story. Indeed, the

Gatreaux program initially focused on placing families in more affluent parts of the city

or older inner-ring suburbs due to inadequate transportation farther out.[82] Both Gatreaux

and MTO, which followed in the 1990s, endorse a model of home and assimilation that

harkens back to the arguments of William Levitt and other early developers of the

suburban home: a place that pulls everyone towards a range of "acceptable" behavior,

thus limiting the agency of individuals and families in creating a home that best suits

their needs. Also implied, again, is the inherent "profanity" of the urban areas from which

the families came originally, a set of political assumptions about human beings (housed

and unhoused) that falls more into the path of the "culture of poverty" theory than

anything else. In these examples, assimilation into the mainstream workforce and

economy comes through the physical relocation of "home," lending a finality and

expediency that results in crunch assimilation.

But simply moving someone into a house does not create a home. Multiple

participants in the Minnesota Oral History of Homelessness project referenced

programmatic limitations or guides to newfound housing. Gary, in passing, mentions that

he attends his "housing classes" on some kind of regular schedule.[83] And Dallas, recently

homeless in Duluth, explains one of his challenges that comes out of a restriction on

"home":

> Since it's been cold though, my family has been like really making sure that I got
> somewhere to go. But again like I said I'm not trying to risk that. You know cuz
> they're on programs that I could be putting at risk. Yeah.[84]

Dallas would still technically appear as homeless on a census if he stayed with his family,

earlier specified to be his baby brother and his family. He also astutely points out the

disconnect between reality and policy here: while the majority of homeless services have

fully embraced housing first and harm reduction, people coming out of these situations

still interact with other systems of government support, which may carry restrictions that,

in this case, can lead to someone spending the night in a northern Minnesota park in the

coldest months of the year. So despite the effort to fit everybody into the dominant and

supposedly attainable model of home, crunch assmiliation works to exclude at nearly

every possible opportunity and stifles attempts at creating alternative forms of home.[85]

I have thus far shown the ways in which the dominant model of home, created and

recreated again by the process of crunch assimilation and presenting itself as the only

logical end to homelessness, blocks anything like a "homeless reconception of home"

while also perpetuating some of the structures of spatial inequality that continue harming

people experiencing homelessness in all locations. It now becomes imperative to explore

the conceptual and material possibilities of that alternative creation of home, which

occurs when people experiencing homelessness have the opportunity to take agency in

their experience of home. In my interviews with homelessness advocates, words such as

"stable," "decent and adequate," and so on came up often in describing the ideal home.[86]

However, they also carried a keen awareness of the power of home, often recognizing the harmful conflation between material structure and success both financially and emotionally. Linda told a particularly powerful second-hand story:

> One of our educators, one of our guys who's experienced homelessness who talks to groups...his belief is personally that home is not a physical space, we sort of create internally about where we find comfort and peace and he talks about being temporarily displaced as opposed to homeless, because you're displaced from a physical structure but you're not necessarily without home.[87]

Interventions such as the one made here help to destabilize the dominant narrative of home, while offering an honest reconceptualization of homelessness that subtly connects it to the hegemonic nature of home. If we take the viewpoint and experience of the educator in this anecdote, it seems that the end of homelessness will not come with the expansion of the dominant model of home to include everyone, but rather with the recognition that we can live out home in multiple ways, and that the physical structure and location of home must instead be completely remade and reconceptualized to not only hold stability and safety, but also the potential for inclusive support through the social and geographic supports of the city.

As people experiencing homelessness move through the process of creating home, be that in SRO housing, transitional housing, or supportive housing in a variety of structures, the spatial options become more plentiful, making the creation of home itself appear more open-ended. Reginald, a formerly homeless man interviewed alongside his wife Avis, explains:

> I found myself homeless. I went into a shelter. From the shelter, I went into an efficiency. From the efficiency apartment, I went into a 1-bedroom, public housing. From 1-bedroom public housing to a 1-bedroom, market rate, section 8 program where I've been for the last 3 years.[88]

While this process follows the somewhat teleological pathway to home that I critiqued earlier, it also allows for the individual creation of home at multiple levels. This is not a story of crunch assimilation, because Reginald and Avis created home of their own agency and volition rather than being forced into a dominant model that may or may not have fit them. In describing their current living situation, Avis focuses on stability, warmth, and the less tangible aspects of home mentioned earlier by advocates:

> We have a 1-bedroom apartment that we have been in for 3 years. It has a beautiful bed-living room that is as big as the place we stayed in once before. We have warm curtains and warm furniture. We have pots and pans. We have heat and food and a refrigerator. And, we have a lot of love in our house.[89]

Examining home as a physical structure or dot on a map too often leaves out these intricacies that can mean the difference between agency in the creation of home or a return to homelessness due to overly strict requirements or situations of crunch assimilation. And yet, proximity of support through density still makes an enormous difference, bringing this example back to the side-effects of the size of housing. Avis and Reginalds' success story is rife with examples that demonstrate the importance of this locational support, from the institutional and community support of a nearby church to the ability to get a "shopping bag full of books for $2" from the central Minneapolis library.[90] One part of this creation of home is the ability to create, as Doug, a housing advocate, put it, "a place that [you] can go to and make choices about…what that place looks like, and when they can come and go."[91]But the spatial element, the availability of support and community, is the glue that holds together these stories of recovery—a connection that again highlights the importance of understanding homelessness in conjunction with large constructions of home in edge cities and suburbs.

The Role of the SRO

SROs, or single-room occupancy hotels/buildings, enter into this conversation with a long past as the main "culprit" behind the American skid row. However, they also present an important opportunity to expand the definition of home through their connection to the social and geographic supports of the city, connections realized through the recognition of difference and the conviviality of the commons. A reconceptualization of home, as I have advocated thus far, necessarily must not address only the cultural implications of structure, but also the spatial and physical ramifications of size. An ideal SRO situation would successfully integrate with the urban commons, present an alternative to the exponentially increased consumption of space for housing, provide the stable and decent home required for people recovering from homelessness, and reverse some of the processes of crunch assimilation by embracing the spatial conveniences of the city rather than the fear and isolation driving that other process. Together or apart, high-density low-space housing provides an equally important creation of home, and one worth examining for its contradictory role in the movement of urban capital and the alternate spaces of home they create.

Dense housing situations, particularly those of supportive housing, can force the actualization of the inverse of crunch assimilation—that is, instead of an expedited withdrawal from the profane city, a direct and constant engagement with that space by its inhabitants. SROs necessarily form the extreme end of this spectrum, as a structure with a history of inequality just as deeply ingrained as that of the suburban single-family home, and a good deal more obvious to the eye. One important part of the story about SROs is their role as the concrete enforcer of the home/homelessness connection. Creating home

in the privacy of the detached dwelling remains the most supported of all such endeavors, and remains so due to the oft-forgotten role of government described earlier. By contrast, creating home in the SRO requires a good degree of creativity and willpower. Stan, a formerly homeless man living in an SRO in Saint Paul, describes the environment:

> Actually, it's a very austere place. It's similar to a jail cell. I have a room that's eight by ten…and the rent's only $165, so I just can't seem to leave…I have a desk, a bed, a dresser, and ah, it has a community bathroom. But, uh, it's cement floor and cement walls. So that's fairly austere. I try to live there, but they really don't like people living in the rooms. They want you to move on. So, I wind up, I've failed about 50 out of 52 room inspections for clutter and boxes and too much stuff.[92]

SROs appear as the polar opposite of home; recall the description from interviews with advocates that stressed safety, adequacy, and stability. However, the removal of agency in this particular manifestation of home comes not from the size or location of the housing, but rather from the restrictions (no clutter, no boxes) imposed upon that structure, thus sharing a root problem with the earlier examples of crunch assimilation, wherein the limitations of dominant understandings of home prevented the subversion of that model.

Size and location, it turns out, are not the problem with SROs. Such a revelation helps to destroy the myth of the sacred and profane, while also speaking against the faux inevitability of suburbanization and the teleological road to home. Smaller spaces, which certainly do not have to create the carceral feeling of Stan's SRO, lend themselves to unusual uses in the creation of home, which already by definition destabilizing the dominant model and structure as the physical polar opposite. In our interview, Kai noted that "there's always been a lot of creativity associated with sharing space, smaller spaces;"[93] this ability to introduce community and proximity to the recovery from

homelessness remains key to breaking out of the model that extends an exclusive norm rather than creating an empowering structure. As with supportive housing (explored in the previous chapter), SROs use spatial constraints to present the opportunity to redefine home in a more inclusive way, a statement that may seem paradoxical given that these buildings contain far less physical space with which to create home. But through two processes, the recognition of difference and the conviviality of the commons, SROs contain the possibility of an important reorganization of home in the city.

Recall that in situations of crunch assimilation, people experiencing homelessness are expected to conform to a "one-size fits all" locational housing solution. Mixed-use zoning, and SROs specifically, recognize the different roles that housing plays: in other words, housing becomes far more spatially utilitarian, less of an economic asset and more of a physical one. While SROs, like the single-family detached home, prescribe the use of space, they run decidedly counter to the dominant model of home, and thus legitimize the presence of people experiencing homelessness in the city, affirming their right to the city. But instead of affirming that right without addressing it, a common critique of shelters, they also allow the creation of a home that has multiple ways of engaging community. Fiona observed some of the differences accommodated through SROs:

> ...single room occupancy is a legitimate offering, and for some people that's all they want or all they need. They don't do well with a lot of space on their own, they do well in a place that has a little more intentional community cultivation. I don't think you can really go wrong with single room occupancy, but in neighborhoods these days, they just tore down the old SRO building near me. I mean, it had been closed for years, it was some kind of old rooming house, and they just demolished it finally. You know, no one can go in and build an SRO. And so I think that we need to have a broader acceptance of the kinds of housing that people need. A relaxation of codes, like not every building that serves a bunch of people who are, you know, recently coming out of homelessness needs

to have a parking lot with enough space for everyone to have a car cause not everyone's going to have a car.[94]

The economic and spatial efficiencies of SROs, combined with the revolutionary possibility to build proximal community across difference—imagine an economically integrated SRO—present a convincing case for the increased use of these structures. But what about the problem of SROs as segregating and spatially containing homelessness, a narrative that goes back to Davis, remains deeply rooted in NIMBYism and "scary cities," and is alluded to here by Fiona? SROs cannot simply reconceptualize home through their sole existence, and even the briefest of looks at Skid Row show ways that the structure can, rather than counteracting crunch assimilation, do the work of urban capital by warehousing people experiencing homelessness.

Fortunately, this analysis does not dead end into a set of assumptions about SROs that ignore their potential transformation of the meaning of home. I want to introduce a connection between this particular form of housing and the urban commons, a linkage that in turn connects back to my earlier use of Ivan Illich's theory of conviviality as a way to understand the power of Peace House's honest and "autonomous" interaction of people with their environment. First, in considering the urban commons and their role in the milleau, let us take David Harvey's recent definition:

> The common is not to be construed, therefore, as a particular kind of thing, asset or even social process, but as an unstable and malleable social relation between a particular self-defined social group and those aspects of its actually existing or yet- to-be-created social and/or physical environment deemed crucial to its life and livelihood. There is, in effect, a social practice of commoning. This practice produces or establishes a social relation with a common whose uses are either exclusive to a social group or partially or fully open to all and sundry.[95]

Part of the "social practice of commonning" by definition rejects the warehousing of people, as that prevents them from interacting with the environment, in this case the

social or physical home created by high-density housing in the city. Instead, SROs and other similar forms of supportive housing fortify the urban commons, unstable as they are, by essentially making the physical environment of the city "crucial" to the lives of the people who live within. This is accomplished through the geographic proximity of supportive services, as well as access to amenities associated with the commons such as parks and libraries. The definition of home thus expands beyond the immediate confines of the SRO to include these public possessions, a stark contrast to the hyperprivatization of home in situations of crunch assimilation. Ideally, this increasing of the commons would in turn augment the "autonomous and creative intercourse among persons" with their environment, returning again to Illich's argument for conviviality. Earlier, I posited Peace House as a place where conviviality breeds solidarity and resistance to homelessness; here, the argument comes full circle in showing that, through this same ideal of conviviality, SROs can utilize the urban commons to present an alternative vision of home that subverts and resists the present reality of homelessness.

The movement of urban capital, in a process of "creative destruction," constantly transforms the order of the city and ultimately inhibits the ability to form that key connection between structure and commons.[96] In Minnneapolis, for example, this creative destruction circumscribed the landscape of the Phillips neighborhood through the predominance of two highways (35W and 55) and kickstarted the vacancy chains that exerted a strong outward pull over the resources of the area. So it is perhaps over-idealistic to imagine that the recognition of difference through physical structure can in turn ignite a process of re-envisioning home that implicates not just the immediate surroundings of an SRO, but the entire plan and layout of a metropolitan area. However,

the interviews presented here show that both homelessness advocates and people experiencing homelessness see and understand a need to create a more inclusive home, and recognize SROs, when done supportively and correctly, as a viable solution to the lack of affordable housing with which to create home. By doing so, and focusing on creating spaces for conviviality and the flourishing of the commons, the power of communities in resisting the loss of space comes out not only through explicit action, but also through the implicit spatial structures of a more open creation of home.

Conclusion

In presenting this chapter, I have sought to make visible, complicate, and add to the connections between home and homelessness. These connections, as the examples illustrate, are cultural and physical, visceral and imaginative. Just as ending homelessness through a movement devoid of awareness of its unique position at the junction of multiple inequalities and oppressions cannot be effective, so too must the response to homelessness attempt to understand the many significances of home. A movement that highlights the ways in which all inhabitants of an urban area remain connected despite drastically different levels of engagement with the dominant model of home begins to create a holistic path to ending homelessness on a more connected and interdisciplinary level.

Most important, however, is that home can be lived out in an astounding array of ways, and that these manifestations create all kinds of new spatial and cultural knowledge—hence the "creation" of home. When the dominant model of home, that which centers around ownership, low-density, and detached structures, overpowers the

individual agency of people experiencing homelessness to create their own structure, then crunch assimilation occurs. This process, a new frame in which to spatialize not only the hypervisible conditions of urban homelessness but also the less-visible realities of precarious housing outside of the urban core, in turn allows the mapping and theorization of connections between larger suburban development and vacancies as they relate specifically to homelessness. As my interviews with advocates suggest, ending homelessness is less about expanding that dominant model of home and more focused on creating the space for multiple ways of home to coexist within the structures of housing. The reconception of home suggested here also calls for urban space that utilizes the commons, prioritizes spatial proximity, and accepts difference, all practices that would also ameliorate the harmful practices of crunch assimilation that occur through the dominant model of home.

Peter Marcuse, in categorizing the factors most responsible for the housing crisis of today, considers the "propagated myth of homeownership, seeing ownership as an investment entitled to speculative profit rather than providing housing services to its occupant," as equally important to the commodification of said housing and the inability/refusal of government regulation of private profit.[97] His point rings true from a sociopolitical stance; in many ways, my project attempts to move his assertion of the dominance of this model beyond an economic analysis and more towards a set of stories that play out both spatially and anecdotally, lending credence to the lived experiences of people for whom the dominant model of home has not always been an option. These stories, displayed in this chapter as evidence that makes clear the connection between home and homelessness while also explicating its role in creating the warped foundations

of the metropolitan area, require the creation of a more inclusive space, structure, and locational belonging, which represents a combination of Arnold's call for a homeless reconception of home and the possibility for places such as Peace House to anchor this change. Marcuse's focus on the myth of ownership as one of the vital roots to the housing crisis (and, by extension, homelessness) do raise the question that begins the final exploration of this project: How do we know what we do about "home" and "homelessness," and how do cultural forms again cement this often-hidden connection? Ownership, privatization, and the desperate "hue and cry" that forms the Right to the City all inform the next chapter, which traces the cultural knowledge of that key intersection of the intersecting ideas and concrete junctions of home and homelessness.

Everything Must Belong Somewhere: Representations of Home and Homelessness

Just leave the restless ghost in his old hotel/leave the homeless man in his

cardboard cell.

"I Must Belong Somewhere," Bright Eyes (*Cassadaga,* 2007)

How do we make sense of the complicated connections between home and homelessness laid forth in the two previous chapters? In this chapter, I attempt to explore multiple historical moments of home and homelessness through an interdisciplinary cultural critique. In doing so, I engage with and add another layer to Celine-Marie Pascale's analysis of the discursive creation of homelessness, a landmark article that remains central to my own thinking about the relationship between cultural production and policy. Through a thorough examination of representations of homelessness in three key newspapers (the *New York Times, Washington Post,* and *Los Angeles Times*) from the early 1980's to the mid 1990's, Pascale pinpoints the connection between a discourse that disciplines people experiencing homelessness and the economic reality of the exclusivity of home as a necessary commodity.[98] Using Pascale's work as a starting place, I introduce outside texts from film, television, and literature that portray home and homelessness in key cultural moments. Through exploring the discursive knowledge created in these texts, I hope to further solidify the material connection between the creation of home and the economic and geographic reality of homelessness that so many people face.

Representations of homelessness inform and are informed by the dominant model of home and its connection to the spatial reality of homelessness. The key concepts that structure this representation are order, belonging, and fit; the different sections of this chapter in turn explore each of these concepts as they relate to the key texts. However, in order to consider more contemporary representations of home and homelessness in this dialectic of representation and policy we need to first consider the changing representation of homelessness throughout the 20th century. The early conversation around homelessness placed people experiencing homelessness firmly at the mercy of the spatial forces around them, structuring the discourse first around the order of the city through the confinement of Hobehemia and Skid Row as seen through Nels Anderson's early ethnography *The Hobo*. Later, as the hypervisibility of homelessness in urban space came to the forefront, people experiencing homelessness were shown as confined to certain environments, reflecting the loss of public space and the racialization of key spaces already highlighted in the previous chapters. These representations of belonging, order and fit, shown through two key theatrical performances of the 1980s (*Bag Lady* and *The Search for Signs of Intelligent Life in the Universe*) highlight the importance of the home-homelessness connection and the ways that representations of people experiencing homelessness also structure our ideas of belonging inside and outside of place.

Questions of belonging haunt the attempt to place home and homelessness through cultural forms. We can construct belonging through the lens of an imagined community, where citizenship becomes less a matter of actual legality and more a desire to incorporate within the structures that create national consciousness and identity.[99] Alternately, we can theorize home, as Lisa Lowe does, as a more fluid entity, a structure

that comes about for different immigrant communities through non-state focused institutions and rather through the ability to transfer cultural norms into a new context.[100] Both Lowe and Arnold's conceptions of belonging get at the link between a discourse that emphasizes economic individualism and the need for the protections and validations of collective structures such as citizenship, and, I would add here, home. Pascale captures this conundrum when she argues that *"Homelessness* does not so much draw attention to a lack of housing as it does a lack of social networks and a lack of belonging… If people are no longer *at home* when those around them fail to understand their feelings, behaviors, and motivations, then truly, people who cannot afford housing are not at home in the United States."[101] The alienation expressed within this interpretation of the relationship of home/homelessness harkens back to the question engaged in the previous chapter of how one experiences homesickness without a home. It also provides an excellent frame in which to examine texts that engage both home and homelessness, setting up the opportunity to place belonging firmly in the tension between the creation of home and the material conditions of homelessness. Examinations of Robert McCloskey's Homer Price canon and the film *Avalon* (dir. Barry Levinson, 1990) engage this frame in considering how representations of home reflect material realities of homelessness.

An underlying concept which heretofore has not come out is that of order. Order exists both internally and externally to the discussion of the creation of home and its effect on homelessness. The desire for space, privacy, and some kind of security order manifestations of both home and homelessness, as shown by the requirements of home stated by the advocates interviewed in the previous chapter. David Harvey argues that this desire is mediated through the pursuit and accumulation of capital in the city, through

the process of creative destruction also mentioned earlier. He notes that "a political economy of mass dispossession, of predatory practices to the point of daylight robbery— particularly of the poor and vulnerable, the unsophisticated and the legally unprotected— has becomes the order of the day."[102] He suggests that in order to envision a just city, a place that takes to heart Lefevbre's "hue and cry" for the right to its spaces, the relationship of people to place must serve as a common bond[103], perhaps a gentler but equally effective idea of "occupying" urban space than that of the Occupy movement, which at moments displayed what Harvey terms the "collective power of bodies in public space" but at others showed some of the same ability to dispossess and marginalize people experiencing homelessness.

Harvey's analysis, building on Leferbvre and other Marxist scholars of space and place, clearly shows the way that the order of the city impacts homelessness and its cultural and geographic place within the metropolitan area. In examining the movie *The Soloist* (2009, dir. Joe Wright), I pull out instances where the possibilities of home for somebody experiencing homelessness are limited and contrived to fit this sense of order in the city. This ties back to both previous chapters, as I show the ways in which the order of the city limits both the creation of home and the ability to creatively end homelessness, enabling both the nonprofit industrial complex and the dominant model of home. However, this sense of order goes beyond the macro-level and moves into the home itself, as demonstrated by Akiko Busch in her book *Geographies of Home*. She argues that order, which she frames in terms of fit, goes beyond the physical to include the "moral and social," and that "in our increasingly pluralistic, and often chaotic world, finding this sense of fit is ever more important."[104] Where do people experiencing

homelessness "fit" into this conception of home? I will consider Busch's ideas of internal ordering of the home in light of both Harvey's understanding of the city and information from my interviews with housing advocates. In addition to looking at *The Soloist*, I also examine James Mollison's photographic essay *Where Children Sleep*, a text which I read as complicating some of Busch's proclamations of order and fit by adding transnational and multicultural perspectives. Finally, I consider the hip-hop artist Macklemore's paean to the multiple ways in which people experience home in the city. "City Don't Sleep" is at once an awareness-raising song about homelessness, but also an angry rant towards the corporatization of urban space, bringing us full circle to return to the "hue and cry" that inspires much of the work to end homelessness.

Permanence and Perceptions: Structuring Spatial Inequality Over Time

Several dominant narratives cover the story of homelessness, perpetuated through media and a dominant gaze upon the city from an outside viewpoint. These narratives predominantly show homelessness as one of several failures: failure of the individual to find housing, failure of the city to house people, or failure of the individual to support his or her family, thus leading to homelessness. Rarely, however, do these narratives discuss the failure of this country—not an individual city—to support vulnerable families and individuals, or that the plethora of "problems" associated with homelessness (substance abuse, alcoholism, and the ever-so-important crime of "lurking with intent") often result *from* homelessness rather than causing it. Examining structures of spatial inequality in America that create homelessness begins a process of questioning and dismantling narratives that induce complacency and reduce compassion and the potential for empowering action. I hope to show the many ways in which these narratives correlate to

the spatial location of homelessness within the metropolitan area, which in turn sheds light upon what I call the "prohibitive structures" of homelessness. These structures of geography and punitive urban policy create a semblance of permanence around homelessness, creating a sense of people experiencing homelessness as permanently out of fit, belonging nowhere, and against the "natural" capitalist ordering of the city.

The geographic story of the 20th century in the United States tells a tale of movement of people to metropolitan areas: first to cities, then outward to the suburban middle ground.[105] Just as people experiencing homelessness now are constructed as those left behind by the current capitalist market, so too were the initial homeless, usually referred to as "bums," "hobos," or "vagrants," left behind (literally) by the movement of people and capital to cities at the start of the 20th century. Edmond Kelley, a "sometimes lecturer" at Columbia University, wrote in 1908 of "an army of 500,000 tramps of which a large percentage are boys from sixteen to twenty-one years of age, all of them tending to graduate from vagrancy to crime."[106] Kelly goes to some lengths to advocate a European system of labor colonies, or what we might today consider indentured servitude for what he considered to be unproductive and transient citizens. Lest the reader think that Kelly actually advocates brutality, he takes great care to divide tramps into those who can work and those who cannot:

> It is important to distinguish between the able-bodied and the non-able-bodied, because the problem as regards the first is mainly a problem of finding work, whereas the problem as regards the non-able-bodied is rather a problem of fitting them for work.[107]

Posing forced labor as the cure to vagrancy/vagabondage, as Kelly does, reveals several key points about the early construction of homelessness in America, particularly its

geographic place. First, homelessness and poverty are both construed as problems of the individual—given the close linkage of racialized individualism and racialized capitalism throughout American history (and particularly formed around this time as well), this construction is quite obvious. More surprising is the way in which the linkage between willingness to work and ultimate redeemability as a functional and productive (read: laboring and consuming) member of capitalist society has remained entrenched. One needs only to look at welfare reform and the current rhetoric of both major political parties to see Kelly's intellectual descendents in frighteningly influential positions of power. Today, "workfare" is racialized and grounded in place in terms of people of color and urban places, as well as gendered in such a way that blames women of color.[108] In these older ideas we can see the roots of Oscar Lewis' culture of poverty theory and Daniel Patrick Moynihan's infamous report on poverty (1965), which in turn have outsized influence on the rhetoric and policy actions of today.

However, this early construction of homelessness is separate from that of poverty, despite their shared implications. The place-based implications of Kelly's construction show that homelessness, even before it was known as such, is seen as a threat to an American sense of place and order, not just in the hierarchical sense but also speaking geographically. The vagabond is constructed as a placeless individual, one who is "a danger to the community" because he "relates his adventure, brags of his independence…and diligently undoes what little our compulsory education contributes to good citizenship."[109] Thus, in a time when Americans were overwhelmingly moving towards living in close proximity to one another in cities, the vagrant holds the negative characteristics of the frontier, which must be placed somewhere in order to justify the

move away from that particular moment in history. This period highlights the beginning

of homelessness shown as being out of order, or as the scholar and activist Randall

Amster puts it, "lost in space."[110] Just as Kelly and other academics and policy figures

from the era claimed that a group of people who had no fixed home were slowing down

the urban development and entrenchment of capitalism, throughout the 20th century and

into our current moment governments and policymakers across the country have

attempted to restrict the use of urban space and prevent people experiencing

homelessness from using it, often with the justification of such individuals being "bad for

business" or "against the public interest."[111] The early discursive construction of

homelessness is thus linked to policy primarily through place-based insinuations and

discriminations, which all tie back to the ultimate prioritization of the sanctity of the

private home (and with it the private, heterosexual family structure) and *depend entirely*

on the hypervisibility of such bodies, both on the frontier and in the city.

Fifteen years after Kelly's writing, the sociologist Nels Anderson wrote his

seminal ethnography, *The Hobo*. Set in Chicago, *The Hobo* comes straight out of the

University of Chicago's sociology department, which at the time was pioneering new

ways of understanding the spatial orientation of the American city using Emmanuel

Burgess' "concentric ring" theory, which divides the socio-economic terrain of the city

into rings emanating from the urban core. Writing with considerably more empathy than

his predecessors, Anderson spends a great deal of time describing "hobohemias," or areas

of Chicago where people experiencing homelessness congregated; today, we would

describe these as Skid Row areas. The location of homelessness has thus moved into the

city, and is already spatially located and segregated within the area immediately outside

the urban core, which in Chicago translates to the area just outside of the Loop: mostly located along South State Street, and racially segregated as well ("the white man's end of the south section of Hobohemia does not extend south of Twelfth Street").[112] Nor was this newfound urbanization of homelessness unique to Chicago: Minneapolis, which developed much later than Chicago but whose planners still attempted to fit that city's model to their own, labeled "Hobohemia" on maps describing "Natural Areas" and "Vice Areas," both published in 1935-36.[113] Meanwhile, in New York City, visitors began taking tours of the Bowery, the area of Lower Manhattan that remained constructed as a skid row through the 1990s and the beginning of Rudolph Giuliani's hyper-restrictive control of space.[114] The connection between these early zones of homelessness and the racialized policing of the late 20th century is visibility; although the faces of homelessness changed drastically between 1930 and 2000, representing it as localized allowed for the production of a discourse and differentiation around homelessness, structuring it in such ways that persist even into the 21st century. Perhaps most importantly, this pattern of locating homelessness in the urban core set hard geographic and sociological limits around a "problem," and simultaneously limited the threat of homelessness, allowing cities to police and survey areas. The discursive formation around homelessness has justified policies that confine homeless people to distinct spaces while simultaneously monitoring and limiting their use of these spaces. Thus, the representational geography of homelessness sets up the order of the city, in which people experiencing homelessness cannot belong according to the standards of these representations.

By the end of the Great Depression, Hobohemia, or Skid Row, as it was now called with frequency, had become somewhat of an American institution. In Minneapolis,

the area around the now-demolished Gateway Park, where three major avenues

(Washington, Nicollet, and Hennepin) came together by the Mississippi River, functioned

as Hobohemia/Skid Row into the 1950's, with its population growing during the

Depression itself and shrinking during the labor shortage of World War II, when many of

its residents found short-term work.[115] The significance of this changing population is, of

course, the absorption of the former "vagrants" back into capitalism, the same people

that, forty years earlier, were assumed unemployable. Skid row thus presented a conflict

of interest between the desire of the state to spread people out, thus defusing the potential

of protest, and the desire of the academy (as expressed by Anderson and other Chicago-

school theorists) to segregate homelessness, partially as a guard against a perceived

spread of disease and "perversion," but also as somewhat of an academic exercise. From

both sides of this division around skid row, however, comes the impression that, once

again, people without permanent homes are somehow a threat to place, order, and

successful capitalism, reifying exclusive spatial structure and impacting how cities were

built as capitalism spread through its urban base.

The geographer Don Mitchell observes that increased control of urban space and a

harder, more limited definition of the public within American democracy marked the first

half of the 20th century, and to counteract this control "a vigorous democracy must ever

be one in which dissent exceeds the bounds placed on it."[116] Jane Jacobs, Kenneth

Jackson, and David Harvey among others have documented the ways in which cities

made room for capital in the post-war economy through urban renewal policies that

engaged in slum clearing, simultaneously continuing the legacy of spatial control noted

by Mitchell; the most egregious and notable example of such policies was the building of

the Cross-Bronx Expressway in New York by Jacobs' nemesis, Robert Moses.[117] Other

post-war cities followed suit, building highways through predominantly black

neighborhoods with reckless abandon. In the Twin Cities, for example, I-94 today runs

straight through Rondo, a black neighborhood in Saint Paul that was quite literally torn

asunder by the construction of the highway in 1964.[118] Connected to these policies of

urban renewal by their not-so-hidden politics of white supremacy and racial segregation

was slum clearing, a practice that resulted in the elimination of most Skid Row areas

across the country by the mid-sixties. In Minneapolis, most of the former Gateway

district was gone by 1963, ultimately replaced by modernist hotels and insurance

buildings.[119]

Recall that homelessness was distinctly tied to place by the discourse surrounding

it, and particularly confined to the urban core after the publication of *The Hobo*; what,

then, would happen to people displaced by the destruction of skid rows near the central

business district? At least for the mid-century period leading into the late 1970's,

definitions and representations of homelessness became further limited, confined once

again to single, white men with dependencies on alcohol.[120] Further delineation on the

use of urban space also marked the post-war era, when shelters and the few services at

the time for economically struggling people were moved away from the central business

district; in New York, The Bowery continued to hold social service organizations even as

further regulations on public use of parks in the area further separated its inhabitants from

the nearby hyper-capitalist environment of Wall Street. I see this separation of

homelessness from the space it was once deeply associated as necessary given the ways

in which notions of home were gendered and placed firmly in surburban areas, as

illustrated by media such as the television shows *Ozzie and Harriet* and *I Love Lucy*.[121] Removing homelessness from the gaze of those fleeing the city to the suburbs further marginalized the experience of homeless people in mainstream society while also granting a degree of immunity to those who had left. Indeed, Mitchell notes that people experiencing homelessness in this era were "considered misfits, wasted humans incapable because of their personal problems of realizing any part in the affluence the postwar period guaranteed to all those who wanted it."[122] It also allowed the situation to be framed as an individual problem, thus de-emphasizing structural causes and highlighting again the role of fit in representation.

The construction of suburban housing through the GI Bill, the FHA, and other government subsidies aimed at de-concentrating cities through white flight obviously plays a huge role in this understanding of homelessness, rendering it quite invisible. Understanding this era plays an enormous role in connecting uses of place with homelessness for two reasons. First, as Kenneth Jackson reminds us, the postwar era is the time of the polarization of the American metropolitan area, when "cities became identified with fear and danger rather than with glamour and pleasure."[123] As the analysis of *Homer Price* and *Avalon* shortly show, this era presents the strongest formation of home, a home that is built on racialized conceptions of fear around urban space. Homelessness, then, becomes placed and raced even further during this long moment, even as skid row becomes decentralized and homelessness considered invisible. Secondly, this connection (to be explored fully in the next chapter) becomes of paramount importance because of what happened next, from the late 1970's into the

1980's: the sudden hypervisibility of homelessness in the American city and onto the national consciousness, and the very beginnings of coordinated efforts to end it.

I use the word hypervisibilty quite consciously, as it seems to describe how this particularly historical moment was seen both now and then: Mitchell describes an "explosion", while Hopper uses the gentler "reemergence."[124] In a six-page editorial series published in June of 1990, the New York Times called homelessness a "national shame," and goes on to provide what we might consider a popular and contemporary view of the development of the "homelessness problem," which they conclude "may well have become a permanent feature of poverty in America":

> It has all happened in less than a decade, after the experts realized that the 1981-82 recession was not a temporary spasm, but an early warning of an evolving, major socioeconomic breakdown. Homeless - a word that until recently was virtually unknown in the public-policy vocabulary - has become a slogan, a stigma and a symbol of the country's reluctance and inability to relieve a novel suffering among its poorest people.[125]

For the first time since the 1920's and the advent of Hobohemia/skid row, homelessness became spatialized in a wider area—this time, the city as a whole became constructed as a place where homelessness existed and flourished—and was once again tied to poverty, as it had been initially at the turn of the 20th century. This linkage presents a double-edged sword: on the one hand, it certainly implied and encouraged the connection between structures of inequality and poverty and homelessness, shifting the blame from the individual to those very structures. On the other hand, it continued a process of demonizing the city as a space of fear and failure, one where the individual's dreams go to be crushed by the weight of poverty and oppression. Of course, demonizing the city implicitly condemns those who require its resources; as I argued earlier, people

experiencing homelessness have always been differentiated from those experiencing poverty by the hypervisibility and constraint of marked bodies within a particular slice of urban space.

In the 1980's, representations of homelessness appeared onstage as the troupe of hypervisibility reached its peak. Consider the play *Bag Lady*, written by Jean-Claude van Itallie and starring Shami Chaiken, which ran on Broadway in 1979. The character of Clara, the "bag lady" of the play's title, monologues throughout over the occasional interruptions of passerby and "city sounds" such as sirens and arguments. She also explains why she avoids shelter (fear of sexual assault), contributing to a then-unusual conversation on the particular difficulties of women experiencing homelessness. Her physical immobility on the stage represents van Itallie's understanding of the ways in which homelessness trapped people in space, despite all the transportation and physical connections around them:

> CLARA: Here, I have a subway map to get to Brooklyn to the Welfare Center, only I never take the subway so forget it. Anyone want a subway map? (*This last is screamed out aggressively, over the sounds of sirens. Then, immediately, she claps her hand over her mouth, afraid she might be arrested for making a nuisance.*) No don't look at them. Sit down. Be a crazy. Be a good quiet crazy. Smile. Shut up.[126]

The threat of surveillance and punishment keep Clara trapped in a structure of spatial inequality. She cannot use even those most basic of urban resources, public space and transportation to get between different resource areas. On the surface, *Bag Lady* tells a story about a woman with mental illness surviving with a sense of humor in the repressive city (consistent with other portrayals of New York at this time, when the city was only five years removed from bankruptcy). But a closer look at this representation reveals the structuring of spatial inequality that perpetuated homelessness as it became

hypervisible. The preeminence of spatial references in these monologues reveals an obsession with the way that the character <u>fits</u> into the city—a "crazy" in a chaotic place, a homeless person kept away from needed resources. Clara cannot belong anywhere in the city, and yet her presence remains necessary to structure the audience's understanding of the "crazy" city.

Several years later, Lily Tomlin won a Tony for the one woman show *The Search For Signs of Intelligent Life in The Universe*, written by Jane Wagner.[127] One of Tomlin's characters was Trudy, a "bag lady," whose very metaphysical existence gets repeatedly framed in the sound of a crosswalk: "Walk/Don't Walk."[128] Like Clara in *Bag Lady*, Trudy's interactions with the space of the city demonstrate the spatial realities of homelessness framed through fit, order, and belonging. These shows both helped bring women into the conversation about homelessness, which previously had focused almost entirely on male populations, consistent with assumptions and realities about the special place of men in capitalist, patriarchal societies and the homes they produce. And despite the increased attention to women in the cultural texts mentioned above, they continued to be represented primarily as individuals confined to urban areas, which made these representations even less structural than those of homeless men that were emerging at the time. *The Search for Signs of Intelligent Life in the Universe* encapsulates a whole zeitgeist of the 1980s through the multiple personalities that Tomlin inhabits throughout the show. All of the characters are connected by their interactions with New York City and explicitly-stated alienation from suburban life, which Trudy describes through TV commercial flashbacks and uses of metaphors involving Jell-O, Cuisinart products, and *Days of Our Lives*. The culture of the dominant model of home haunts this representation

of homelessness, and thus deserves an exploration of its own through texts that center the creation of home in the 1950s.

Belonging at Home: *Homer Price* and *Avalon*

As has already been discussed, the post-World War II years hold the formative historical moment for the creation and emergence of the dominant model of home. In this era of building suburbia and the un-building of the city through urban renewal, representations of home speak to both the comforts and insecurities of home. This paradox of anxiety and celebration of home comes out in a particularly fascinating way through Robert McCloskey's *Homer Price* stories, and is especially focused in one tale, "Wheels of Progress."[129] McCloskey, the celebrated author of children's classics such as *Make Way for Ducklings*, sets Homer Price, the all-American boy, in a quirky all-American town: Centerburg, Ohio, based off McCloskey's own upbringing in a small Ohio town. Homer Price's world manages to encapsulate nostalgia for the old-world order—all of the principal adult characters are named for figures of the most famous Homer's epic tale—while cautiously embracing the post-war demand for convenience and increased ease in day-to-day life. The relationship between Homer's Uncle Ulysses and Aunt Agnes (usually called Aggy), owners of a "very up and coming lunch room" in downtown Centerburg encapsulates this anxiety and tension around consumption and home. In one memorable story, "The Doughnuts," Ulysses purchases a newfangled doughnut-frying machine to go with his toaster, automatic coffeemaker, and dishwasher. These purchases make Aunt Aggy incredibly nervous, particularly because her husband is "a man with advanced ideas and a weakness for labor saving devices."[130] Yet Ulysses' eccentricities, so central to much of the Homer Price canon and coming from the adult to

whom Homer is closest, reflect the trend of increased consumption and prosperity projected across the nation through the development of housing and increased availability of such devices. Yet the contradiction remains; just as Aggy worries over Ulysses' purchases, so too did the nation exercise moral control over its new spending power. As May notes, "The values associated with domestic spending upheld traditional American concerns with pragmatism and morality, rather than opulence and luxury."[131]

As much as Ulysses' obsession with labor-saving devices amuse and enthrall the reader, they require a larger stage to reach their culmination in a fit of American progress. The seeds for the key site and location for the progress, suburbia, are appropriately sown in the central catastrophe of "The Doughnuts," when a wealthy lady, Ms. Naomi Enders, loses a valuable bracelet in the doughnut batter as the over-zealous machine mass-produces hundreds of doughnuts. The bracelet, found by a black boy named (what else) Rupert Black, ties Ulysses' modernist schemes to Ms. Enders' family fortune, which we soon learn comes from the very founder of Centerburg itself, Ezekiel Enders. In "Wheels of Progress," the unlikely partnership results in the planning and building of Centerburg's first suburb to address a shortage of housing:

> "Now take the matter of houses. The way they *used* to build houses-saw up each board, hammer in nails one at a time, every little shingle and door knob fastened on by hand. But *now*," said Uncle Ulysses, "with up and coming ideas, and modern production genius houses can be built just like this here machine makes doughnuts-" and he made a broad sweep with his right arm.
> "That's the principle!" pronounced Uncle Ulysses, while Miss Enders and Homer gazed in wide eyed wonder.
> "That's the principle that Henry Ford applied to making autos. Yep! Autos are mass produced like doughnuts; ships are built like doughnuts; airplanes and refrigerators, and now *houses*. Yessiree, the *modern* house ought to be mass produced-just like cars or ships or planes. Yessiree! Mass produced, just like that there machine makes doughnuts!"[132]

Centerburg has outgrown itself, technologically but also spatially. For the citizens of the town to truly *belong*, they need a suburb, a site for consumerist desires to meet the moral certitude of home. Since the 1980's, a "housing shortage" inevitably invokes images of homelessness, but here in McCloskey's fictionalization of the post-war "housing boom," the commodity, rather than the shelter, comes to the forefront. The physical structure of housing is created to engender belonging to the zeitgeist of the time, a structure of feeling that assumes homogeneity and assimilation and glosses over differences of class, race, and nationality.

Even as McCloskey engages in this narrative of home, he also has some fun at its expense. Before the new suburb of Enders' Heights (so named even though it is "flat as a board") can open its doors to "deserving tenants," the town must celebrate "150 years of Centerburg Progress Week." It is in this week, capped with a ceremony, that the town's powers seize the opportunity to reframe the narrative of home in order to capitalize on the new housing development. Homer and his friend Freddy, enlisted to participate in the ceremony, find themselves donning redface to play the part of the former residents of the land, who appear as nothing more than a footnote to history, the uprooted who pave the way for Enders' Heights and the commodity of home. Likewise, the African Baptist Choir belts out the backing harmony to the pageant, yet the only "deserving tenant" we know the identity of is Freddy's aunt (presumably white), and we never find out if Rupert Black, the black boy of the doughnut story and certainly "deserving" both in circumstance and income, receives a home for his troubles. McCloskey paints a picture of "progress" that in fact depends on existent hierarchies of power and privilege, where

belonging to the imagined community of Centerburg in its newest form depends on one's place in both the past and present stories of the town.

Thankfully, the automatic and mass-produced rampage of housing has some real, albeit hilarious, consequences in Centerburg. It transpires that Ezekiel Enders, the white forefather of the town, first took the land by stealth and then quashed later rebellions using the mystical buying power of his homemade cough-syrup. But those who aren't drinking the kool-aid of "progress," specifically one Dulcey Dooner, the man responsible for the putting-up of street signs in the new suburb, end up consuming another kind of liquid. In the chaotic finale, the "deserving tenants" walk from the pageant to Enders Heights, only to discover that their houses are completely unknowable from one another because Dulcey, instead of installing the identifying signs, has stumbled upon Ezekiel's long-lost magical cough syrup and is completely unconscious from its effects. So for all the pretense of progress, the town built on the backs of people of color produces a set of "deserving tenants" who literally cannot find their "home" in the new suburb. Of course, Homer and Freddy save the day by discovering the location of the old homestead, from which the new residents can find their houses. But McCloskey troubles the waters just enough for us to ponder that the need to belong to the imagined community of Centerburg and the home contained within it overrides the actual structure itself. From *Homer Price*, drawing on Pascale's understanding of homelessness as something more than simply the lack of structure, we can extrapolate that home, which reflects the anxieties of this time period, will always be more about imagining community through commodity than the physical state of having a roof over one's head—or, in this case, the directional markers of Suburbia.

The tension between the commodity and the structure, between belonging and living in community again surfaces in Barry Levinson's *Avalon* (1990), a film that focuses on the same era but from an entirely different spatial and temporal location. *Avalon* centers on a Jewish family in Baltimore on the verge of suburbanization. We first follow the patriarch of the family, Sam Krichinsky, as he immigrates in 1914 and joins his brothers in a wallpapering business. 40 or so years later, the family has by all considerations outgrown its rowhome in Baltimore, and Sam's son Jules, spurred on by a late-night mugging and his wife Ann's need for space, moves the family to a suburban split-level house. However, the move begins to tug at the fabric of the family, through a series of miscommunications and mishaps. Sam's brother Gabriel arrives very late to a Thanksgiving celebration in the new home, only to discover that the family has started without him; this leads to an incredible moment of juxtaposition where Gabriel screams at Sam about family loyalty, community, and proximity, the two of them surrounded by quiet family homes and green lawns with a soundtrack of pleasant crickets in the background. Later, at a "family circle" meeting (a long institutionalized tradition) in Baltimore, Jules is reprimanded for being late because he was "taking golf lessons." And Eva, Sam's wife and Jules' mother, refuses to get in the car with Ann, as she doesn't trust her driving—a severely limiting complication of a new life in the suburbs.

Avalon, for all of its intergenerational drama, is ultimately a movie about the loss of place—in this sense, Levinson's continual return to the mythical Avalon produces what Lisa Lowe refers to as "excavations that trace the regulation and transformation of the physical and psychological spaces of otherness."[133] The process of suburbanization for Jews in the post-war era, while it manifested most obviously in terms of space, had

broad racial underpinnings; as Eric Goldstein notes, this period culminated in "incorporation into white America" for Jews, as new suburban families found themselves on the other side of the housing divide and no longer on the wrong side of racial covenants.[134] But in *Avalon*, race somehow takes a back seat in a portrayal of Baltimore that focuses far more on the space of the crowded rowhouse than the *place* of the city as a space with multiple claims and communities. Thus, the ascent into whiteness and the suburbs somehow becomes an entirely one-dimensional process, where Ann's desire for space and Jules' golfing aspirations only impact their immediate families and are not formed off of racialized perceptions and desires. Many of the landscape shots from the film perpetuate this view: the Krichinsky's suburban home is usually shown alone, apart from its neighbors, whereas the views of the block where the rest of the extended family lives in Baltimore, while charming, gets visually labeled as communally chaotic, with kids running pell-mell everywhere to accentuate the crowded living situation, justifying the move to the suburbs. As Michael, Jules' son and the young protagonist through whose eyes we see many filmic moments, worries about moving to the suburbs and Ann dreams of not having her mother-in-law hovering over her every mood, we are reminded that the imagination plays an enormous role in creating home, on both micro and macro levels.

But at what price do we pursue belonging through home? Steven Whitfield, in an excellent analysis of the movie, notes that Levinson takes pains to show the "effects of...centrifugal force, as power dissipates into newer and smaller configurations."[135] The Krichinsky family, led by Jules and his cousin Izzy's wild success as owners of a discount department store, acquires wealth throughout the movie and turns this wealth over into a constant pursuit of space and a better life, acquiring both whiteness and the

country-club lifestyle of the suburbs in the process. Levinson seems to critique his characters' outward expansion away from family by showing all of the negative impact of all of this growth—loss of conviviality and community (the vibrancy of the Baltimore marketplace where Izzy and Jules ply their wares gradually fades in prominence throughout the movie, replaced by the white noise of television and plastic-tray dinners), geographic distancing, and the distance in family relations that comes from it. With these changes come drastic alterations to the idea of home, seen through the eyes of multiple generations. For Michael, home is seen through play—once seen predominantly playing in the street, he now has misadventures in a front yard with a bees' next under the porch. Jules, rather than dispensing advice to his son and bantering with Izzy in the street while walking, now does so in a car, always shown driving past green lawns. And Sam, whose relationship with the larger family is most hurt by the move the suburbs, and whose rift with his brother Gabriel is specifically due to the move, never seems at home in the suburbs, particularly after Eva dies; the movie ends on a wholly depressing note with Sam in a nursing home, musing that "in the end you spend everything you ever had...just to exist in a place like this." As Michael (now grown) listens, his own small son watches the Macy's Day parade on TV. The camera focuses on a float depicting a large, exaggerated Native American head. As Sam continues on to describe the loss of Avalon, Levinson's directorial choices suggest a desire to link the losses of suburbanization and urban renewal with the colonial conquest of America, that these processes of land domination and destruction have now come full circle in a nursing home that could be anywhere. As Whiting points out, in Levinson's world, America has won.[136]

The problem with stopping here and giving Levinson the ground to make this grand and somewhat critical connection at the end of the film is fairly large, however: throughout, the characters of *Avalon* are shown as acting in a vacuum where their choices about home appear as natural and entirely inevitable. In a similar (though less funny) vein as *Homer Price*, the characters of Avalon take "progress" at its face value. One particularly emblematic shot is one of a streetcar on a crane, being lowered into the ground as a diner, no longer a moving symbol of geographic closeness. Eva frets continually about her daughter-in-law's driving, and yet the most calamitous accident involving transportation happens when a streetcar runs off the tracks and into the family car. Levinson marks these kinds of advances as inevitable, both through the lost symbol of the streetcar and through dialogue, such as Izzy's constant jokes tying potential failure at the discount store to having to move back to Baltimore. But just as the creation of home was far from inevitable, so too was Jewish ascension into whiteness through suburbanization and class ascent a conscious act of reframing from a "race" to a "people."[137] But the nightclub that Sam used to own, a place with a predominantly black clientele, only gets mentioned as part of a story about assimilation, rather than a formative space for creating wealth to in turn create a new kind of home in the suburbs. Indeed, the overall lack of attention to race remains troubling—that a film centered on the period of white flight from Baltimore (insert stat on race) manages to barely show nonwhite people in its "urban commons" panoramic shots again makes the Krichinsky family's choices seem entirely inevitable, rather than part of a racialized structure of space, as we know these processes to actually function.

Ultimately, both *Avalon* and *Homer Price* demonstrate the power of home without getting to the source of this power, hidden beneath the removal of race from the consideration of place. And underneath the desire for home in both of these texts lies the stark reality of "un-home," or to return to Pascale, the "lack of belonging" that comes from a loss of choice and "the rhetorical space of community and belonging."[138] In both texts, the power of national belonging overcomes the pull of small-town or ethnic community, leading to the creation of home outside of those contexts. And although neither text directly addresses homelessness, the implications of *unheimlisch* remain: the fear of being lost or stuck in urban space, the teleological power of the dominant model of home as the end of all spatial troubles, and the need to somehow organize the city in a way that separates "housing" from "home" all set the stage for later representations and realities of homelessness. The creation of home as a geographic space is thus mirrored by its creation as a cultural form. With this cultural framework of understanding the discursive creation of home (which is the dialectical negation of Pascale's discussion of homelessness), we now move to examine cultural texts that directly address homelessness through representations of order and control.

"The Homeless, Who Only Have the Concrete:" *The Soloist, Where Children Sleep,* and *City Don't Sleep*

> *Manzanar Murakami sensed the time of day through his feet, through the vibration rumbling through the cement and steel, and by the intervals of vehicles passing beneath him...Few composers of his category were so unknown, so unheard, so without recompense for their art, so maligned, and so invisible. To say that Manzanar Murakami was homeless was as absurd as the work he chose to do. No one was more at home in LA than this man.[139]*

> ~Karen Tei Yamashita, *Tropic of Orange*

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Order and chaos structure director Joe Wright's take on *The Soloist* (2009), a film that both follows and deviates from its namesake, the acclaimed 2008 novel by Steve Lopez. At the time a columnist at the Los Angeles Times, Lopez spun first a series of stories and then a book out of a chance encounter with Nathaniel Ayres, a Julliard-trained violinist who also happens to experience homelessness and mental illness on LA's famed skid row.[140] But while Lopez wrote a book that compassionately tells Ayres' story while providing an insightful look at the power dynamics inherent in urban space and in interactions between housed and homeless people, the film version puts more emphasis on Lopez as a character, played by Robert Downey Jr. In the film's opening, we see the order of Los Angeles on a macro level—a panoramic view of the skyline, a plane landing at LAX with a very calm flight attended voice dubbed in, and, of course, the freeways. These slow-panned shots then juxtapose with our introduction to Downey Jr's character as he first falls off his bike, then wakes up in a completely chaotic hospital where the implied violence of the city whooshes by the viewer in the form of gunshot wound victims and angry patients at a reception area. Before we even meet Nathaniel Ayres, *The Soloist* establishes Los Angeles as a space of hard spatial realities, where gunshot wound victims have a place in the city that is just as clearly defined as the role of the airport and highways.

To what degree does *The Soloist* accept people experiencing homelessness as "part of the landscape," and conversely, does the film present a critique of the normative "home" that so strongly orders the city? In Mike Davis' theorization of Los Angeles, the city becomes a fortress, and people experiencing homelessness receive the brunt of this

economic and social containment through the spatial order.[141] As Lopez wanders around

the public square immediately prior to meeting Ayres (portrayed by Jamie Foxx), we hear

sirens in the background. Meanwhile, when Ayres begins his initial monologue (designed

to show the viewer that he suffers from schizophrenia), his first association with the city

of Los Angeles is the LAPD:

> In Los Angeles you have Los Angeles PD, LA Times, Los Angeles Lakers. Those
> are armies too, military regimentations, experimentation, Roman numeral, Roman
> Catholic, Colonel Sanders…

Later, in hot pursuit of a story, Lopez disrupts the ordered flow of traffic (a recurring

motif) by swerving across three lanes when he sees Ayres playing his violin alone in a

canyon between skyscrapers. There, couched between large pillars and shown through a

very shaky camera as the traffic roars by, Ayres is shown as part of the space of the city,

despite the premise of his uniqueness (as a brilliant musician) from other people

experiencing homelessness in Los Angeles. But for Ayres, the barriers of urban space

don't apply to everyone; as he and Lopez stand in the canyon, a plane briefly appears

between buildings, and after telling the journalist that "Mr. Steve Lopez does what Mr.

Steve Lopez wants," he asks in all seriousness if Lopez is flying the plane. The structure

and order of the city, which I read through the continual return to overhead shots of

highway interchanges and particularly panoramas of the skyline, reminiscent of Harvey's

assertion on the predominant role of capital in structuring the city, thus limits both

characters to dots on the urban landscape; but Lopez, in Ayres' brain, can fly a plane,

whereas he must play his violin where "the pigeons applaud as they take off."

The most controversial aspect of *The Soloist* was director Wright's decision to ask

actual residents of *Skid Row* to portray themselves, rather than bringing in extras. While

some reviewers praised the decision as a means of keeping the film grounded in reality[142], others were less keen on Wright's methodology, which included asking crowds on Skid Row "Okay, so who's a crackhead?"[143] Either way, the viewer enters skid row in a burst of racialized chaos, with reggaeton blasting in the background and Lopez navigating his Saab through a sea of people either banging on his windows or fighting in the street. In particular, the preponderance of overstuffed shopping carts and people sleeping on the sidewalk suggests that this space is homeless, shown primarily as a disruption to the ordered abstract space of the city at large. Reading this scene with a right to the city framework would also suggest that the warehousing of people experiencing homelessness in a skid row-type situation is not simply a disruption, but in fact a key part of upholding the spatial order of the "fortress" that is Los Angeles and other post-Fordist cities. Unsurprisingly, the film refuses to go here; the skid row of *The Soloist* is an aberration of the urban landscape, a shocking reality but not one to question as an implicit part of the urban equation. Susan Ruddick's observation from several decades ago that the "dream machine" of Hollywood also held the spatial reorganization that made it home for thousands of runaway youth thus continues to apply to different spaces within the city, as the meta-narrative of Los Angeles is used to emphasize the plight of people experiencing homelessness on Skid Row.[144] And homelessness, presented as sad reality rather than linked to the very space of Los Angeles as a city, becomes fodder for Hollywood's money machine rather than animus for change, the city order still driven by the pursuit of capital.

If the chaos and mess of Skid Row comes off as anathema to home, the film does at least manage to mock the other extreme of the spectrum, which comes through the

form of Lopez attempting to attach sacks of coyote urine to his lawn to prevent rabbits from eating his grass, an activity that ends in an equally chaotic manner. The juxtaposition of this misadventure immediately following the lengthy row scene is both comic and insightful, as Lopez' discomfort with the chaos of skid row gets reflected in his own humiliation in a by-product of traditional homeownership. Although meant to be humorous, this scene reproduces a discourse of home where patriarchal ownership of home and the attempt to "tame" the surrounding landscape leads to activities such as lawn-mowing or, in this case, pest prevention through coyote urine. However, Lopez still fails to understand the full implications of "home" for Ayres, getting easily frustrated at his long adjustment period to an SRO at The Lamp (a housing nonprofit on skid row) and completely missing the importance of comfort and familiarity in his life ("This is a perfect musical environment." "This? This is a sidewalk!"). Somehow, in this world it is more normal to cover yourself in coyote urine while attempting to protect your property than to play music in an outdoor urban environment.

While Ayres has some commonalities with Manzanar Murakami, Karen Tei Yamashita's character who is described in the epigraph, the amount of agency allowed them could not be more different; where Murakami reminds readers respect the different ways of creating home, Ayres' life represents a story of the dominant model gone horribly wrong. And although *The Soloist* has moments of spontaneity which break through the standard representation of home, they usually come through satirizing Lopez' existence rather than critically examining the options available to his counterpart. Thus, the portrayal of people experiencing homelessness as permanently trapped in urban space, first discussed in Wagner and von Itallie's plays from the 1980's, continues to hold

sway in *The Soloist*, a movie that had every opportunity to bust these stereotypes wide open and give its characters agency as Lopez the author did in his book. Through showing The Lamp as a well-intentioned yet completely overwrought nonprofit, the film depoliticizes homelessness (differently than the book, which features an astute critique of Mayor Antonio Villaraigosa's urban renewal policies), a choice that affects both the NPIC and the limitation of home resulting from it. Without overstating the case, it seems fair to observe that *The Soloist* was many Americans' largest cultural exposure to homelessness in the 21st century so far and that, while it raises awareness of a problem, the safe directorial choices ultimately keep the intertwined systems of home and homelessness separate enough to preserve the comfort of housed viewers.

This is not meant to belittle the potential power of raising cultural awareness around homelessness, which, when done well, can speak in multiple languages to many different kinds of listeners or viewers. The Seattle-based hip-hop artist Macklemore manages a more nuanced understanding of home and homelessness in his 2005 song "City Don't Sleep."[145] Rapping over a simple loop, Macklemore frames himself as a compassionate outsider to homelessness, much the same way that Lopez' character sees himself as a journalist exposing the problem to public light. The opening stanza sets forth the location and subject of the song quite clearly:

> Now everyday that I walk outta my building
> I see homeless people sleeping and chillin' on the steps to the apartment that I live in....
> We've come to accept the homeless as part of our landscape
> The money the government wastes could provide them with a safe place
> To eat and sleep, but we cease to see that our own country is based
> around war, power and greed
> We got families on the streets with nowhere to go
> and the concrete's the only place they have to call to call home.

Macklemore uses the urban landscape as a setting to frame homelessness at the intersection of "belonging" and "fit" in the wider American political and economic universe. Unlike *The Soloist*, "City Don't Sleep" addresses homelessness as a completely political issue, one deeply rooted in the national ethos of "war, power, and greed." The recurring theme of "nowhere to go" also dovetails nicely with Pascale's assertion, quoted earlier, that homelessness is less about physical structure and ultimately about a lack of belonging. Without pathologizing people experiencing homelessness, Macklemore gets quickly to the root problem of systemic spatial inequality and the structures that perpetuate it.

Macklemore, who is white, also successfully integrates a critical understanding of race in America to his discussion of homelessness. In the second verse, he raps that:

> We don't want to face it,
> And it being the fact that the government created the ghetto and gave it crack,
> To oppress immigrants and blacks, and give 'em more of a setback.
> Like the last 500 years wasn't enough to accomplish that.
> Now look at the homeless rate, and tell me to my face that race,
> Doesn't play an intricate part in your fate in the United States,
> Now think about your home, and the place that you sleep,
> And the homeless, who only have the concrete.

By tying homelessness to racialized structures of inequality, "City Don't Sleep" already makes an important intervention in the older narratives of victim-blaming and pathologizing that so often contribute to the discursive creation of homelessness. Even more impressively, it does so conscious of the urban landscape—in other words, homelessness is shown not simply a disturbing part of the structure and order of the city, but instead becomes the lynchpin that holds it all together, particularly in the final lines of

the verse above. The home is explicitly connected to the concrete, simultaneously acknowledging the inadequacy of housing for everyone within the present-day city and the deep connection between "the place that you sleep" and the fate of others. This most effective kind of advocacy speaks to both individual and systemic levels of understanding home, and goes a long way towards making ending homelessness a political movement rather than a policy issue. Macklemore's own goals becomes clear towards the end of the song, when he implores the listener to recognize their own role in home and homelessness: "You wanna see change? Then put your ones in the air/you think the system that we're living in is not fair? You wanna see change? Then put your ones in the air/now point them at yourself, cause change starts right there." Whereas *The Soloist* and other individual-based narratives of homelessness dating back to Kelly's Chicago ethnographies seek to place the blame outside of the system and onto the individual themselves, "City Don't Sleep" treats homelessness in a way that recognizes racialized and spatialized inequality and attempts to intervene on multiple levels.

For a three-minute song, Macklemore packs a lot in. But what we don't get is the full power of agency for people experiencing homelessness. Because the song is written from the point of view of an "ally," it ends up aiming directly at people with homes, and in doing so eliminates the possibility of empowerment or agency for its subjects. But what "City Don't Sleep" does successfully pull off is a reordering of the urban order that encapsulates the "hue and cry" for the just city. By doing so, it reframes the conversation of "fit" from one of dirt and filth and impediments to the pursuit of capital to the question of "fit" in terms of structures of inequality. The question is answered resoundingly—yes, homelessness does fit into a narrative of institutionalized racism, housing-based

discrimination, overpolicing of urban space, and the destruction of lower-income communities through urban renewal and gentrification. And no, it is not acceptable that this continues. By refocusing the conversation and making the necessary strong connections between race, place, and space, Macklemore has created a piece of work that, while far from perfect, should provide a spark in the effort to fully flesh out ideas of order and fit in the work to end homelessness.

Both of these previous cultural representations of the two core concepts have focused on outdoor environments—the street of Skid Row, the concrete of the city. In James Mollison's critically-acclaimed photographic essay *Where Children Sleep*, the focus shifts to the inside. To the photographer, the opportunity to photograph children in their living environments "became a vehicle to think about issues of poverty and wealth, about the relationship of children to personal possessions, and the power of children—or lack of it—to make decisions about their lives."[146] At the heart of this inquiry lies a contrast evident in the photographs between scarcity and excess. Neither of these extremes correlate to normative ideas about "order" in its most pervasive sense, which is as the sensible middle. A photo of a child's room in a slum in Kathmandu, cluttered with worn-looking boxes and blankets, is represented alongside a cluttered but wealthy room in Tokyo; likewise, a photo of an incredibly tidy dwelling in a "village in Senegal" with relatively few possessions save books can exist alongside neatly arranged penthouse bedroom on 5th Avenue in New York.[147] [148] The combination of these photographs goes a long way in expanding the definition of home, with the added poignancy of doing so through the eyes of children, who currently make up the fastest-growing segment of the homeless population in the United States.[149] But Mollison does not only challenge his

readers to think about different levels of wealth in privilege in the world; indeed, these photos expand the definition of home through their inclusion of many different transnational modes of shelter, community, and structure.

Writing with regard to the bedroom specifically, Akiko Busch notes that "We want the place we sleep to be a place of substance. And so our beds, and bedrooms, are growing."[150] Busch refers to spatial growth, not the kind of cultural growth of the notion of a bedroom presented in "Where Children Sleep." Indeed, many of the abodes shown in the book would fall into HUD's definition of homelessness in the United States: a mattress on a grassy field, a small cot in a shack with caving walls and a warped roof, and a sofa on a crowded street.[151] And yet they are presented as home, alongside spaces which truly do represent an incredible bloating in the size of the bedroom (all photos, of course, taken from the United States). How can this enormous disparity possibly _fit_ into Busch's very ordered idea of "fit" within a home, the "moral and social" dimensions of refuge amidst the chaos of the outside world? We come to see that considering the home as a one-dimensional quest for the acquisition of space, as it is portrayed in both _Avalon_ and _Homer Price_, strips away possibilities for people to set their own desires. Likewise, Mollison's photos show that a strict definition of homelessness, in addition to setting an framework that remains too specific to American cities, blocks off alternate understandings of home which can in turn create more open-minded policies.

The very real practice of expanding the physical size of the bedroom and the home at the cost of people experiencing homelessness in the United States, and the policies that created this practice, are themselves the product of that discursive creation of homelessness that Pascale pinpoints as creating a situation where people experiencing

homelessness are "out of order."[152] By presenting alternatives to that order which inspires

a sense of "fit" into which people experiencing homelessness can normally never belong,

Mollison's photographs make another key intervention at the intersection of narrative and

policy. Americans are bombarded by the dominant model of home and mainstream

representations of homelessness that stigmatize both people and space on a daily basis,

yet this collection makes a much deeper impact just on its own as a powerful piece of

work that forces questioning of the most basic assumptions of sleep and shelter. In many

ways, "Where Children Sleep" and "City Don't Sleep" could form a very comprehensive

companion set, with one focusing on the ordering of the city and the other on the people

and communities that don't fit into said structures. Taken together, these texts serve as a

reminder of the constant connection between discourse and policy, the unshakeable

linkage of the expansions and contractions of home and homelessness, and most

importantly, of the need to talk and act together to reclaim the city from the "order" of

capital accumulation that, as long as it carries the day, prevents the end of homelessness

and perpetuates a terrible abuse of space, people, and communities.

Conclusion

Stuart Hall posits that "representation is the production of meaning" by which we

form conceptual maps consisting of connections between people, places, events, and

ideas.[153] Through the analysis of different forms of representation in this chapter, I have

emphasized the role of place in particular as key in forming this conceptual map of

homelessness that remains dominant in the United States. Most important of all is the link

between cultural representation and the concrete reality that people face in their day-to-

day lives; whether that reality involves a safe structure and an adequate home or if the

situation lies somewhere on the spectrum of homelessness, cultural representation of home and homelessness has played a role both in the creation and promulgation of these disparate realities. From the "hobo" to the "vagrant" to the skid row of Nathaniel Ayres, I have tried to trace the development of ideas of homelessness that confine people to certain spaces of the city, forever branding both them and the associated places. The example of Peace House in Chapter 1 shows that counter-narratives can intermingle with community-based organizing and action to intervene in this cycle; likewise, the photographs of Mollison shows that even in culture, counter discourses are possible, especially when they are driven by the insights of homeless people themselves. Yet to even engage in this work takes the willingness to discuss and confront these narratives of space, place, and homelessness that are deeply endemic to any representation of the American city.

For far too long, people experiencing homelessness have been trapped in space by this connection between unexamined cultural production and policy that ignores the ongoing legacies of the warped foundations of home. The hope with this final chapter on representing homelessness remains to broaden the conversation and link it with some of the more policy-oriented findings of the previous chapters. If we are to talk about homelessness, and we certainly must talk about homelessness, the conversation cannot happen without a congruent discussion of home, with all of its socio-spatial and geographic implications. To focus a movie on a tortured but brilliant musician trying to escape Skid Row really should represent the opportunity to question what kind of home awaits him on the "other side," and to critically examine the role that home has played in the lives of other characters. Yet for mainstream consumption, the story and the onus of

responsibility is placed on the individual experiencing homelessness, just as previous cultural production of homelessness focused on the "misfit" nature of hobos and vagrants rather than the geographic and economic structures that forced their situation. These different texts show that, with the exception of the counter narrative, representations of homelessness hide its connection to the dominant model of home while situating people experiencing homelessness within the order of the city and without a place to fit or belong.

To shift the conversation, we must expand our understanding of homelessness to include home, and vice versa. No longer can we talk about *Homer Price* or *Avalon* solely as products of a post-war desire for a stable home; we have to read these texts as equally important to something like "City Don't Sleep" in understanding why we have yet to end homelessness in America. The transnational connections introduced by Mollison also provide necessary perspective, as the oppositional force of capital that orders the city and causes the lack of fit continues to grow as a global phenomenon, which is why the Right to the City must also take in many forms of resistance. Ideally, writing new stories to expand the idea of home ought to circle back to grassroots work to build a movement based around a sociopolitical (not policy) struggle to end homelessness, as the discursive broadening of home and homelessness needs to walk the walk of true empowerment through interdisciplinary cultural work that centers the voices of people experiencing homelessness. In promoting the unheard stories and voices of homelessness that provide space to draw the most important connections, we can create a new discourse that in turn opens the door to a broader idea of home and a more just city.

Conclusion

In presenting and problematizing the spatial and cultural connections between the creation of home and homelessness, the voices and experiences of people experiencing homelessness themselves become central, both through their presence in alternative creations of home and their absence in mainstream cultural representation. In order to end homelessness, these voices must come forth not only through sites of resistance and solidarity such as Peace House, but also through the actual process of finding home through supportive housing and the policy debate that surrounds it. Every time that I attend a conference or gathering focused on ending homelessness, I'm struck by the disconnect between the conversations in the room and the immediate surroundings outside. Last summer at such a conference in Washington, DC, the hotel conference center was located downtown; after a day full of policy-focused conversations that set a high point of entry through their reliance on professional jargon, it was jarring to walk outside and realize that I had been talking about the people around me all day without talking to them. Aside from exemplifying the structures of the NPIC, this episode also showed the separation between representation both culturally and politically when it comes to ending homelessness. Not only does the mainstream discourse disallow agency for people experiencing homelessness, but the very structures working to end it also continue this harmful exclusion, leading to policies that create material exclusion through crunch assimilation.

Perhaps by injecting a conversation that includes a critique of the dominant model of home into the work to end homelessness we can broaden both the ideas and the conversation. The creation of home discussed predominantly in Chapter Two is

essentially a process of controlling space—through governmental policies, suburbia came into being as a place where behavior was preselected by design in order to mitigate the fear of a Communist threat. This spatial control then extended to the urban core, through the process of the vacancy chain and the power of racialized perception of certain public spaces and areas. This control is then solidified through the discourses surrounding home and homelessness presented in Chapter Three. In order to shake this connection, people experiencing homelessness themselves create a new kind of order, one that prioritizes *their* needs of home. This can be viewed through the frame of the right to the city, which calls for, in Don Mitchell's words, "the right to *inhabit*, to appropriate and control."[154] The creation of home, done in a way that respects the difference between displacement and homelessness as central to digging out the structural inequalities that cause homelessness, would allow families, individuals, and youth the opportunity to appropriate the physical structure of home to fit their own needs and definitions without perpetuating the discourses and inequalities of the dominant model. By doing so, the empowerment and solidarity that exists at organizations like Peace House in Minneapolis and Picture the Homeless in New York could itself take hold of the larger movement to end homelessness, circumscribing the NPIC and turning the movement from one that highlights a <u>lack</u> of housing to one that focuses on the <u>agency</u> of people experiencing homelessness to create alternative conceptions and spatial realities of home.

This work, then, to move towards ending homelessness through a discourse and policy that focuses on its perpetuation through the dominant model of home and the crunch assimilation caused by it, begins at the level of representation. We need more songs and media texts like "City Don't Sleep," which show homelessness at the nexus of

institutionalized racism and spatialized inequality of wealth and access to the amenities of urban life. An enhanced discourse can in turn create the possibility of housed people talking "with" people experiencing homelessness, rather than talking about them, to again borrow from the work of Picture the Homeless. This atmosphere of empowerment and trust must then extend to the actual creation of policy around homelessness, a discussion that must also expand from the symptom (people living without a home) to the roots of the problem--the inequity caused by the exclusivity of the dominant model of home and its roots in the fragmented metropolitan area, a fundamentally warped foundation from which to create a just city. Thus, the work to end homelessness expands outside of the NPIC into housing policy that could address leftovers from the initial creation of home such as the home mortgage interest deduction, a policy that incentivizes homeownership but on its own costs an incredible 28 times the entire budget of HUD.[155] By making this connection explicit in policy, advocates and policymakers could bring forward the voices of people experiencing homelessness to then redesign the spatial reality of homelessness to accommodate multiple definitions of home and begin the process of reorganizing the metropolitan area to create a broader sense of belonging for all of its inhabitants.

The interconnectedness of everyone in a metropolitan area remains at the heart of both the practice and the theory of attempting to create a more just place. Through exposing these connections in this project, I hope to complete the earlier comparison of the non-inevitability of both suburbanization and homelessness. Just as neither is inevitable and both were created through policies and practices that came out of a specific time, so too can both be reversed. But the exclusivity of the dominant model of home and the horrific spatial realities of homelessness will not end if they are addressed separately.

Rather, by tying the two together a movement could arise that critiques capital's appropriation of urban space while creating clear pathways for people experiencing homelessness to appropriate their own space and reinvent home to cover everyone's needs. Just as the destruction of the Haverford State Hospital recreated the dominant model of home, so too can more intentional and progressive transformation of space and buildings work to help people experience homelessness, a process already happening in some cities through the re-appropriation of old buildings into supportive housing and geographic investments in creating a more inclusive model of home. Meanwhile, the work to end homelessness continues, bounded by the shadow of home but searching for safety, inclusivity, and the right to a just city.

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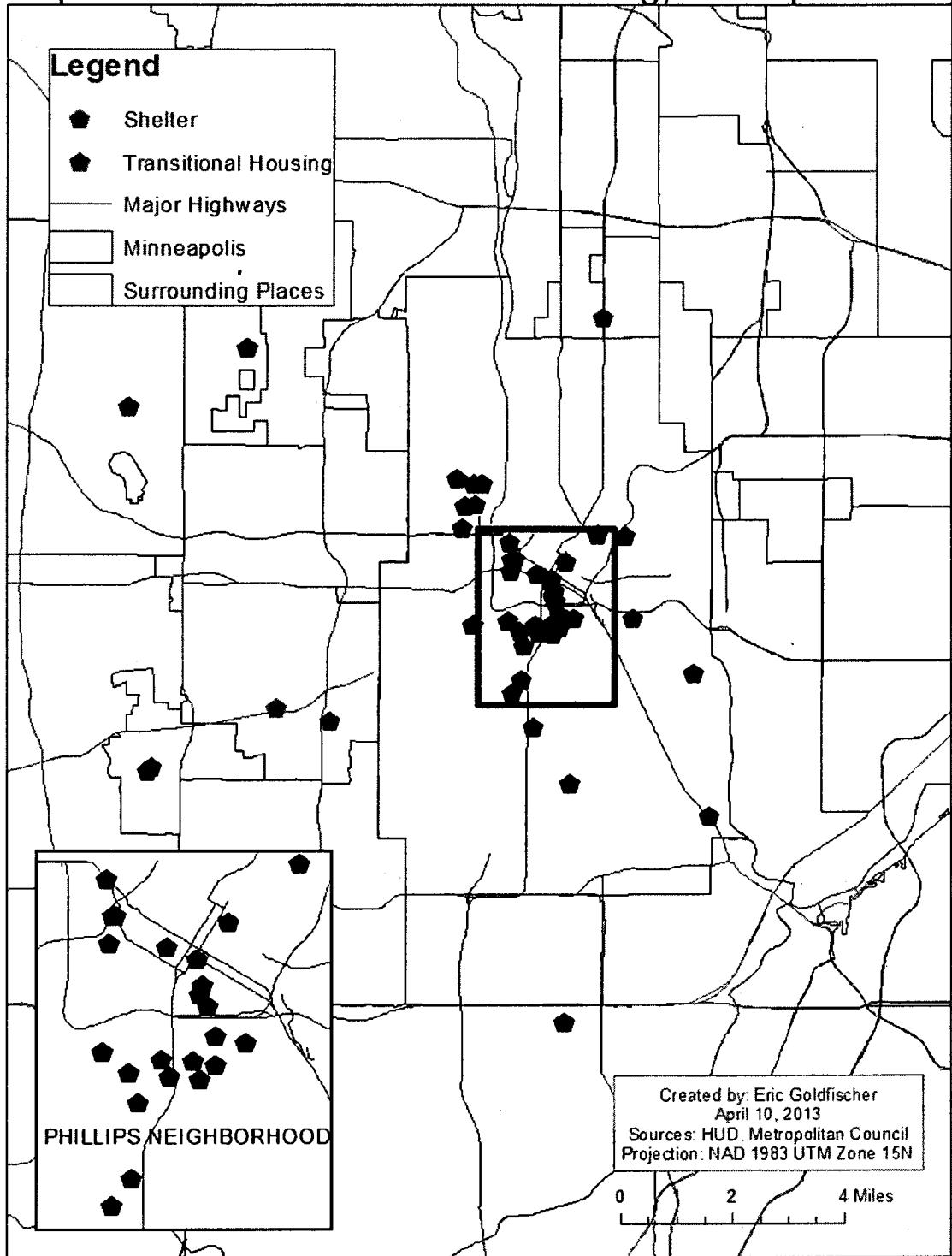
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Appendix
Map 1: Twin Cities Housing Submarkets

Map 1: From Adams, John S and Barbara VanDrasek, *Minneapolis-St. Paul: People, Place, and Public Life*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1991. P. 105

Map 2: Shelter and Transitional Housing, Hennepin County

Legend

⬟ Shelter

⬟ Transitional Housing

— Major Highways

☐ Minneapolis

☐ Surrounding Places

PHILLIPS NEIGHBORHOOD

Created by: Eric Goldfischer
April 10, 2013
Sources: HUD, Metropolitan Council
Projection: NAD 1983 UTM Zone 15N

0   2   4 Miles

Notes

[1] Davenport, Christian and Ralph Vigoda,"Haverford State Hospital Will Be Closed, Patients to be Split Between Norristown, Group Homes." *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, August 27th, 1997.

[2] Ibid

[3] Hopper, Kim. *Reckoning with Homelessness*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2003. P. 6

[4] http://www.haverfordreserve.com/

[5] http://www.haverfordreserve.com/pdfs/residents-talk-about-carriage-homes.pdf, a veritable minefield of definitions of "home" according to one luxury developer and their clients.

[6] Pascale, Celine-Marie. "There's No Place Like Home: The Discursive Creation of Homelessness." *Cultural Studies <=> Critical Methodologies* 2005 5: 250.

[7] The most important book I've ever read is *We Make the Road by Walking*, a "spoken book" consisting of a conversation between Freire and Horton that took place in 1990. This book completely changed how I go about my work to end homelessness and shifted my understanding of what spaces of justice and equality actually look like.

[8] National Alliance on Ending Homelessness, "Fact Sheet: What is a Point-In-Time Count?" November 2010. Accessed on July 24, 2012 from http://www.endhomelessness.org/content/general/detail/3503

[9] Hopper, Kim. *Reckoning with Homelessness*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2003. P. 144.

[10] National Alliance to End Homelessness, "State of Homelessness 2012: Homelessness Counts." From http://www.endhomelessness.org/library/entry/soh-2012-chapter-one-homelessness-counts

[11] Ibid

[12] http://www.endhomelessness.org/library/entry/soh-2012-chapter-three-the-demographics-of-homelessness

[13] "Intergenerational Disparities Experienced by Homeless Black Families." *Institute for Children, Poverty, and Homelessness.* March 2012.

[14] Ruth Wilson Gilmore's study of the prison industrial complex in California (*Golden Gulag*, 2007) shows the role of a racialized economy of space in perpetuating this injustice.

[15] The State of Homelessness in America, Appendix 1. Note the impact of Hurricane Katrina when considering the rate of homelessness in New Orleans.

[16] For accounts of homelessness and restriction of public space in LA, see Mike Davis, *City of Quartz* (1990); for a crucial ethnographic study of people experiencing homelessness in San Francisco, see Philippe Bourgois and Jeff Schonberg, *Righteous Dopefiend* (2009)

[17] Harvey, David. *Rebel Cities: From the Right to the City to the Urban Revolution*. London: Verso, 2012. P. 31

[18] The State of Homelessness in America, Appendix 1.

[19] Mitchell, p. 136

[20] Wacquant, Loic. *Prisons of Poverty*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2009. P. 2

[21] Many of these early efforts came through faith communities; see (cite encyclopedia of homelessness article here) for more info.

[22] Rodriguez, Dylan. "The Political Logic of the Non-Profit Industrial Complex." From *The Revolution Will Not Be Funded: Beyond the Non-Profit Industrial Complex*, INCITE! Women of Color Against Violence, eds. Cambridge, MA: South End Press, 2007. P. 21-22

[23] Rodriguez, p. 23

[24] Smith, Andrea. "The Revolution Will Not Be Funded." From *The Revolution Will Not Be Funded: Beyond the Non-Profit Industrial Complex*, INCITE! Women of Color Against Violence, eds. Cambridge, MA: South End Press, 2007. P.10

[25] Interview with "Linda," October 17 2012.

[26] US Census Bureau, Census 2010

[27] Interview with "Linda," October 17 2012.

[28] See Pascale, Celine-Marie, "There's No Place Like Home: The Discursive Creation of Homelessness." This point, directly related to her main argument, is discussed further in Chapter 3.

[29] Interview with Fiona, October 19 2012

[30] Rosenheck, Robert. "Service Models and Mental Health Problems: Cost-Effectiveness and Policy Relevance." From *How to House the Homeless*, Ingrid Gould Ellen and Brendan O'Flaherty, eds. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2010. P. 20-21

[31] Tsemberis, Sam. "Housing First: Ending Homelessness, Promoting Recovery, and Reducing Costs." From *How to House the Homeless*. P. 38

[32] England, Marsha and Stephanie Simon, "Scary Cities: Urban Geographies of Fear, Difference, and Belonging." *Social and Cultural Geography*, Vol. 11, num. 3. May 2010.

[33] Arnold, Kathleen. *Homelessness, Citizenship, and Identity: The Uncanniness of Late Modernity*. Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 2004. P. 53

[34] Interview with Fiona, October 19 2012

[35] "Comfort in a Cold World," published in *Possumus: We Can*. Sisters of Saint Joseph of Carondelet, Spring 2007. P. 4-5

[36] Gilmore, Ruth Wilson. "In the Shadow of the Shadow State" From *The Revolution Will Not Be Funded: Beyond the Non-Profit Industrial Complex*, INCITE! Women of Color Against Violence, eds. Cambridge, MA: South End Press, 2007. P. 51.

[37] Borrowing here specifically from bell hooks (*Teaching to Transgress: Education as the Practice of Freedom*) and more generally from Paulo Freire. Without Freire's work in Brazil and hooks' theories of radical race-conscious pedagogy, this conversation (and the following field example) cannot even happen.

[38] Illich, Ivan. *Tools for Conviviality*. New York: Harper & Row, 1973. P. 11

[39] Peace House Community, "What We Get Out of Meditation." Created June 12, 2012

[40] Interactions with law enforcement shape Peace House as both a space of resistance and a space of safety. In one memorable episode that I witnessed, two members of the community, both black men experiencing homelessness, were apprehended and searched by Minneapolis police officers on suspicion of drug usage in the parking lot; in fact, both had been smoking cigarettes. One of the white volunteers saw what was going on and ran outside with a video camera (old-fashioned, no less); he ended up pinned against the police car while the two "suspects" were let free, creating a somewhat amusing scenario in which the "advocate" became the victim, and the people who in other situations/organizations would be "clients" took it upon themselves to take up berating the officers where the white volunteer had left off. Yet another story of resistance and flipped paradigms.

[41] Interview with Kai, November 1 2012

[42] Ibid

[43] Jennifer Wolch, who first used the term (*The Shadow State: Government and Voluntary Sector in Transition*, New York: The Foundation Center, 1990) defines the shadow state as "a para-state apparatus comprised of voluntary organizations" that is "charged with major collective service responsibilities previously shouldered by the public sector. Yet it remains within the purview of state control."

[44] Gilmore, p. 51

[45] Rodriguez, p. 30; Gilmore, p. 51.

[46] Interview with Fiona, October 19 2012

[47] Harvey (2012), p. 16

[48] Arnold, p. 57

[49] Interview with "Dallas," Duluth, MN. Minnesota Oral History of Homelessness Project.

[50] See Avery Gordon, *Ghostly Matters*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997

[51] Arnold, p. 74

[52] Arnold, p. 77

[53] Jackson, p. 196

[54] Hayden, Dolores. *Redesigning the American Dream: Gender, Housing, and Family Life*. New York: WW Norton and Company, 2002. P. 25

[55] Jackson, p. 243

[56] Cited in Hayden, p. 25

[57] May, Elaine Tyler. *Homeward Bound: American Families in the Cold War Era*. New York: Basic Books, 2008. P. 159-160.

[58] Hayden, p. 131

[59] Interview with Fiona, October 19th 2012

[60] Ibid

[61] Adams, John S and Barbara VanDrasek, *Minneapolis-St. Paul: People, Place, and Public Life*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1991. P. 105

[62] Adams, p. 99

[63] Adams, p. 105.

[64] Rozhon, Tracy. "Be it Ever Less Humble: American Homes Get Bigger." *The New York Times*, October 22nd, 2000.

[65] Hayden, p. 54

[66] Raphael, Steven. "Housing Market Regulation and Homelessness," in *How to House the Homeless*, p. 116

[67] Mitchell, p. 9

[68] See Appendix 3 for document

[69] Soja, Edward. "The Socio-Spatial Dialectic." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, Vol 70 No 2 June 1980), pp 207-225.

[70] May, p. 10

[71] Interview with "LouAnn," Wilmar, MN. Minnesota Oral History of Homelessness Project

[72] McCann, Eugene. "Race, Protest, and Public Space: Contextualizing Lefebvre in the U.S. City." *Antipode* 31:2, 1999, pp 163-184.

[73] Davis, *City of Quartz*.

[74] Herbert, Steve and Katherine Beckett. "'This is Home for Us:' Questioning Banishment From the Ground Up." *Social and Cultural Geography*, Vol. 11, No. 3, May 2010. P. 232

[75] Sugrue, Thomas. *The Origins of the Urban Crisis: Race and Inequality in Postwar Detroit*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2005. P. 120

[76] Interview with "Gary," Minneapolis, MN. Minnesota Oral History of Homelessness.

[77] Tuan, Yi-Fu. *Topophilia: A Study of Environmental Perception, Attitudes, and Values*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1974. P. 105

[78] Buchta, Jim. "Metro Rental Market is Booming." *Minneapolis Star*-Tribune, July 25 2012. Accessed on April 1, 2013 from http://www.startribune.com/business/163798606.html?refer=y

[79] The next chapter contains examinations of media coverage of homelessness in different locations; for now, I should note that much of the coverage of suburban homelessness highlights women and children, while the story about homelessness in the urban core remains focused on single adult men with substance-abuse and mental health concerns.

[80] Interview with "LouAnn," Wilmar, MN. Minnesota Oral History of Homelessness Project

[81] Keels, Micere, Greg Duncan, Stefanie Deluca, Ruby Mendhenhall, and James Rosenbaum, "Fifteen Years Later: Can Residential Mobility Programs Provide a Long-Term Escape from Neighborhood Segregation, Crime, and Poverty?" *Demography*, Vol 42, No 1, February 2005. Pp 51-73.

[82] Keels et al, p. 55

[83] Interview with "Gary," Minneapolis, MN. Minnesota Oral History of Homelessness.

[84] Interview with "Dallas," Duluth, MN. Minnesota Oral History of Homelessness.

[85] Kai, interviewed earlier, runs one program that does allow for an alternative creation of home through sharing of resources; however, programs such as these tend to operate entirely outside of the system in which Dallas, Gary, and others cited in this chapter find themselves in.

[86] Interviews

[87] Interview with Linda, October 17 2012

[88] Interview with Avis and Reginald, Minnesota Oral History of Homelessness Project

[89] Ibid

[90] Ibid

[91] Interview with "Doug," November 20th, 2012.

[92] Interview with "Stan," St Paul, MN. Minnesota Oral History of Homelessness Project

[93] Interview with Kai,

[94] Interview with Fiona, October 19th 2012

[95] Harvey (2012), p. 73

[96] Harvey, David *The Urban Experience*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989. P. 250

[97] Marcuse, Peter. "A Critical Approach to Solving the Housing Problem." In *Cities for People, Not For Profit*, ed. Brenner, Marcuse, and Mayer. New York: Routledge, 2012. P. 216

[98] Pascale, Celine-Marie. "There's No Place Like Home: The Discursive Creation of Homelessness." *Cultural Studies <=> Critical Methodologies* 2005 5: 250.

[99] See Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism*. New York: Verso, 1991.

[100] Lowe, Lisa. *Immigrant Acts*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1996.

[101] Pascale, p. 259

[102] Harvey (2012), p 156

[103] Ibid, p. 146

[104] Busch, Akiko. *Geography of Home: Writing on Where We Live*. New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1999. P. 26

[105] Jackson, Kenneth. *Crabgrass Frontier*.

[106] Kelly, Edmond. *The Elimination of the Tramp*. New York: GP Putnam and Sons, 1908. P. 1-2

[107] Kelly, p. 11

[108] See Zucchino, David, *Myth of the Welfare Queen* (New York: Scribbner, 1997) and Michael Omi & Howard Winant, *Racial Formation in the United States* (New York: Routledge, 1994) for the roots of this incredibly powerful concept.

[109] Kelly, p. 14

[110] Amster, Randall. *Lost in Space: The Criminalization, Globalization, and Urban Ecology of Homelessness*. New York: LFB Scholarly Publishing, 2008.

[111] Mitchell, Don. *The Right to the City*. New York: The Guilford Press, 2003

[112] Anderson, Nels. *The Hobo*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1923. P. 8

[113] Lanegran, David. *Minnesota on the Map*. St Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 2008. P. 165-166.

[114] Hopper, Kim. *Reckoning with Homelessness*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2003. P. 6

[115] Hart, Joseph. *Down and Out: The Life and Death of Minneapolis's Skid Row*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002. P. 20

[116] Mitchell, p. 77

[117] See Jacobs, Jane, *The Death of Life of Great American Cities* (1961), and Caro, Robert, *The Power Broker* (1974) for authoritative accounts of the politics and people behind the building of the Cross-Bronx Expressway.

[118] Voices of Rondo

[119] Hart, p. 50

[120] Mitchell, p. 179

[121] Spigel, Lynn. *Welcome to the Dreamhouse: Popular Media and Post-War Suburbs*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2001

[122] Ibid, p. 179

[123] Jackson, p. 276

[124] Mitchell, p. 179; Hopper, p. 52.

[125] Levitas, Mitchell. "Homeless in America." *New York Times*, June 10 1990.

[126] Von Itallie, Jean-Claude. *Bag Lady*. New York: Dramatists Play Service Inc, 1980. P. 10-11

[127] Wagner, Jane. *The Search for Signs of Life in the Intelligent Universe*. New York: Perennial, 1985

[128] Wagner, p. 16. Michel de Certeau's essay "Walking in the City" from the same time period is an interesting corollary to this text. De Certeau, writing on New York in particular, discusses a "rhetoric of walking" as creating the organic environment of the city, entirely separate from what one sees looking

down from a skyscraper or a map. Another topic for another paper would examine the discourse of homelessness in NYC in the 1980s in the context of the arguments of de Certeau and Harvey around the power of the commons as opposed to the movement of capital in the era of both Wagner's play and works such as *American Psycho* by Brett Ellis and *Mezzanine* by Nicholson Baker, both of which engage the city as a space of debauchery through capital accumulation.

[129] McCloskey, Robert. *Homer Price*. New York: Puffin Books, 1943.

[130] McCloskey, p. 50

[131] May, p. 158

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