In the Crosshairs:

The Role of the Local State in a Contemporary Process of Neighborhood Redevelopment in Central Illinois

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This essay seeks to locate the role of the local state in the redevelopment of an African American neighborhood in Central Illinois during a time of broad neoliberal urban restructuring. By critically engaging emergent discursive practices, housing policy shifts and changes to state power at multiple levels, we interpret the ongoing importance of private capital in advancing racialized dispossession.

Residents of the low-income Bristol Place neighborhood in north Champaign, Illinois face the proposition of city-funded demolition of their homes in the next twelve months. Amidst official pronouncements of "blight remediation," "crime reduction," "mixed-income opportunity," and "environmental sustainability," they will be evicted from their homes in advance of the bulldozer. For them, the consequences of urban restructuring and state-sponsored redevelopment are very real and material. Urban land pressure has put them in the crosshairs of redevelopment. What I hope to do with this essay is to place what is happening at Bristol Place in the context of a more generalizable devolution of urban policy in the last six decades. Redevelopment in a particular context does not occur in a vacuum; local social forces and political opportunities shape the specific form it takes in a given place. Uncovering these conditions of constraint and opportunity and placing them in a broader picture is the task of the critical observer. The reasons why so many poor, African American families continue to be "most decisively marginalize[d]" (Wilson 2009, abstract) by urban restructuring, despite the ostensible gains of struggles for minority recognition and participation, demand our attention.

This essay sets out to discuss three principal issues, the first being an examination of how we conceptualize the state's role in urban renewal and redevelopment. Throughout the last sixty years, the cyclical nature of disinvestment and reinvestment—with attendant displacement—remains a constant feature of urban areas in advanced, industrial societies. However, our framework for interpreting the state's role tends to divide the twentieth century into the liberal and neoliberal eras (Newman and Aston 2004). It is widely recognized that before the late 1970s, the role of government in preparing urban land for capital was much

more direct and overt. The priorities that guide urban governance have shifted much more explicitly toward “extracting value from the city” (Weber 2002) rather than providing social services and welfare. As a result, the innovation of particular tools reflects a reliance on private-public partnership and the devolution of state functions, guided by a conservative political-economic discourse. This neoliberalization of urban policy affects both the perception and real capacity of the state, though as I will argue in this paper, it ensures the continuation of previous eras of dispossession.

The second issue I consider is how effectively macro-analyses explain an individual case of urban redevelopment in the twenty-first century. Scholars of urban policy agree that the federal government occupies a very different role in terms of local policy than it did forty years ago (Fainstein and Fainstein 1989; Mollenkopf 1983). As HUD's allocation has shrank since the late 1970s, the share of municipal revenue from the federal government has dwindled, entailing a “devolution” of responsibility to the local level (Eisenger 1995). What this means for a city like Champaign in central Illinois is not clear until we examine the ways city and county government adapt to devolving urban governance.

Recent scholarship (Weber 2002; Jessop 2002; Erie et al. 2010) describes the intense pressures on cities, faced with devolution, to empower private actors more centrally in urban governance. Integral to both the discursive and policymaking practices of cities, an emphasis on the efficiency of private actors comes to the fore in debates about urban policy. Weber (2002, abstract) focuses on the importance of policies and practices that “depend on discursive practices that stigmatize properties targeted for demolition and redevelopment.” She notes that these practices have become “increasingly neoliberalized.” For Weber, those “long-turnover” parts of the city where needs are greatest are also the spaces least likely to receive infusions of capital.

The case of Champaign, Illinois, however, illustrates these strategies in action on a “long-turnover” part of the city where an opportunity for redevelopment has been carved out. Although not the necessary or inevitably the consequence of devolved urban governance responsibility, the momentum toward neoliberal policymaking is shaped by a legacy of racialized disinvestment and political disempowerment. I take the case of the ongoing redevelopment project of Bristol Place in north Champaign to gather insight into what neoliberalization means in a specific local context. What I show (following Logan and Molotch 1987) is that local governments—working in a context of limited central state legitimacy and reduced federal financial support—face pressure to govern in coalition with private banking and real estate interests to prepare urban land for capital intensification. These “growth coalitions” covet land that has seen its value depressed through social stigmatization and is primed to be cleared of its inhabitants by public police powers. Racial and class-based prejudice figure prominently into the stigmatization of urban land; however, the most successful projects, in a neoliberal context of displacement and revalorization, are those that avoid the appearance of overt racial injustice. The case of Bristol Place's redevelopment shows the ways in which a “participatory planning process” can accommodate calls for procedural justice, including those of racial minorities, without addressing structural inequalities that ensure substantively unjust outcomes.

Finally, I consider what the case of Bristol Place in a context of neoliberal urbanization suggests about future directions for urban policy. To gain insight into current redevelopment

processes, like the one taking place in north Champaign at Bristol Place, it serves us to interweave historical perspectives on urban policy and dispossession. By grappling with key historical developments, we are better able to position the form of contemporary urban renewal. Although vast transformations in the appearance and composition of state policy-making apparatuses have marked the last four decades, a familiar pattern of racial stigmatization and dispossession of those most disadvantaged continues. What does the evolving structure of local government and its role in urban redevelopment tell us about the potential for equity-based outcomes in the near future? How have the demands of civil-rights-era reformers for political recognition and participation been coopted, undercut and usurped by growth coalitions acting on behalf of private capital in the late twentieth century? How do new discursive approaches, including those prioritizing mixed-income and ecologically sustainable communities, come to serve the spatial imperatives of real estate and finance capital through the mechanisms of contemporary urban policy? It is my aim with this essay to begin to outline a framework for answering these questions.

Neoliberal Urban Policy

Historical perspectives on urban governance

When the last building at Pruitt-Igoe in St. Louis was demolished in 1976, many perceived it to be the end of one era of urban policy. Obituaries were written on the welfare state and the era of urban renewal (Lawson 2007); indeed, no more public housing projects of the high-rise style would be constructed again. Similarly, we assume that urban renewal projects on the scale of Chavez Ravine in Los Angeles are no longer within the realm of possibility. However, what these conclusions about one era, that of the Federal Bulldozer (Anderson 1964), threaten to overlook is the persistent and ongoing role of the state in providing financial, administrative, and political support for large-scale urban redevelopment projects that stigmatize land using racialized discourse and prepare it for revalorization. Understanding the form of urban redevelopment in the contemporary era demands that we shift our perspective to accommodate the significant challenges and opportunities of a neoliberal context. First, we must grapple with the formulations of gentrification and racialized dispossession before moving to an analysis of the state's role in enabling these processes in service of private capital. As we will see, race has been and continues to be crucial to these outcomes despite varying forms of opposition and accommodation. By placing capital and elite-led policy at the fore, we gain a much more precise lens for interpreting the ways racialized policies and practices are used to prepare urban land for capital.

In a constant search for spatial “fixes,” capital has ventured into, out of, and back into the city over the last sixty years (Harvey 1985). Issues of racial and socioeconomic justice were brought to the fore in debates over the nature of urban disinvestment and redevelopment, including those evinced by the construction and demolition of large public housing complexes from the late 1940s to the mid-2000s. Often understated amidst these debates was the long-range process, in motion since 1950, of governmental complicity in the project to revalorize urban land (Fainstein 2010). Despite the prevalence of “gentrification” as an explaination for post-1960s reinvestment, scholars began to show by the early 1980s that

cities are never transformed solely on the whims of consumer choice or the perseverance of individual developers (London and Palen 1984). What drove urban renewal in the early 1950s and 1960s and what has continued to make the urban landscape "safe for capital" (Friedmann and Wolff 1982, 309-344) into the twenty-first century has been the state, at each level. What's more, and what the case of renewal in north Champaign helps illustrate, is the extent to which "race is pivotal to this process [of urban restructuring] in the US" (Lipman 2008, 121).

By the late twentieth century, the formulation of urban policy was shaped by at least three important factors: deindustrialization (Beauregard 2003); rising political neoliberalism (Leitner et al. 2007; Weber 2002); and the restructuring of the state at each level (Eisenger 1995). Eroding economic power for cities as a result of deindustrialization and popular discontent with large urban projects created a "vacuum left by the end of liberal urban policy" (Newman and Ashton 2004, 1154). In other words, a great deal of uncertainty was left in the wake of a highly racialized and paternalistic urban policy that succumbed to broad-based critiques after the mid-1960s. For two decades following the Second World War, urban land use had been structured by the political economy of postwar America, in what Susan Fainstein (2010) calls the "directive era." One component of the postwar configuration was the ascendancy of "protective welfare" (Bockman 2012, 313) as a condition of state legitimacy. In terms of urban policy, this entailed a more direct, paternalistic role for the central state in addressing urban inequality (Weber 2002, 531). The Housing Acts of 1949 and 1954 illustrated this approach to State intervention. Responding to the deplorable conditions of urban tenements as well as the still-inchoate Civil Rights movement, lawmakers crafted a policy that seemingly responded to the demands of housing advocates in a "separate-but-equal" framework, while simultaneously expanding the area "safe" for capital investment through the expansion of urban renewal powers (Hirsch 2000; 2006). This pattern of racialized containment and central city displacement was guided by the prejudiced practices of real estate professionals who dominated the making of housing and urban policy in the New Deal and postwar decades (ibid. 2006). In an interventionist framework with unprecedented authority and legitimacy, though always constrained by the parochial social structures of regional alignments, the federal government underwrote a massive pattern of racialized redevelopment throughout the liberal era (ibid.).

Although the federal government directly funded much of the central city redevelopment and new housing projects, it did so in concert with private real estate capital. Rachel Weber (2002, 531) characterizes this nexus of public authority and private investment as "municipal Keynesianism." Reflecting the conventional wisdom of policymakers in the postwar era (1946-1964), urban land was evaluated within a state capitalist framework that enabled intense administrative and financial involvement from the federal government. David Harvey (1989) describes the postwar decades as a period of municipal "managerialism" when cities counted on a framework of federal financial and legal legitimacy to pursue large urban redevelopment projects not otherwise possible. In that era, partnerships were formed under the aegis of strong public agencies that wrought extensive control over the urban landscape, guiding investment to preferred areas (Eisenger 1995). Private capital took advantage of state bureaucratic legitimacy to garner the benefits of large-scale projects. As the welfare state began to show contradictions that would ultimately spell the demise of the postwar bargain between labor and capital, cities were divested of their liberal, Keynesian authority. Harvey (1989) characterizes this trajectory from "managerialism to entrepreneur-

ialism" as a fundamental feature of urban governance in late capitalism. The retrenchment of federal funding and authority has entailed not only increasing reliance on local property tax revenue, but has also elevated local growth coalitions that capitalize on neoconservative political discourse to stigmatize minority space and dispossess urban dwellers (Smith 2002).

Restructuring cities and neoliberalism

The predominance of rational bureaucratic legitimacy began to reveal its irreconcilable faults in the later part of the 1950s; Susain Fainstein (2010) marks 1964 as the definitive end of the "directive period" of urban redevelopment. What replaced this era of state intervention in urban areas is a realm of contradiction and continuity: although "significant changes in administrative form, funding, scale, justifications, content, public participation, and the composition of redevelopment coalitions" are apparent, "at the same time, however, the separation of physical and social components of redevelopment efforts has changed little, and the distribution of benefits has largely favored developers and business interests regardless of the alleged claims of the program" (150).

In a context of neoliberal governance, the state finds new sources of legitimacy, but does not relinquish its central role in preparing space for capital. Neoliberalization, in broad terms can be understood as the transition from the form of managerialism that defined the era of municipal Keynesianism to entrepreneurialism that rewards public-private partnerships and marketized transactions (Harvey 1989; Brenner and Theodore 2002; Weber 2002; Lester 2013). Less direct forms of state intervention become desirable amidst attacks from both progressives and conservatives on the symbols of postwar interventionism, including public housing and the inner city, sites that have become "icon[s] of vilified Keynesian welfare state politics" (Lipman 2008, 121). This may suggest a chronological bifurcation between direct and passive forms of state intervention that is not the case; rather we see a marked continuity of a particular policy threat amidst uneven and unpredictable urban restructuring: racialization (Wilson 2004).

Despite the seemingly irrevocable changes that local power configurations underwent as a result of urban restructuring and struggles for minority liberation, urban "growth machines" (Logan and Molotch 1987) command municipal power and continue to extend their priorities across urban space. Urban regimes, acting within a capitalist superstructure, must "form partnerships with private business in order to gain a capacity to act and empower themselves" (Bernt 2009, 757). No longer able to draw as heavily from sources of direct federal funding, growth coalitions of banking and real estate interests advance (their interpretation of) the "public interest" by revalorizing urban land in search of new property tax revenue to fund services. Politically, they are served by the perception of inter-urban competition (Harvey 1989) over limited federal dollars and increasingly footloose private capital (Wilson 2007).

These conditions create "new opportunities for local regimes to imagine and pursue development strategies previously beyond their capacities" (Newman and Ashton 2004, 1169). The stigmatization of racialized property is one such opportunity that enables local regimes to "enforce a pattern of development in an appropriate manner" (1170) to their political-

economic goals. Through a Marxian lens we see the priorities of capital manifest in the repurposing of devalued urban land for "accumulation by dispossession" (Harvey 2007)—the conveyance of disinvested, stigmatized land to middle- or upper-class consumers. This era of "inter-urban competition and urban entrepreneurialism conditions [ultimately] bears capitalist social relations across space" (Harvey 1989, 6-7) as the least advantaged are asked to shoulder the burdens of the competitive era.

Civil rights and participation

Responding to the critiques of Civil Rights reformers as well as the "New Right" of the late 1970s and 1980s (Bennett 1988), contemporary urban regimes are thought to accommodate more democratic decision-making processes and, in turn, create more egalitarian outcomes (Beaumont and Nicholls 2008). Thus, the devolution of urban policymaking to local regimes might have entailed an opening up of decision-making to those directly affected by redevelopment projects. These structural changes to more decentralized policy created openings for Civil Rights demands for recognition and participation in political processes (including the much-maligned comprehensive renewal projects). That these democratic aspirations have not been brought to bear in the form advocates imagined indicates a political nexus between urban elites of previous and contemporary eras (Smith 2002). Rather than a revolutionary transition to a new pluralist order, "neoliberalism [emerges] as the result of elites integrating critiques of capitalism into capitalism itself as sources of renewal" (Bockman 2012, 312 [emphasis in original]). Civic boosters representing local banking and real estate interests have seized popular antagonism toward central state functions (viewed as overreaches of authority) extended from the New Deal through the Great Society to advance an agenda of private accumulation shrouded in populist discourse. In doing so, they continue a pattern of racialized dispossession inherited from their forerunners in the New Deal and postwar eras (Hirsch 2000; 2006), who directed central state authority to advance de jure discrimination in housing policy.

The actual content of these projects of racialized dispossession may retain much of what marked previous eras of urban policy, though the form is undoubtedly different. Although central state intervention in urban redevelopment is no longer feasible in the directive manner of the postwar decades, local partnerships continue to "pattern" the landscape (Schein 2006) with racialized dispossession. To understand how private-public partnerships operate to advance the interests of capital, we must examine a local context and specific regime. In the next section I will turn to the case of Bristol Place in Champaign, Illinois.

Dynamic Redevelopment in Place: The Case of Bristol Place

The Local Context

Bristol Place lies at the northern edge of Champaign's urban network of neighborhoods (Figure 1). Just south of I-74, the 12 acres comprise about 60 households and 200 residents. Of those residents, more than three-quarters are African American, with the balance an even mix of Latinos and Whites (Phillips 2013, 23). Of the total housing stock, more than 10 percent are vacant and only 30 percent are owner-occupied. The neighborhood consists of some of the poorest and least advantaged residents of Champaign.

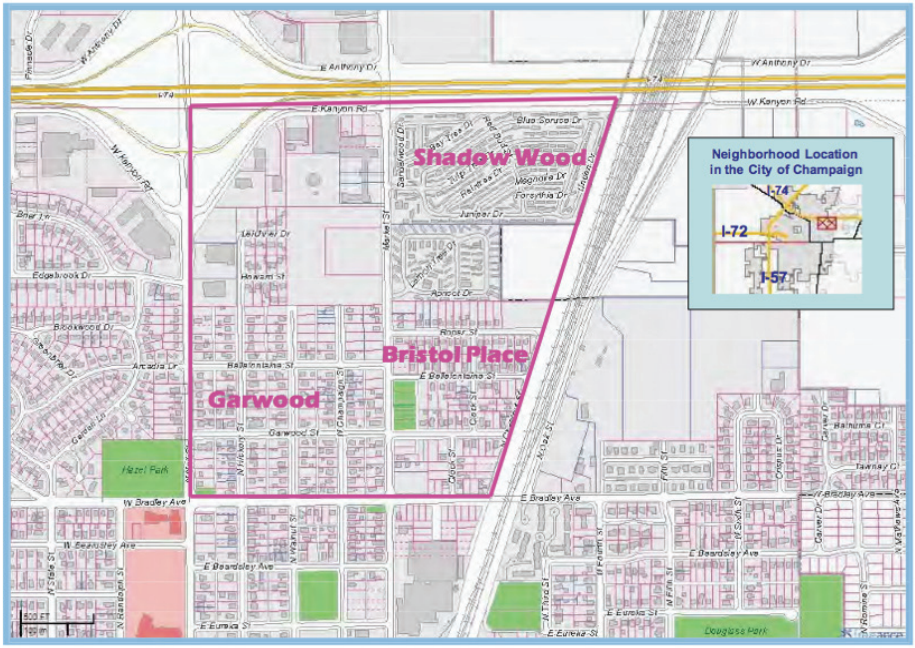

Figure 1. Bristol Place in Champaign, Illinois

The city's interest in Bristol Place is not new; more than twenty-two years elapsed from the time the city first identified the neighborhood as a high priority for “restoration” (Phillips 2013). In the intervening two decades, the city engaged the neighborhood in two principle ways: through “demolition” and “policing.” The city has permitted two instances of infill development, both for Habitat for Humanity properties; a larger-scale investment by a neighborhood-based Community Development Corporation, the Metanoia Center, was denied in

the 1990s (League of Women Voters 2013). An apartment complex—viewed as a haven of prostitution and drug trade—was demolished, and select thoroughfares were converted to one-way to reduce the opportunities for criminal drug trade or drive-by shootings. Property values fell to the lowest in the city, with 93 percent of properties below $60,000 compared to the citywide median home value of $136,000 (Phillips 2013).

Recent planning attention

Plans prepared by the city in the early 1990s and again in 2011 recommended the restoration and revitalization of the neighborhood. When residents were asked what they wanted in surveys and at meetings, they produced a vision of infill reinvestment and the rehabilitation of deteriorated properties (City of Champaign 2011). According to Kevin Jackson, the Director of Neighborhood Services, infill development was not feasible, and after a process of internal vetting and community outreach, they determined that only total redevelopment through the clearing of all properties and the consolidation of land holdings into a single parcel could achieve revitalization (League of Women Voters 2013). Jackson clarified that local financial institutions regarded the neighborhood as unsuitable for investment, leaving the city with narrow options short of total redevelopment.

Stigmatized Redevelopment

What does it mean for contemporary urban policy if regional banking interests are calling the shots behind a sophisticated array of public agencies and participatory meetings? It suggests that we should expect continuity in outcome when the priorities of the powerful interests remain the same. As with the federal interventions of the New Deal and postwar eras (Hirsch 2000; 2006), the priorities of private real estate capital tend to override competing interests in the formulation of urban plans. What is different today is that earlier eras of reform helped put in place ostensibly neighborhood-driven processes for plan-making, often supported by a city department dedicated to that purpose. That these elaborations mean little in terms of the ultimate outcome of urban redevelopment underscores that their intention is more about pacification than supporting substantively different outcomes. Neighborhood Services, to be clear, has an important role to play to prepare the territory for clearance and revalorization. In performing its integral duties, Neighborhood Services, acting as an arm of civic boosters and the growth coalition, manages the process to minimize opposition and cloak dispossession behind a veil of legitimacy.

At the helm of the city's redevelopment plans for Bristol Place, the Neighborhood Services Department relies on the politics of minority representation, procedural management, and resident disempowerment to advance the project. The politics of minority representation entails vesting responsibility for managing the process in the hands of minority city staff, which in my view suppresses the ability of opponents to advance claims of racial injustice. Bound up in the city's presentation of an ostensibly minority-led neighborhood services department is a predetermined vision for how the redevelopment process will unfold. The central goals of dispossessing the current residents and conveying the devalued property to a private developer guides the nature of the planning process to ensure minimal interference.

The contradictory relationship between public participation and planning

Scholars of postmodern urban governance stress the importance of participatory and pluralist forms of planning in the contemporary politics of urban space (Beaumont & Nicholls 2008), suggesting the capacity for decentralized urban policy to accommodate more democratic decision-making. The redevelopment of Bristol Place reveals how unevenly these processes tend to unfold. Public participation in a contemporary urban redevelopment process plays a seemingly contradictory role; the city both needs a baseline of resident support and actively disrupts the potential for organized opposition. Cities pursuing redevelopment must toe the line between disruptive opposition and resident leadership (avoiding both) by managing the redevelopment process in careful ways.

One administrative achievement is the use of appointed advisory boards, which function as sources of control and legitimacy for cities. Paulina Lipman (2008), researching the Chicago Housing Authority's demolition process, identified one component of "the state's superficial solicitation of community input, [in] its creation of appointed advisory boards, [along with] the exclusion of ... residents from genuine participation in decisions" (124). She suggests that the accumulation of these practices "reflect the 'democratic deficits' of neoliberal regimes" (124). To help manage the perception of Bristol Place's redevelopment without yielding any decision-making authority, the city created the Bristol Park Steering Committee, appointed experts in housing and neighborhood development, and wrote its bylaws to ensure its subordinate status to municipal government actors.

Despite the expectation that redevelopment would be the ultimate outcome of the process, forcing the relocation of the almost 200 current residents, no residential committee was formed or invited to the steering committee (Phillips 2013). The city ensured that in public settings residents always spoke as individuals; their strategy has been to ask residents to contact them after public meetings for any relocation-oriented questions. Public meetings, ostensibly for the purpose of hashing out key details in the process, were highly orchestrated and heavily managed by the city. In the five meetings I have attended, Kevin Jackson or another staff member of Neighborhood Services would typically launch into a presentation, suppressing the potential for any dialogue. Those who had a pointed question about redevelopment probably would not have felt comfortable raising it in that setting.

This approach to managing resident participation matched Lipman's experience in Chicago where in the view of the "city and CHA [Chicago Housing Authority], effective dialogue with PH [Public Housing] residents appears to be consultation in which the residents, at the outset and throughout the process, agree to premises advanced by the city and PH officials" (Lipman 2008, 124). This management of expectations and assumptions is crucial to the redevelopment process happening in a way, and on a timeline, that local elites have structured.

Temporal imperatives to redevelopment

The dependence of private capital on public authority in pursuing large-scale redevelopment projects is illustrated in the temporal dimension of these projects. In order to attract

capital, the public process is tailored to reduce uncertainty for investors subject to volatile interest rates and bond markets. Whereas a meaningful dialogue into the systemic and structural dimensions of urban poverty would certainly offer alternatives to demolition and relocation, processes operating under the temporal constraints of speculative investors preempt this potential. Weber (2002), shows both the continuity and transition from previous eras of urban intervention that are evident in this theme:

> Whereas cities were beholden to the temporal pressures of the federal government during urban renewal, they are now dependent on the short-term horizons of REITs [Real Estate Investment Trusts] and those institutional investors who purchase municipal bonds. The contract state operates through decentralized partnerships with real-estate capitalists, and what remains of the local state structure has been refashioned to resemble the private sector, with an emphasis on customer service, speed, and entrepreneurialism. Indeed, the narrative of entrepreneurialism has underpinned city management practices since the late 1980s, as local governments attempt to project modern self-images and embrace innovative tactics to remake old spaces in the face of global competition. (531)

An entrepreneurial city, working to serve its citizens by capturing footloose capital in a competitive global economy, does not wait on the vagaries of urban problems to be resolved (Wilson 2007). After representatives of Busey Bank and institutional actors agreed on the necessity for wholesale redevelopment to spur investment in Bristol Place, the planning process (and its ostensibly participatory components) were designed to eliminate potentially disruptive elements.

Kaza and Hopkins (2008) provide a useful framework for understanding why an ostensibly public process in fact privileges the a priori median position; I employ this framework in my analysis of Bristol Place. The City of Champaign initiated the public components of the Bristol Place process when its official documents (though mostly internal at the time—early 2012) already concluded that the neighborhood would have to be razed. The neighbors, when engaged throughout 2008-2011 in a process that asked them about their vision for the neighborhood, had not recommended that their homes to be torn down. What the city has described throughout the subsequent two years as the only possible course of action (total redevelopment) was actually the preference of a select group of powerful nonresidents—city staff and local bankers. Thus, the a priori median position was one that passed the test of local lending authorities and the internal priorities of the city's government regardless of what competing—and potentially credible—visions might emerge from an organized group of residents. The city then used public meetings to impose the “tyranny of collective will” (ibid., 499), which blunted meaningful dialogue among residents and reinforced the elite view. The planning process, accommodating the ethical guidelines of previous reform eras, ensured a calculated degree of procedural and substantive justice that in no way threatened the already decided priorities of the city.

Discursively, the city relies on an external perception of the neighborhood steeped in racism and classism to advance a regressive policy of dispossession. The city links deterioration in the built environment directly with moral dissolution and criminality while never releasing

empirical evidence of actual criminal incidences. Lipman (2008), in the context of Chicago but applicable more broadly, shows that "black urban communities are viewed simply as sites of capital accumulation (investment and real estate) emptied of their meanings as spaces of identity, solidarity, cultural and political resistance and material survival" (124). The cornerstone of stigmatization that produces such injustice is a shared understanding among institutional actors, external residents and even among the marginalized residents themselves that poor black communities are without any redeemable value. They exist because of a deficiency in the system and have no right to the space they occupy, particularly in an era of competitive globalization (Wilson 2007; 2009). As soon as possible, they should be eradicated from the urban landscape, as reflected in the form of urban redevelopment projects and their participatory elements, subject to local opposition.

Eliminating opposition

Urban renewal projects met intense opposition from affected communities that ultimately spelled the emergence of a two-front assault on welfare state policy. Not only were supporters of a noninterventionist state suspicious of calls by policymakers for development for the poor; after the first round of urban renewal, even the supposed beneficiaries saw the racist organization of the projects (Hirsch 2000). In large part, the current configuration of urban regimes responds to this dual critique of central state interventionism. However, local regimes continue to advance the interests of private capital and do so according to the social configurations in a given context (Bernt 2009). In the case of relocation and redevelopment in an African American neighborhood in 2013, the strategies of stigmatization and resident disorganization pursued by Champaign's growth coalition point to a dynamic and collaborative arrangement of power. The interests of real estate and lending institutions find their expression through the curtailment of resident power in the redevelopment of Bristol Place.

One way of preempting opposition is by giving a place on the steering committee to would-be equity advocates while leaving those unsupportive or opposed with no seat at the table. Also important to the success of the project is the city's presentation of total redevelopment as fait accompli wrapped in an inclusive process (Phillips 2013). This sends a message to those external to the process that affected residents are on board with the project and ready for implementation. The longer-term stigmatization of the neighborhood that relies on shared conclusions regarding the impossibility of value in urban black communities structures the way the disenfranchised bargain for their rights. They are without effectual representation in formal political channels, they lack clout with other institutional actors, and they tend to be disengaged from civil society (Lipman 2008). Apathetic renters face a deeper level of stigmatization, as they are often scapegoated for community problems and tend to receive the least amount of public support (Newman and Ashton 2004, 1170). Disengaged property owners are eager to receive what may be the only pay-out possible to escape the beleaguered neighborhood, which they see as unlikely to be revived after decades of disinvestment and local state neglect. All of these responses are encouraged by the city, as its goal of consolidating property is greatly eased when it can avoid eminent domain through voluntary buyouts.

Neoliberal Housing Policy: Dispersing the Urban Poor

What the unfolding redevelopment of Bristol Place reveals is the continued dominance of capital in urban policy, despite the transformative potential of reform movements and attendant policy shifts in the second half of the twentieth century. As I have outlined, procedural shifts to decentralize the implementation of redevelopment plans (accommodating conservative and progressive demands) are an important source of legitimacy for entrepreneurial city growth coalitions. Housing choice vouchers appear to go a step further by acknowledging the calls for substantive justice by reformists who view concentrated poverty as an obstacle to social change. For a city like Champaign, housing choice vouchers in fact present an opportunity to disperse the urban poor from municipal boundaries. Because the city does not require its landlords to accept Section 8, while Urbana does, it effectively makes the "hardest to house" someone else's problem (Aber 2007).

Also converging to shape the political economy of housing policy in Champaign is the role of the Housing Authority and its neoliberal transformation in recent years. In the context of shifting public priorities at the federal level, innovative housing authorities (responsible for distributing housing choice vouchers) are able to apply for special status as "Moving to Work" (MTW) agencies. This status offers more flexibility to "project-base" their federal budget and put more resources into the hands of private developers ("Moving to Work" hud.gov). Taking advantage of the Champaign Housing Authority's status as MTW, the city has brokered an inter-governmental agreement to use more than $1 million for Bristol Place's redevelopment. The city has the flexibility to use the money in its voucher form or as a grant to the developer who wins the bid. At the Housing Authority's meeting in September of 2012, Kevin Jackson of NSD implored the body to approve the inter-governmental agreement, implying that the "market-driven" process still depended on public money (Housing Authority Board of Commissioners 2012).

Undergirding the dispersal of the urban poor is the ascendant discourse of mixed-income communities and the support it has garnered from a variety of sources (Lipman 2008). In response to the destitute conditions of the urban poor, particularly residents of public housing, mixed-income strategies based on dispersal and renewal have grown increasingly dominant since the 1970s. This has made pools of federal funds previously restricted to only the most poor available to subsidize mixed-income development (Joseph 2006). In the context of Bristol Place, the project's financing hinged on the city's ability to articulate it in terms of socioeconomic parity. This allows for a revalorization of urban land steeped in discourse of equality and opportunity. For Fainstein (2010), however, little has changed from previous eras of urban redevelopment: "Mixed-income is tacit approval for evicting unwanted urban dwellers—this marks continuity in outcomes of previous and contemporary urban redevelopment projects" (162). What should we make of mixed-income strategies, and does the ongoing Bristol Place project offer any answers? Based upon my account of the process and its likely outcomes for current residents, I draw the same conclusions as Lipman (2008), who wrote:

> Mixed-income strategies part of the neoliberal restructuring of cities which has at its nexus capital accumulation and racial containment and exclusion through gentrification, de-democratization and privatization of public institutions and displacement of low-income people of color. (Abstract)

Although "mixed-income policies seem, on the surface, to be common-sense and egalitarian solutions to intractable… social problems" (Lipman 2008, 119), they fail to deliver their purported goals. In the final analysis, mixed-income development institutionalizes and further codifies social separation and stigma. For residents of Bristol Place, their lack of income and wealth puts them in an inferior bargaining position from which they are readily displaced in favor of a more socioeconomically-diverse gentry. The same cannot be said for wealthy neighborhoods of socioeconomic homogeneity, who never fear for their spatial claim on account of their lack of income parity. Clearly, the costs of implementing mixed-income development fall uniquely on those already most disadvantaged. In treating structural problems of inequality with spatial remedies and by placing all burdens on the poor, mixed-income strategies fail to deliver their egalitarian aims.

New directions in neoliberal urban policy: sustainability discourse

An emerging preference for those advancing the priorities of capital in urban settings is to couch redevelopment in terms of environmental stewardship. Aidan While, Andrew Jonas, and David Gibbs (2004) suggest looking at the application of a "sustainability fix" in the neoliberalization of urban policy. They argue that environmental policies, while addressing real ecological and public health concerns, "have also been important in opening up actual urban spaces for new waves of investment and bringing back the middle classes in the city or stabilizing working-class communities" (550). The criteria under which policies and practices that amount to large changes in the urban landscape include the energy footprint of buildings, street layout – whether alternatives to automobiles exist – and watershed management. Urban communities found to be lacking in these areas open themselves to a further round of stigmatization, safely distanced from overt language that evokes social or racial categories. This allows urban entrepreneurial practices, particularly those with contentious outcomes to avoid "collapsing under [their] own contradictions" (ibid., 551).

The sustainability fix in action

On March 28, 2013, the city of Champaign began to invest a considerable share of its justification for the project in this discourse: Neighborhood Services held a symposium on Leadership in Energy and Environmental Design – Neighborhood Design (LEED-ND). The meeting consisted of a "sales pitch" (Phillips 2013) for LEED-ND that was devoid of any meaning for the redevelopment of Bristol Place. A spokesperson for the city of Normal, Illinois described the projects undertaken in her city to use tax-increment financing to create a series of LEED-certified public buildings downtown. Those in attendance were left puzzled as to how the projects related to the process of redeveloping Bristol Place beyond the evolving theme of private development's dependence on infusions of public capital.

However, when paired with a remark made by a city official, how LEED certification fits into the plans becomes clearer. Community Development Specialist Gregg Skaggs suggested at a public meeting in January that a LEED-ND-redeveloped Bristol Place could become a "magazine cover community" (STAR Leadership Institute 2013) with sparkling amenities and people to match. For Skaggs, a neighborhood with no redeemable value could adorn the cover of a planning magazine and help position the city competitively for federal grants.

The most recent large public meeting (Bristol Place LEED-ND Master Plan Public Meeting 2013) once again focused on LEED-ND, which suggests that the city will pursue this as the favored discursive strategy going forward. It allows for a triumph of positivist, solutions-oriented planning, and the exclusion of those opposed to redevelopment, with appeals to both class-based egalitarianism (through mixed-income opportunity) and environmentalism (through LEED-ND certification).

Conclusion

With each round of displacement and redevelopment—from tenement clearing and public housing in the mid-twentieth century to partnership-based redevelopment in more recent decades—capital works in concert with state power. Inseparable from these projects, the state has and continues to provide the legitimate means that enable the desired ends of real-estate and banking interests. This, as in the past, relies on a project steeped in racial and class-based prejudice to revalorize stigmatized space. The breadth and pace of urban redevelopment is not constant across time and space; public powers are continuously challenged and rearticulated in the political economy of a given context.

I have shown with this essay an example of stigmatized space in 2013 and the manner in which the politics of entrepreneurial interventionism unfold. The constant of urban redevelopment over the last century is the imperative of capital's spatial priorities. The intersection of these processes with race is in the tendency of capital to exploit local social formations in its drive toward controlling more productive means and intensifying land use. Just as black migrants during each of the booms of wartime production found themselves restricted to cordoned sections of industrial Midwestern and Northeastern cities, the changes wrought by subsequent waves of deindustrialization and the neoliberalization of urban policy have provided policymakers with opportunities to reorient investment and spatial priorities to advance urban equality. The dominant theme of American urban history is that patterns of segregation and marginalization are resilient to seemingly irrevocable sociopolitical transformations.

I caution against the seductiveness of neoliberalism as explainer for everything unjust in American cities manifest over the last forty years. As with previous eras, there exists potential for change in today's political economy for those able to take advantage of opportunities in a more decentralized regime of urban policymaking. However, those pursuing redistribution and political recognition from the system contend with the dominant trajectory toward solidifying social inequality that capital continues to structure. Communities of socioeconomic diversity and environmental sustainability are worthwhile aspirations, as are planning processes steeped in procedural justice that help bring them to fruition. What the redevelopment of Bristol Place makes clear, however, is the tendency toward perpetual racial and class-based injustice in urban restructuring. Despite remarkable changes to our built environment, political system, and economy, capital continues to rearticulate existing deep and dense social inequalities in ways that further fragment urban landscapes. ■

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