"If You Did Not Grow Up Here, You Cannot Appreciate Living Here": Neoliberalism, Space-time, and Affect in Post-Katrina Recovery Planning

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In post-Katrina New Orleans, local government officials have represented neighborhood recovery planning as a mechanism of shared governance, where all residents can participate as collective authors of the city's reconstruction directive. In these representations, expert planners were described as professional facilitators who served the primary role of documenting and giving a common format to resident ideas about urban recovery. Contrary to these official representations, this article shows how neighborhood recovery planning for the city's centrally located 4th planning district was characterized by significant tensions between professional planners' visions of urban development and resident notions of neighborhood and community. The article makes the case that the anthropological literature on the social production of space, time, and affect provides us with a resourceful vantage point for understanding what is at stake in the different ways New Orleanians and professional planners envisioned urban recovery and offers analytical resources for negotiating these differences.

Key words: disaster reconstruction, urban planning, neoliberalism, New Orleans

Introduction

On December 16, 2006, residents of New Orleans' central area gathered at a high school on Esplanade Avenue, one of the city's historic thoroughfares, to view the presentation of the nearly final plan for the recovery of their neighborhoods after Hurricane Katrina. The presentation was part of a participatory planning process whose anticipated outcome was the Unified New Orleans Plan (UNOP). This planning process was organized through a collaboration of state agencies, local development non-profits, and national philanthropic organizations in response to the shortcomings of two preceding recovery plans: Bring New Orleans Back, commissioned by Mayor C. Ray Nagin's office and executed by the Urban Land Institute, and the New Orleans Neighborhood Rebuilding Plan (informally known as the Lambert plan), commissioned by the City Council and executed by architects Paul Lambert and Sheila Danzey (Figure 1) (Krupa 2007; Times Picayune 2006). Both preceding plans had faced criticism from city residents for lacking broad public participation and ignoring New Orleanians' meaningful attachments to storm-devastated areas (Davis 2006; Krupa

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2006; Times Picayune 2006). Local government officials and UNOP organizers, in contrast, heralded this most recent plan as state of the art in participatory planning.

The UNOP process was comprised of several town hall meetings and community charrettes meant to elicit residents' visions of the city's reconstruction directive. At the December 16 meeting mentioned above, architects from the St. Louis-based architecture firm HOK presented the plan to an audience of nearly 60 residents (Krupa 2007). The presentation focused on one image, which showed New Orleans from an aerial perspective superimposed by intersecting translucent arrows (Figure 2). The arrows linked landmarks, like Armstrong and City Parks, to the city's tourism center, the French Quarter. One of HOK's architects presented the image by saying:

> What is the potential for Louis Armstrong Park? Historically, it is very significant. Louis Armstrong is one of the most important elements of New Orleans. Armstrong must be connected to the River and to City Park. We need to consider its relationship to Jackson Square and to Iberville…. Treme needs to be integrated into two corridors, one with the French Quarter and Lafitte, and one with Iberville. (fieldnotes 2006)

The plan proposed that the recovery of the city's central neighborhoods was best achieved through the creation of spatial relationships between architectural structures that facilitate the circulation of people and capital across New Orleans. The plan, however, evoked heartfelt critiques on the

Figure 1. Post-Katrina New Orleans Neighborhood Recovery Planning Timeline

September 30, 2005	Mayor C. Ray Nagin announces Bring New Orleans Back plan
January 11, 2006	BNOB Land use committee final report released
April 7, 2006	New Orleans City Council announces New Orleans Neighborhood Rebuilding Plan (informally known as the Lambert Plan)
April 20, 2006	Rockefeller Foundation announces $3.5 million to fund Unified New Orleans Planning
July 5, 2006	Louisiana Recovery Authority, City Council, and Mayor Nagin announce agreement on UNOP

part of residents who claimed that, as presented, it ignored what they considered to be the most important issue. One resident, Mr. Eubanks, commented:

> Two things. One is about affordable housing. Again, and again, it's been stated here in District 4 that we are very much afraid of what happened in St. Thomas.[1] Two thousand families were removed and only about 100 families returned…. There have to be some things right now that say: how do we get people who want to come back home now. We have discussed a number of ways of getting existing homes ready for people to come back. Somehow, something has to be put in these plans. They are renters. We need to get these people back. Where is the housing issue? The most important issue? (fieldnotes 2006)

In this article, I argue that Mr. Eubanks' statements reflected the concerns and interests of a substantial proportion of New Orleanians who lived in the city's central neighborhoods before Katrina. This part of the city is officially recognized as the 4th Planning District by city government and is made up of nine neighborhoods, which include Treme and the 6th and 7th Wards. Before Katrina, 77 percent of the district's residents rented rather than owned the properties they lived in (United States Census Bureau 2000; UNOP 2007). Many of these New Orleanians were also of modest financial means, the median household income for the area being $17,930 (United States Census Bureau 2000). Perhaps most importantly, many of these residents engaged in ritual and quotidian practices through which they gave unique meanings to the city's urban spaces. The article makes the case that the anthropological literature on the social production of space, time, and affect provides an analytically resourceful vantage point for understanding both the discrepancies in how residents and expert planners envisioned neighborhood recovery and the stakes of recovery planning in post-Katrina New Orleans.

The article explores these issues through various lines of evidence, including: ethnographic observations of participatory planning activities conducted from June of 2006 to January of 2007, ethnographic interviews with city planners and participating residents completed between June of 2006 and July of 2009, and the review of planning documents and news media stories concerned with recovery planning activities. Specifically, the article focuses on Treme, a historic neighborhood in the 4th Planning District. Treme is of interest because it is known throughout the city for the parading and musical

practices of its working class African-American residents and for its historic architecture. At the time of this study, Treme was also adjacent to a major public housing project, Lafitte, which was slated for redevelopment and partial privatization by the United States Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) and the Housing Authority of New Orleans (HANO) after Katrina. Additionally, the neighborhood sits on valuable real estate, being contiguous to the city's economic and tourism centers, the Central Business District and the French Quarter.

The evidence presented in this article shows that, although local government officials represented the Lambert and UNOP planning processes as mechanisms of shared governance where all New Orleanians could collectively participate as authors of the city's reconstruction directive, expert planners repeatedly insisted on (and sometimes attempted to instruct residents in) the conceptualization of

Figure 2. UNOP District 4 Final Plan (UNOP 2007:3)

the city's recovery through neoliberal principles of urban development. These principles propose the evaluation of all aspects of social life under rubrics of capitalist utility and cost-benefit. Nevertheless, the presented evidence shows that these principles (1) conflict with the ways many 4th district residents socially produce the urban spaces they live in, their sensibilities, and their embodied dispositions and (2) threaten to exacerbate the city's already stark social inequities, prolonging the disaster's social impact. The article concludes by demonstrating how the anthropological literature on space, time, and affect can provide expert planners with helpful analytical tools for navigating issues of power and knowledge in disaster recovery planning.

Expert Knowledge and Space-Time

It is a longstanding insight of the anthropological literature that people experience environments and social relations through their varying notions of space and time (Durkheim 2008; Evans-Pritchard 1969; Friedland and Boden 1995; Whorf and Carrol 1964). This insight differentiates anthropology from academic disciplines and expert practices that see time and space as objective qualities of the world at large that can be measured and documented in value-free ways. For anthropologists, differences in the experience of space and time emerge dialectically from the meaningful relationships people develop with the social and environmental particularities of the places they inhabit (Evans-Prichard 1969). Additionally, people's notions of space and time are intimately interrelated, as they are simultaneously produced in social practice and are complementary domains of human experience (Friedland and Boden 1995; Harvey 1991; Massumi 2002). Consequently, many social theorists prefer to use the hyphenated "space-time" in their discussion of these topics, as they feel that one cannot be discussed without the other.

In the last 30 years, several contributions to the literature on space-time have focused on the related ways people come to experience the senses, emotions, and their embodied dispositions, what Brian Massumi (2002) calls affect (Bourdieu 1977; Manning 2009). Pierre Bourdieu's (1977) *Outline of A Theory of Practice*, for example, linked the production of the interior of Kabyle houses (whose spatial partitions materialized Kabyle notions of gender difference and cosmology) to the ways their inhabitants developed unique sensibilities over the course of their life experiences in these meaningfully structured spaces. Additionally, for Bourdieu, space is not only structured through architecture, but also through the meaningful and temporally punctuated social relationships people establish with each other. Finally, people go on to improvisationally engage their environments and social circumstances through the dispositions they come to embody over the course of their life experiences, giving form to new space-times in the process.

Despite the well-documented social variation in space-time, the history of urban planning is marked by a number of instances when experts attempted to homogenize these domains of human experience. In the 19th and 20th centuries, modernist planners proposed the replication of space-times that were unique to the sociopolitical history of France as a way of addressing national development issues around the globe (Holston 1989; Rabinow 1995; Scott 1999). Specifically, modern urbanism upheld the idea that social norms were qualities that could be produced through the arrangement of architectural structures in spatial arrangements that disciplined and regulated human bodies (Rabinow 1995). This architectural movement articulated a space-time relationship in which present architectonic forms were thought to bring about a predictable future.
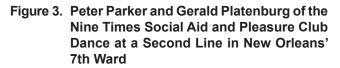
A collection of anthropological works of the last two decades have shown that the futures imagined by modernist planners did not manifest in practice. In fact, the rigid application of modernist principles in urban planning actually produced those very conditions of sociopolitical marginalization and stark economic differences they were intended to ameliorate. In some cases, planning initiatives dissected and privatized public spaces, limiting the possibilities of democratic civic engagement at the heart of many visions of social modernization (Holston 1998). Additionally, modernist urban planning ignored the agency of those populations who lived in the localities expert planners set out to transform. As a number of ethnographic studies have shown, local populations (who were seldom included in centralized modernist planning processes) are known to appropriate urban spaces through their own modalities of sociality, subverting visions of uniform modernization and predicable capitalist development (Low 2000; Low and Lawrence-Zuñiga 2003).

Nowhere are these lessons more evident than in Treme. In the mid-20th century, urban renewal projects had profound impacts on the neighborhood that persist in the memory of many residents and serve as a point of reference for their interpretation of proposed recovery plans. In the 1960s, the construction of an elevated interstate highway, I-10, over North Claiborne Avenue divided the neighborhood and overshadowed its businesses. Although the interstate was meant to expedite the movement of traffic and stimulate commerce in the central areas of New Orleans, its construction dealt a heavy blow to Treme's small stores (Lacho and Fox 2001; Sorant, Whelan, and Young 1984). In the 1970s, the neighborhood was also the focus of a disputed urban development project that displaced 175 families. This project included the construction of Louis Armstrong Park, a "public" space enclosed by fences that curtailed the movement of neighborhood residents through its grounds (CUPA 1995). It is noteworthy that these projects were executed at a pivotal time in the history of New Orleans. The end of state sanctioned segregation witnessed the flight of many White residents to the suburban cities of Metairie and Chalmette and middle class African Americans to New Orleans East, leading to a loss of 200,000 people over 40 years (Campanella 2006; Sorant, Whelan, and Young 1984). This suburban flight resulted a dramatic loss of tax revenue and jobs for the inner city (Schuller and Thomas-Houston 2006), and the socioeconomic impacts of

this process were particularly evident in neighborhoods like Treme, where blighted properties proliferated as a result.

The hegemonic excesses and inherent contradictions of modernist planning instigated a number of social and policy movements that called for broad public participation in urban planning initiatives in and outside the United States (Adams et al. 2005; Caldeira and Holston 2005; Sandercock 1998). But participation in urban planning is not without complication. The call for participatory planning coincided with the rise of neoliberalism as a discursive field for reflecting on and devising governmental policy (Caldeira and Holston 2005). By neoliberalism, social scientists refer to a policy movement that upholds the notion that market liberalization (privatization, deregulation of labor/environmental/fiscal oversight, and governmental disinvestment from public services) will lead to the achievement of optimal social ends (di Leonardo 2008; Harvey 2007). Accompanying this tenet is the idea that all aspects of social life must be subjected to rubrics of cost-benefit and capitalist utility (Ong 2006; Povinelli 2010). Neoliberalism is not without its critics. Anthropological analyses warn that neoliberal policies inevitably lead to inequities in access to natural resources/urban spaces and environmental degradation, two well-known catalysts of disasters (Button and Oliver-Smith 2008; Fortun 2001; Schuller 2008). In the case of post-Katrina New Orleans, succeeding ethnographic examples will show how expert planners upheld neoliberal principles of urban development as non-negotiable matters of fact in recovery planning. These neoliberal principles articulated spatial and temporal relationships that conflicted with those of long-time Treme residents, evoking the sentiment that recovery plans ignored what they considered to be "the most important issue."

Space, Time, and Affect in Treme, New Orleans

In the anthropological literature, New Orleanians are renowned for the ways they socially structure the city's urban spaces through ritual and quotidian practices (Lipsitz 1988, 2006; Regis 1999). The city's famed carnival, Mardi Gras, is known for its private balls that delimit spaces of socialization among the city's elite, its racially differentiated parades on Mardi Gras Day (Rex and Zulu), and, until recently, officially segregated float crews (Regis 1999). At the same time, working class African Americans (whose spatial mobility has a history of being limited by racial profiling and de facto segregationist housing policies) have devised a number of parading practices that allow them to appropriate and give new meanings to the city's urban spaces (Breunlin and Lewis 2009, Breunlin and Regis 2006; Ehrenreich 2004; Lipsitz 1988; Regis 1999). Among these practices are the pedestrian parades called Second Lines (Figure 3). During Second Lines, New Orleanians take over city streets, filling them with social relations between participants and spectators. Parade dancers take on roles and portray social values considered desirable in working-class neighborhoods, and engage spectators through song and dance in ways that counter performance traditions that require a passive audience (Lipsitz 1988; Regis 1999).

Figure 3. Peter Parker and Gerald Platenburg of the Nine Times Social Aid and Pleasure Club Dance at a Second Line in New Orleans' 7th Ward

photograph by author

In Treme, Second Lines are the ritual counterpart of daily practices like the use of street spaces and porches for socialization and the visiting of neighborhood bars and funeral homes. But Treme is also a complex locality, where residents of varying socioeconomic backgrounds have different and sometimes contesting ways of socially structuring the space-times of New Orleans. In the two decades preceding Katrina, the neighborhood witnessed an influx of new, more affluent residents who purchased historic properties in the area contiguous to the French Quarter along North Rampart Street and Esplanade Avenue. These newly arrived residents sought to socioeconomically transform Treme, but some of their revitalization practices conflicted with the daily habits of long-time area residents. In the years preceding Katrina, Treme became a ground of contestation between residents who self-identified as predominantly blue-collar African Americans and the newly arrived, upwardly mobile buyers of historic homes. Nearly a year after Katrina, Cheryl Austin, a life-long resident of Treme, spoke about these tensions during an ethnographic interview:

> We have cultural differences. I like walking out of my house and having a beer. A lot of them think it's bad.... That is happening right now, with gentrification. They don't want no bars open, they don't want young men walking around with t-shirts and their jeans pulled down, they don't want anyone hanging out. These cultural things are beginning to change. People that have been here a short time, and I mean 20 years is a short time, 20 years or less, they want the Second Lines to clean up after themselves…. Growing up in Treme, you had a bar, a church, and a funeral home, so you knew where your family was! (fieldnotes 2006)

Cheryl's comments call attention to the co-constitutive relationship between socially structured space and the durable

dispositions through which people experience and engage their worlds (Bourdieu 1977). In the excerpt above, Cheryl associates spaces like bars, churches, and funeral homes and ritualized practices like Second Lines with modalities of socialization (hanging out) and aesthetic sensibilities (low-hanging pants and oversized t-shirts), which she collectively refers to as "our culture." Additionally, Cheryl notes that these practices are at odds with the visions of neighborhood revitalization held by people she goes on to describe as recently arrived "outsiders":

> For me, if you did not grow up here, you cannot appreciate living here. People who think like that, people who want Treme transformed, could go anywhere and dismantle what was there and build what they wanted. For outsiders, the most important thing here are the buildings. For us, it is our culture, for us, that is what we consider community, not the buildings. (fieldnotes 2006)

In Cheryl's narrative, Treme's insider residents are unique products of their experiences in the neighborhood's socially structured spaces, and such experiences make them appreciate Treme's institutional and social terrain in ways recently arrived "outsiders" do not. *If you did not grow up here, you cannot appreciate living here*. Outsiders, in turn, are characterized by different dispositions that are evident in their uses of space-time and their patterns of sociality:

> These people want to live close to the French Quarters, where they can go and do their business and then come back here and close their shutters. They just don't want to talk to their neighbors.

In these comments, Cheryl contrasts the different ways Treme insiders and outsiders temporally structure their daily lives and uses of neighborhood space. Among outsiders, life is regimented according to the rhythm of middle class professional time. After-work hours are marked by a strict separation of private and public space, when these residents return to their homes and "close their shutters." Treme insiders, on the other hand, see leisure time as a moment to be spent in street spaces, greeting and speaking with other neighbors. Additionally, for insiders the time for ritual practices, like Second Lines, is determined by social circumstance and not the exigencies of the bourgeois work week. These different temporalities came into conflict on October 2, 2007, when New Orleans Police responded to an anonymous noise complaint and shut down a spontaneous Second Line organized by neighborhood musicians to commemorate the death of a colleague. The story was documented on the online edition of the *Times Picayune*. Reporter Katy Reckdahl (2007:1) explained the events:

> The confrontation spurred cries in the neighborhood about the over-reaction and disproportionate enforcement by police, who had turned a blind eye to the traditional memorial ceremonies. Still others say the incident is a sign of a greater attack on the cultural history of the old city neighborhood by well-heeled newcomers attracted to Treme by the very history they seem to threaten.

The article cited Beverly Curry, a 65-year-old lifelong resident of Treme, who summarized the tensions between the neighborhood's more recent arrivals and long-standing residents, saying:

> They want to live in Treme, but they want it for their ways of living…. I say, you found us doing this, this is our way. (Reckdahl 2007)

Both Cheryl and Ms. Curry's statements demonstrate that Treme was a socially complex locality where at least two resident groups engaged in different, and sometimes contesting, practices of space-time production before and after Katrina. As subsequent ethnographic examples will demonstrate, expert planners working on Lambert and UNOP plans did not account for this complexity in their recovery plans for Treme, even though this complexity was the ground upon which residents articulated their notions of neighborhood recovery.

Participatory Planning in Post-Katrina New Orleans

Prior to Hurricane Katrina, there was no established citywide master plan for New Orleans. A plan was in development since 1992, but its completion was delayed by a lack of resident participation, unresolved differences among business interests and other stakeholders, and the absence of consistent leadership (Burns and Thomas 2006; Irazábal and Neville 2007). In the storm's aftermath, Congress required the city government to complete both the master plan and a supplemental disaster recovery plan in order to receive federal reconstruction aid. In the fall of 2005, Mayor C. Ray Nagin's office created the Bring New Orleans Back (BNOB) commission (Figure 1), an expert panel that presented a preliminary plan for the city's reconstruction on January 11, 2006. The plan was devised without open resident participation and made several unpopular recommendations, like the transformation of low-lying flooded areas into green space, which sparked widespread resistance among city residents (Davis 2006).

In response to the controversial BNOB plan, the New Orleans City Council hired architects Paul Lambert and Sheila Danzey to carry out a neighborhood recovery planning process (officially titled New Orleans Neighborhood Rebuilding Plan, informally known as the Lambert plan) in the spring and summer of 2006 (Krupa 2007; Warner 2006). City council member Arnie Fielkow described this process as a "bottom-up" initiative in which city residents could collectively author the city's "reconstruction directive." Likewise, the city's chief planner depicted the effort as "a grassroots process" in which professional planners played the primarily supportive role of giving resident ideas "a common format" for wider dissemination (fieldnotes 2006).

As part of the Lambert planning process, the Miami-based architecture firm Zyscovich Inc. was contracted to complete a neighborhood plan for the Treme area. On July

13, 2006, architect Bernard Zyscovich presented a preliminary version of this plan to Treme residents at St. Augustine Church, one of the neighborhood's historic landmarks. The meeting was held in the church's reception area, an old, large room, with high ceilings and thick plaster walls. The room was filled with residents of varied socioeconomic backgrounds, including schoolteachers, car mechanics, city workers, and doctors. Although the Zyscovich team had spent three months in the city, none of the attending residents had been consulted in the drafting of the near-final plan. The Zyscovich plan focused on the removal of the Interstate 10 overpass constructed over North Claiborne Avenue that had decimated Treme's business district in the 1970s. The project's lead architect introduced the plan, saying:

> We're going to bring up a pretty radical idea. We want to reestablish the historic Claiborne Road with a boulevard, sidewalks, and tree planting. We are looking at the idea of bringing down parts of I-10. The idea is to bring people down into a beautiful boulevard. (fieldnotes 2006)

Behind the architect, a portable projector displayed a watercolor-like image of North Claiborne Avenue's possible future. The image showed a wide boulevard with trees planted on sidewalks and boutique retail spaces. Buildings and trees were rendered in vivid colors while people were represented as generic white silhouettes, echoing Cheryl Austin's representation of "outsiders" for whom "the most important thing here are the buildings" (Figure 4). The rendering of people as white silhouettes conveyed the idea that, for this planning team, the specific identities of neighborhood residents were not a focal concern of recovery plans. It did not matter whether Treme's pre-Katrina residents comprised the neighborhood's future population as long as the removal of the interstate ramp created the aesthetics of a late capitalist consumer society.

This vision of urban development, however, conflicted with the ways Treme insiders defined neighborhood recovery. For insiders, Treme's qualities as a neighborhood were created through the time-, space-, and affect-making practices of its residents (Second Lines, neighborhood bars, modalities of sociality that blend home and street spaces). Additionally, residents' sensibilities and dispositions were shaped over the course of life experiences in Treme's socially produced space-times. *You found us doing this, this is our way. If you did not grow up here, you cannot appreciate living here.* Consequently, as residents commented on the plan, they expressed a profound concern with the absence of measures to insure the expedited return of their displaced neighbors. In the words of one resident:

> Armstrong Park was a plan too. One hundred and sixty four families were moved out. The plan never worked. Your proposed plan, the green space, everything sounds like the entire area is going to be commercialized. I know there are a lot of homeowners in this room. Nobody had any input as to what our neighborhood is going to look like. (fieldnotes 2006)

Figure 4. Generic White Silhouettes Were a Common Representational Convention in Post-Katrina Planning Documents for the Redevelopment of Public Housing in New Orleans and Treme

Another resident called out from the back of the room: Bring the people back that want to come back home. Open up the projects, let the people back in! Everything can't become a green space, people need housing, people need where to live! (fieldnotes 2006)

Along with the economic revitalization of North Claiborne Avenue, the Zyscovich plan proposed the redevelopment of an adjacent public housing project, Lafitte, which was closed after the storm by order of HANO and HUD. It is noteworthy that these agencies had followed a policy of disinvestment from large public housing projects over the four decades preceding Katrina (Breunlin and Regis 2006). Before the storm, HANO and HUD redeveloped major public housing facilities around New Orleans through Hope 6 programs. Such was the case of St. Thomas, a public housing project located in the Lower Garden District. This redevelopment project featured the construction of mixed income housing, but the project was egregiously mismanaged, resulting in a prolonged displacement and limited return of St. Thomas' original residents. The city's mandatory evacuation induced by Hurricane Katrina allowed HANO to expedite its plans to demolish and largely privatize public housing areas like Lafitte. Over the course of the Lambert and UNOP planning processes, outspoken Treme residents insisted that Lafitte was a part of the neighborhood and that residents should be allowed to plan for its immediate reopening. Rather than documenting this resident vision of disaster recovery, planning teams worked to legitimize HANO's decision to demolish and privatize Lafitte. As part of Laffitte's redevelopment plan, city government planned to sell some of the project's real estate to the Louisiana Institute of Film and Technology for the construction of movie studios (Roberts 2006). Bernard

Zyscovich spoke about these plans, saying:

> One of the things we hope to get out of this is the creation of guidelines, sustainable from an energy perspective, so that it's easy to maintain the neighborhood, the overall neighborhood is encouraged. *Private investment is important*. When we start getting the money into the city, the overall investment will happen at a faster pace. *Commercial corridors can create a much better neighborhood*. Cafés, small grocery stores, drug stores, things that service the community allow for these things to pop up. As Lafitte gets reconstructed, *if we think about planning holistically, as an integrated process, you can get more value out of the dollar.* (fieldnotes 2006; my emphasis)

The Zyscovich plan rationalized Lafitte's redevelopment through a discourse that emphasized the conceptualization of neighborhood as a site of capital investment. *Private investment is important. You can get more value out of the dollar.* In this urban development model, the diacritic mark of recovery were those things investment capital allowed to "pop up," not the reinstatement of the area's pre-Katrina population, whose time-, space-, and affect-making practices made Treme unique. The plan followed a neoliberal injunction to subject all aspects of social life to capitalist logics of investment and cost-benefit, where de-historicized and generic people ambulate in a landscape of commodified spaces. Most importantly, the Zyscovich team's plan implicitly articulated a relationship between space and time. In this relationship, neighborhood space must be architecturally structured in a way that accelerates cycles of capital investment. This is a space that is solely concerned with futurity (not the unique dispositions of Treme residents shaped through the experience of the neighborhood's socially structured spaces), as what matters are those businesses that will "pop up" in the future. When residents insisted on the immediate reopening of undamaged public housing and the reinstatement of Treme's pre-Katrina human landscape, Bernard Zyscovich countered:

> Recovery plans need to be sold in terms of their investment potential; the federal government is much more willing to invest $5 when it is going to get $25 in return than $5 in mere social services. (fieldnotes 2006)

Zyscovich's statement shows how, rather than documenting and formatting resident ideas about the city's reconstruction directive, planning teams drafted neighborhood recovery plans based on neoliberal tenets of urban development and upheld these tenets as non-negotiable matters of fact in recovery planning. *Recovery plans need to be sold in terms of their investment potential.* While some residents objected to this disjuncture between representation and practice (speaking about the Zyscovich team's approach to participatory planning, one resident would comment: "These good people are being shown there is a plan already. I thought we got to plan?!"), other New Oreleanians were more willing to accept their role as recipients of expert knowledge rather than authors of the city's reconstruction directive. But even some of these latter residents expressed unease about the ways professional planners thought and spoke about urban recovery. During a meeting arranged by the Neighborhoods Planning Network (a resident-organized recovery planning information clearinghouse) in July of 2006 to announce the replacement of the Lambert plans with the UNOP process, Ms. Johnson, a resident of the nearby neighborhood of Central City, spoke about her experiences with professional planners over the preceding months. Speaking directly to UNOP organizers, she said:

> We had a meeting with our planners the other day, and I'm sorry, we don't speak the language of the planners. We are philanthropic virgins. Will you please, take us gently through our first time? (fieldnotes 2006)

In this statement, Ms. Johnson used a metaphor of sexual conquest to describe the role of expert knowledge in the power relations between professional planners and participating residents. Her metaphor portrayed a collective "we" (participating residents) as inexperienced virgins who recognized the expertise of planning professionals and were willing to be guided through the process of recovery planning. At the same time, Ms. Johnson's metaphor expressed the sentiment that what she expected to be a gentle education felt more like a violation, and this sentiment of violation was tied to the hegemonic excesses of the language (with its implicit neoliberal spatial/temporal assumptions) of urban development used by professional planners.

The recovery plan presented by the Zyscovich planning team was scheduled to be completed by the end of August 2006 and was intended to fulfill federal requirements for the disbursement of recovery assistance. Nevertheless, in July of the same year, a coalition of state recovery agencies (Louisiana Recovery Authority), local developers (Greater New Orleans Foundation), and national philanthropic organizations (Rockefeller Foundation) announced a new planning initiative that usurped the Lambert document's position as the city's definitive reconstruction plan: the UNOP planning process (Times Picayune 2006; Warner 2006).

The UNOP process featured the drafting of individual plans for each of the city's 13 planning districts, and it was the district-specific plan for Treme that was featured in this article's introductory ethnographic vignette. This plan conceptualized the recovery of New Orleans' central neighborhoods as being contingent on the creation of relationships between the city's architectural structures that would transform the city into a mechanism of circulation. These circulatory relationships tied historic landmarks like Louis Armstrong Park with tourist destinations like Jackson Square and facilitated the movement of people and capital throughout New Orleans. But professional planners conceptualized urban recovery, once again, within a discursive field of capitalist utility. The plan did not consider the diverse and unique ways New Orleans residents produced space-time and assumed city residents to be generic subjects who would uniformly engage the city's

circulatory nodes and corridors. Like modern urbanism, the UNOP plan assumed that a collection of architectural relationships could produce predictable social behaviors.

The UNOP District 4 final plan also included elements of the Lambert plan that Treme residents found both irrelevant to their self-defined social challenges and potentially disrupting to their space-time- and affect-making practices. The proposed redevelopment of Interstate 10 along North Claiborne Avenue, a project that was neither conceived nor supported by many Treme residents, was the second of 29 projects listed in the final UNOP District 4 plan.

Discussion

The case of post-Katrina neighborhood recovery planning raises two important questions: (1) What if neoliberal tenets of urban development really do work? (2) To what extent should we balance "culturally" particular ways of making and experiencing space-time against those ideas planning experts uphold as rational and non-negotiable matters of fact of urban development? Bernard Zyscovich's dictum comes to mind: *recovery plans need to be thought of in terms of their investment potential.*

When considering these questions, urban planners should recognize the implicit configurations of space-time and embodied disposition embedded within urban recovery models that uphold capital investment and reproduction as a universal mechanism of social well-being (Harvey 1991; Mitchell 2002). The case of Treme demonstrates how people articulate and experience their notions of well-being through embodied dispositions and affective attachments that are shaped in the unique space-times of New Orleans neighborhoods. Moreover, in Treme, idealized neoliberal space-times threaten to disrupt the disposition-shaping ritual and quotidian practices of "insider" residents (Regis 1999).

It is also important to keep in mind that the models of urban recovery articulated by both UNOP and Lambert planning teams reduced the challenges of inner city blight and economic decline to solely technical problems that could be fixed with the technical solution of creating architectural relationships conducive to the circulation of people and capital. In New Orleans, the city's socioeconomic challenges can be traced to the post 1960s suburban flight of White and middle class African-American residents who used spatial distance to produce racialized class differences. Technical solutions for what are, at heart, sociopolitical problems in the production of urban space stand to have little efficacy in addressing the root causes of social inequity in New Orleans.

Expert planners should also be mindful of the inherent contradictions of recovery plans that conceptualize neighborhoods in terms of capitalist utility and financial cost-benefit. Expert planners working on both the UNOP and Lambert plans accepted the decision of HUD and HANO to redevelop, and largely privatize, public housing areas like Laffitte. Outspoken Treme residents, in contrast, expressed the concern that the deprioritization of affordable and public housing in the Lambert and UNOP processes resulted in the drafting of recovery plans that ignored what they considered to be "the most important issue." Their concerns were not unwarranted. In 2009, the New Orleans Community Data Center's *The New Orleans Index* (Plyer 2009) reported a 40 percent rise in rent prices after Katrina, putting efficiency apartments beyond the reach (over 30 percent of monthly income) of residents employed in food preparation, health care support, and retail sales. The city has regained only 76.4 percent of its 2005 population, and many arriving households differ demographically from the city's pre-Katrina population, featuring a higher proportion of single residents or childless couples (Plyer 2009). This limited return has placed the burden of covering offset utility costs on city residents and has diminished available tax revenue for the provision of social services. Current reconstruction policies, then, seem to have exacerbated inequities in housing and complicated the return process for residents of limited financial means.

Conclusions

In this article, I have demonstrated how an anthropological approach to the social production of space and time helps us understand what is at stake in the varying ways Treme residents and professional planners conceptualized neighborhood disaster recovery in Post-Katrina New Orleans. I would like to conclude by remarking on the analytical and methodological resources this approach offers urban planners for the mediation of these differences.

The literature on space and time sets us up to see neighborhoods and cities not as mere collections of architectural structures, but instead as socially produced spaces that are created in unique ways by people through ritual and quotidian practices. It is life-experiences in these spaces that shape people's sensibilities and affective attachments, and it is from these embodied dispositions that people articulate their notions of disaster recovery. Moreover, a focus on the social production of space and time also allows us to see the complexities of places like Treme, where insider and outsider residents engaged in different and sometimes conflicting space-time making practices. Recovery plans that ignore these complexities run the chance of being seen as irrelevant, if not disruptive, by the people whose ideas they are supposed to represent.

In the presentation of this article's evidence, I have shown how information concerning practices of space-time production among disaster-affected populations can be easily obtained through an anthropologically informed reading of ethnographic interviews and local news media. In the case of both these sources, I interpreted resident narratives paying particular attention to the spatial and temporal dimensions of their descriptions of ritual and quotidian practices. This is just one of a variety of methods social scientists have devised to understand location specific configurations of space-time (Bourdieu 1977; Friedland and Boden 1995; Low 2000) that are available to urban planners and which can be easily incorporated into participatory planning processes.

Notes

[1]A New Orleans public housing project whose redevelopment through Hope VI prior to Katrina was mired with mismanagement on the part of federal and city housing agencies.

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