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'Project heat' and sensory politics in redeveloping Chicago public housing

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Abstract
This article examines Chicago's ongoing public housing reforms and more broadly, welfare reform, as a kind of sensory politics. I analyze experiences of home heating at a redeveloping public housing project to establish how neoliberal demands for self-responsibility have become tied to demands that transitioning residents reconfigure their subjective senses of comfort. These twin demands have distributed the risks of transitioning out of public housing across an individual's understanding of personal security as well as her obligations to kin. I show how approaching welfare reform as a sensory politics illuminates the emerging conditions of political recognition available to Chicago public housing residents as their longstanding representational bodies face obsolescence. Moreover, I argue that this approach invites us to reconsider theories of contestation and survival within urban poor people's social movements.

Keywords
American public housing, built environment, recognition, sensory politics, welfare

On the second Sunday of every August, the 'Bud Billiken Day' parade snakes through Chicago's South Side, thrilling over a million spectators. True to its mission to showcase the city's African American children, drum and bugle corps march in bright uniforms, flanked by dance troops and tumblers. Yet young musicians and acrobats are not the only people parting the thick blue barbeque smoke that curls through the parade route. The parade has long served as a venue for businesses and politicians to reach Black Chicago. Waving from floats and cars, local businesspeople, representatives from community groups, city agencies and

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unions, and a cast of national and local political luminaries woo the parade's tremendous crowd.

At the 2005 parade, public relations and marketing efforts met mixed reactions. The Chicago Housing Authority (CHA) – the agency spearheading the transformation of that city's public housing system – had festooned its float with balloons, smiling resident leaders and children. As its float lumbered by, members of the crowd began to heckle, 'Get me off the waiting list!' 'The CHA wrecked my building!' or more simply, 'Boo!' Commonwealth Edison, the private company that electrifies the Chicagoland area, sent its float rolling not far behind. Led by a boisterous emcee, Com-Ed employees danced on the float and riled up the crowd. 'Make some noise if you've got lights!' the emcee shouted, punctuating the crowd's cheers with arm pumps. 'Make some noise if you've got A.C.!'[1]

Com-Ed's float soon met a fate similar to the CHA's, when members of the crowd began again to heckle: 'We're hot!', 'Give me back A.C.', and 'Cut my lights back on!' The emcee paused from his dancing, laughed, wagged a finger at the hecklers and sang, 'Pay your bill, pay your bill, pay your bill!'

Introduction

In Chicago, debates about public housing reform, utility use, physical comfort and personal responsibility are more than a coincidence of parade order. Chicago's brand of economic and racial segregation can make summer cooling and winter heating matters of life and death for the city's poor (Klinenberg, 2002). In this context, utility access has emerged as an especially serious concern for those low-income African Americans transitioning out of Chicago's public housing. This article examines the demise of subsidized home heating on Chicago's Near West Side, as The Governor Henry Horner housing complex ('Horner') is being demolished and redeveloped into the mixed-income neighborhood 'Westhaven'.[2] In this article, I use the term 'project heat' in the same way my informants did – to describe the very particular kind of heat one had access to while living in a Chicago public housing project. In their words, heat that was 'hot', 'free' and 'blazing all the time'. Before transitioning into Westhaven, the vast majority of my informants had never paid a heat bill. Horner, like many CHA developments, had provided its tenants with heat generated on-site and included in rents.

In 1999, the Chicago Housing Authority undertook the most ambitious experiment of its kind: the demolition of troubled public housing projects and their transformation into mixed-income, small-scale, neighborhood-based developments called 'new communities'. These lower density redevelopments have been financed and managed through public–private partnerships, with federal funds leveraging private and non-governmental commitments. Recently extended another five years, by the time the *Plan for Transformation* wraps up in 2015, Chicago's experiment is projected to have demolished over a third of the CHA's units and relocated some 25,000 low-income households, most of which are headed by African American women.[3]

The process of demolition and redevelopment at Horner began in 1995, and has stood out among other Chicago public housing sites. Horner owes its somewhat unique redevelopment course to a consent decree that preceded the Chicago-wide *Plan for Transformation* by several years. This unique course has offered transitioning Horner residents several protections unavailable to their counterparts at other redeveloping sites. However, there are several mandates that all residents transitioning into Chicago's 'new communities' must navigate. This article focuses on one such mandate. As a condition of lease compliance, a transitioning Horner resident must now assume financial and physical control of her domestic utilities, including her heating.[4]

Through an examination of transitioning Horner residents' changing sensory experiences of home heating, I show how mandates to control one's heat have also involved compulsions to manage subjective senses of comfort. I argue that such compulsions have transformed Horner residents from entitlements-bearing subjects to new kinds of risks-bearing subjects. I explore these compulsions through two avenues. The first concerns the effects of residents' ongoing attachments to Horner as a place that merged physical sensations of intense heat with subjective senses of security and comfort. The second avenue examines how new modes of heat provision in Westhaven are reconfiguring kinship obligations in risky ways. I show how approaching welfare reform as a kind of 'sensory politics' allows us to interrogate the emerging conditions of formal political recognition available to transitioning Horner residents at a moment when their long-standing representational bodies (e.g. tenant councils) face obsolescence.[5] Finally, I argue that such an approach invites us to reconceptualize theories of contestation and survival within urban poor people's social movements at our 'neoliberal' moment.

Site and methods

This article emerges from an anthropological study that investigated how a rapidly changing urban built environment shapes a new ethics of social care as the American welfare state itself undergoes substantial restructuring. My study followed the transformation of Horner into Westhaven across six years (2002–2008), and entailed over two and a half years of full-time, multi-sited ethnographic research on Chicago's West Side.

With respect to project heat's demise at Horner, research included archival analysis, observing operations at two CHA heat plants comparable to the ones that once stood at Horner and observing social service programs designed to assist transitioning Horner residents with accessing heat. I also observed and participated in heat consumption and redistribution practices among transitioning Horner residents that took place both inside and outside of their homes. A myriad of institutions, agencies and actors make heat possible in Westhaven. Accordingly, I conducted interviews with heat plant engineers, gas company staff and officials, social service workers and transitioning residents that touched on the particularities of providing, consuming, managing and amplifying heat at Horner and Westhaven, and places like them.

However, as I am interested here in the political subjectivity of residents, I limit my discussion mainly to their experiences with project heat's demise.

The Henry Horner Homes officially opened in 1957 two miles west of Chicago's downtown, in the heart of what was then the city's second largest African American enclave. Horner stood at the forefront of the CHA's efforts to meet Black Chicagoans' housing needs – needs exacerbated by severe housing shortages, a racially constrained housing market and residential displacements related to early urban renewal initiatives on the city's South Side (Hirsch, 1998; Seligman, 2005). The Horner Homes rose on an 18-acre site, and consisted of 11 mid- and high-rise buildings situated within carefully landscaped grounds. They formed the first part of plans for a substantial housing complex that would come to include two other sub-developments. In 1961, the Horner Extension opened with 736 additional units and the Horner Annex opened in 1969, bringing another 109 units to the complex. Budgetary problems, deferred maintenance, the exit of working-class families during the 1970s and early 1980s and the ravages of drug epidemics hit Horner hard. By the late 1980s, the complex had fallen into severe decline. Combined with the devastating poverty of its residents, Horner's deteriorating physical conditions, its unusually high vacancy rates and related crime problems led the CHA in 1991 to name it 'the authority's most troubled development' and to count it among 'the most distressed housing properties in the nation' (cited in Wilen, 2005: 68).

Horner's deterioration formed the basis of a 1991 class action lawsuit brought by a group of its residents against both the CHA and the United States Department of Housing and Urban Development. A settlement in 1995 ushered in a consent decree that has since governed Horner's ongoing redevelopment. Unlike many of the CHA's 'new communities', Horner's transformation has unfolded across multiple phases. This allowed many families to remain on site and move around the complex's older buildings while they awaited the construction of their new homes. Over the past decade and a half, Westhaven has slowly taken shape as a neighborhood of town homes, three and six flats and mid-rise buildings. During most of this time, two built environments – the gradually demolished architecture of the Keynesian welfare state and the gradually emerging architecture of a post-Keynesian urban communitarianism – have stood alongside each other. Each has offered its inhabitants radically different sensory and social dimensions. Each has also demanded radically different modes of engaging these dimensions.

'Project heat' in historical contexts

In the earliest phases of my research, I regularly barraged informants with questions designed to elicit contrasts between life at Horner and Westhaven. Most lauded physical improvements in Westhaven while also lamenting that they no longer lived near their friends and family. As 33-year-old Mark, who had grown up at Horner and then stayed with his fiancée in Westhaven, emphasized, 'It was easier to have a better time then with everyone closer together in the buildings. It was just love.'[6] When I pressed to learn if such nostalgia extended to the

physical dimensions of now demolished buildings, many would rattle off the decrepit conditions that they claimed nobody could ever miss: dark and dingy common spaces, vermin, broken elevators, the lists wound on. But many also closed such lists with variations on a curious caveat: 'I don't miss anything', insisted Rhoada, a 50-year-old former resident of the Extension. 'Well o.k.,' she added as an afterthought,' The only thing I *can* say that I *do* miss is the heat. It was the best heat we ever had. I can't even describe it. *That's* how good it was, toasty all the time.'[7]

My first full winter in Westhaven fell in 2005–2006, and was a mild one according to the books.[8] At this time, Horner's project heat had gone the way of the demolished buildings from which Rhoada hailed. Yet by no means did project heat's absence or the relative mildness of that winter, diminish the attention that transitioning residents paid to heat. I quickly learned that musings about project heat were not limited to off-handed caveats. Residents obsessed over heat, with casual talk, jokes and whispers among friends and neighbors incessantly turning toward the topic. Consider one of many similar conversations I documented between two middle-aged friends, both of whom had grown up in an Extension high-rise. They had been gossiping about a niece's relocation from Horner to a private rental apartment nearby. 'I visited my niece in her new apartment on Sunday', gossiped Trisha. Her friend followed up, 'Nice place?' Trisha leaned in and I braced for the onslaught of questions I had begun to catalog in my notes as 'the moving conversation' – questions that would dissect everything from room sizes to children's bunk beds and the landlord's integrity. Instead, Trisha and her friend embarked on an entirely different topic. 'She has some good heat up in there', gushed Trisha, '*Good* heat.' Her friend asked skeptically, '*Good*, like project heat?' 'Yes', replied Trisha, and the two spent 20 minutes marveling at the niece's luck.

No longer physically part of Trisha's or Rhoada's life, project heat had nevertheless seized hold of their imaginations. In line with the CHA and Westhaven managers' general attempts to cultivate new habits among transitioning Horner residents, a Westhaven leaseholder was required to monitor and manage her heat and electricity usage as a condition of remaining on site. This meant that heat would no longer arrive at her unit on a preset schedule. Nor would it be included in her rent, as it had been at Horner. Chicago's private gas utility company now brokered winter warmth, which arrived at each unit through a forced air heat system gauged by an individual thermostat. A resident would need to control her own thermostat and pay for the heat she consumed. Through steady talk about project heat and its aftermath, I began tracing the extent to which residents registered Horner's ongoing transformation as a set of changing sensory qualities. How had project heat become such an ingrained part of everyday life at Horner, such that only the relatively recent loss of its particularly intense qualities has thrown its social significance into sharp relief?

By the 1980s and 1990s, popular media accounts examining CHA developments had begun to make passing mention of project heat, grouping it alongside the raft of problems that plagued Chicago's deteriorating housing projects. Several local news articles and evening television exposés marshaled fluctuations between public

housing's intense heat and its periodic absence due to infrastructural breakdowns as further evidence of the careless planning and mismanagement that plagued the housing projects (e.g. Kamin, 1999). Yet project heat should be attributed to more than a shortsighted accident or a general climate of mismanagement. Historical materials suggest that it emerged in the middle decades of the 20th century as part of the many ambitious poverty programs and building projects associated with a then expanding the American welfare state.

At the time of their construction between the late 1930s and the late 1960s, Chicago's housing projects featured some of the largest and most technically advanced heating infrastructures to be found in the country.[9] These sophisticated infrastructures allowed the CHA to provide its tenants with cheap and abundant heat. Significantly, this commitment did not just involve supplying the minimum level of heat necessary for survival. Rather, as a tenant handbook from the 1950s suggests, it spoke to something with much more subjective overtones – what I read as a comprehensive system of social care that treated sensory well-being *qua* ample heat as part of obligations to its charges' 'comfort' and 'happiness' (Figure 1).

Discussions of subjective goods and heat appeared outside of historical materials. Many current and former heat engineers whom I located spoke of their jobs as providing 'comfort' to tenants, as did Victor, a heat engineer working at a South Side plant that was still operating during my fieldwork:

> In public housing, it's been traditional to make people comfortable. People in most cases like it warm. We obliged them for the 40 years, and they've become accustomed to that. But as the systems got older and older, it got harder to maintain that type of comfort.

Victor, a self-described 'successful product of [Chicago] public housing', understood his charges' taste for warmth to be rooted in their biological sensitivity to the cold. For instance, as evidence of this sensitivity, he often pointed out to me that Black men in Chicago, himself included, broke out their winter hats much sooner than White men did. Most social scientists would now discredit Victor's correlation between racial categories and sensory thresholds. Significantly though, Victor's folk theory intersected with his above assertion that the design and operation of the CHA's heat plants involved commitments to tenants' comfort that actually amplified their need for warmth. This commitment to tenant comfort involved pairing most developments with their own heat plant and including heat in most rents (Figure 2).

The CHA heat plants varied significantly according to technologies available at the time of their construction. Across the Authority, a network of boilers, coal berths, conveyors, radiators, radiant floors, pumps, oil tanks, miles of pipes and a small legion of unionized engineers and pipefitters delivered heat to tenants during the 'heating season', which ran every year from 15 September through 1 June.[10] Several different heating technologies existed at Horner. A low-pressure heat plant pumped steam through a tangle of underground pipes that fed The Horner Homes' baseboard radiators. A second, high-pressure plant pumped hot water into the

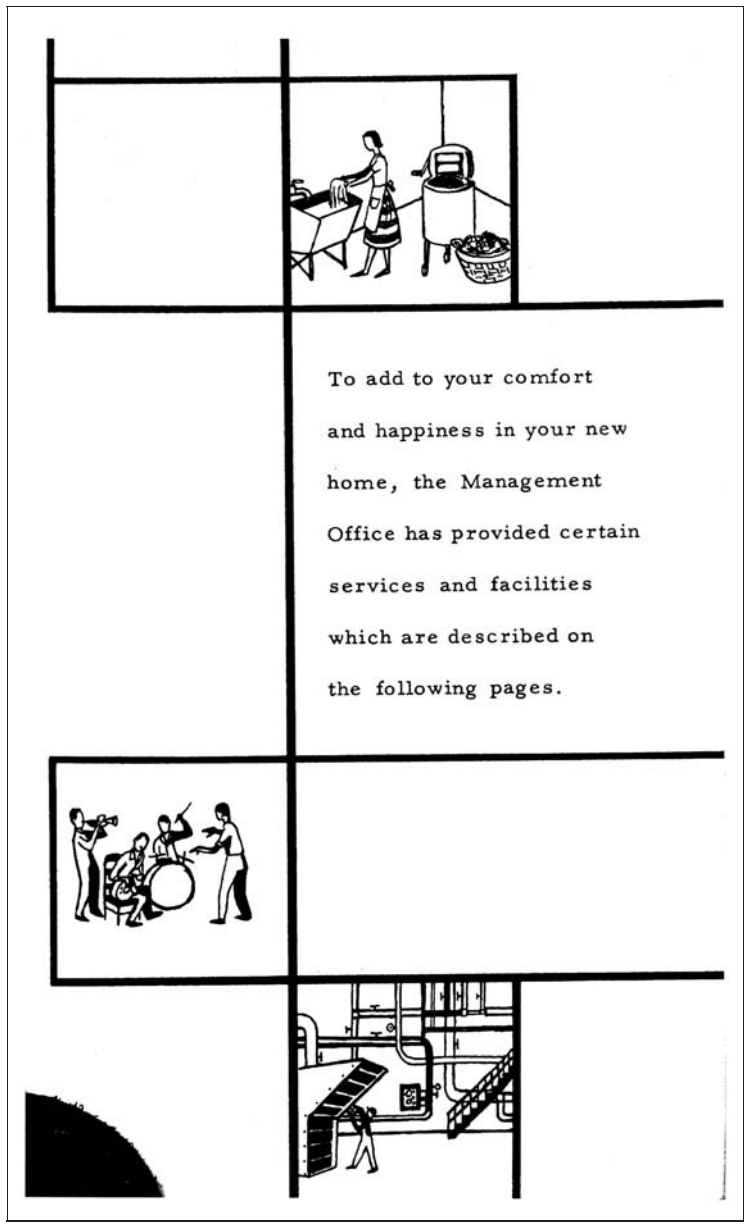

Figure 1. Laundry, recreation and heat facilities promote 'comfort' and 'happiness', circa1950 (CHA, n.d. b). Image courtesy of the Chicago History Museum.

Figure 2. Residential building and heat plant at Chicago's Stateway Gardens, January. This plant was similar to the one that stood at the Horner Homes (photo: author).

Extension's buildings, where it then passed through a system of pipes embedded directly in concrete slabs. Engineers had designed both plants to maintain indoor temperatures at roughly 70°F (21.1°C). Residents of the Horner Homes could adjust heat via the valves on their unit's radiators, but the Extension's residents could not – their floors and ceilings simply radiated heat. The CHA had adopted then cutting-edge radiant heat technologies in the early 1960s in order to promote efficiency and eliminate the burn risks that radiators posed to children and the elderly. However, as then Chairman Charles Swibel conceded in a 1965 response to a newspaper series that criticized conditions at the Robert Taylor Homes, radiant floor systems meant that, 'Homes are sometimes too warm because ceiling and floor slabs do not cool as quickly as rapidly rising outdoor temperatures would make desirable' (Swibel, 1965: 2).

From an operations standpoint, Horner's plants placed enormous demands on the heat engineers, firemen and pipefitters who managed them. These men spent the heating season fixing pipes, boilers, radiators and exchangers and gave summer over to full system checks, maintenance and upgrades. Despite Horner's declining physical conditions, archival records confirm what its former residents recalled as generally smooth heating operations throughout the 1960s and 70s. The systems did however have a major idiosyncrasy – units were heated well beyond 70°F (21.1°C).

Project heat did not only circulate within its elaborate physical infrastructures. As an idea, it also circulated within national and local concerns regarding municipal and federal obligations toward low-income citizens.[11] While the Federal Housing Act of 1937, which first established a public housing program in the United States, required that public housing authorities manage local developments, it did not require that they cover utility service for tenants, let alone generate heat. The CHA's decision to do both emerged from arguments that centralized heating plants would allow for construction and operations savings. Yet it also emerged from nationally influential housing reformers' convictions that poor people should devote no more than a quarter of their income to housing and housing related costs, like utilities (Hunt, 2009). The heat plants would allow the CHA to provide heat at a cheaper rate than a utility company, with savings to be passed onto tenants.

Ample heat was an incredible novelty for low-income and Black Chicagoans. As late as the 1940s, many Black Chicagoans did not enjoy easy access to domestic basics. Regardless of their income, racially restrictive housing covenants crowded many into areas rife with substandard housing. Overcrowding rendered haphazardly divided residential units that lacked sufficient heat and hot water a common feature of the housing stock in Black enclaves (Hirsch, 1998). Indeed, some of my elderly informants recalled that before they moved into Horner in the late 1950s and early 1960s, they tapped fire hydrants for the water supply unavailable in their apartments. Others detailed life in 'cold water flats'. Such units lacked both hot water and a mechanical heating source, leading tenants to improvise. Insufficient or improvised heat courted dangers like illnesses and house fires. In the 1940s and 50s, conditions around domestic utility access in Black enclaves contributed to arguments for comprehensive urban renewal, slum clearance and public housing construction that were increasingly influential on local and national levels.[12] Through project heat, municipal redevelopment initiatives and poverty relief discourses interfaced federal priorities in ways that made the sensory care of low-income Chicagoans thinkable and doable on a large scale. As I have suggested above, such care must be conceptualized as having exceeded basic survival needs by incorporating the more affective, indulgent and subjective qualities of comfort.

'Project heat' in ethnographic contexts

The elaborate scale of heat operations and the breadth of ambitions that stood behind them were not what made project heat's demise ethnographically significant at Horner. My informants paid neither attention. What then made heat's qualities central within residents' experiences and navigations of Horner's redevelopment? This section follows the charge that 'An inquiry into the senses directs us beyond the faculties of a subject to the transfers, exchanges and attachments that hinge a body to its environment' (Hirschkind, 2006: 29). I detail how remembered sensations of abundant but now lost heat 'hinge' residents to a demolished place.[13] The 'hinges' of particular interest to me include the nostalgia that anchors feelings of personal and collective comfort and security to a hot place, and the implication of

such nostalgia for obligations toward kin. I should add that the empirical veracity of transitioning residents' narratives about project heat's bygone qualities concerns me less than the fact that these narratives constitute a set of arguments about one particular world, as well as shed light on practices of care and security necesssary within that world. I suggest in the next section that it is precisely these arguments and practices that now shape the forms of political subjectivity available to transitioning Horner residents.

Comfort and security as a hot place

Anthropologists have long noted that landscapes and built environments can become repositories for meanings, identifications and bodily orientations salient within a particular group (Bourdieu 1977; Basso, 1996; Stewart, 1996). Moreover, they have shown how the changing material and social dimensions of one group's physical environment can bring each to the fore in politically consequential ways (Munn, 2004; Holston, 1989; Cattelino, 2006). As Westhaven emerges, these meanings, identifications and orientations have become especially prominent through nostalgic narratives about project heat and efforts to replicate its qualities. These narratives and efforts mark project heat's former recipients as subjects of a special form of governmental care – subjects for whom embodied comfort and security was and continues to be anchored in the capacity to inhabit an especially hot place.

Horner's project heat owed its major idiosyncrasy – that it was extremely hot – to design miscalculations. Horner's designers had not accounted for concrete's heat-retaining capacities. Similar to other housing projects built during Chicago's post-war urban renewal, concrete abounded in Horner's building frames and slabs. Horner's heat engineers and firemen subsequently had a hard time calibrating interior temperatures against the fluctuating exterior temperatures of Chicago's temperamental winters. Thus, they pumped heat into buildings at abundant levels, making extreme heat a total sensory fact of everyday life at Horner.

My informants recalled interior temperatures that soared between 85–95°F (29.4–35°C). Jean, who moved into the Extension in the late 1970s as a young adult described the elegance and intensity of her radiant heat one morning while preparing breakfast:

> You got *real* good heat . . . through the floor. You didn't have those big, ugly radiators like [in the Horner Homes]. You could tell that it comes up through the floor because you'd be walking and [it] would be real *hot* – Like that!

She delivered the last line while pointing at the skillet. Extension residents did not hold a monopoly on intensely embodied experiences of heat. Sylvia, who spent 10 years at a Horner Homes high-rise remarked, 'I don't care how cold it was outside. Them bricks kept the heat in there. You sweat. Everyone sweat, even the walls, they sweat too!' Like other transitioning Horner residents, Sylvia and Jean focused on the material registration of intense heat. A winter at Horner scored

one's body as much as it scored the built environment. Just as steam escaping from radiators wetted down walls and radiant heat flaked paint off of interior surfaces, relentless sweating and bared skin became the embodied marks of Horner's seasonal rhythms.

Residents' narratives about project heat also underscore its unusual relationship to time. Barring any systemic breakdowns in infrastructure or operations, winter was on permanent hold. As one senior man put it, 'We had summertime in the wintertime.' This summer wintertime demanded very particular practices of inhabiting the built environment. Residents slept blanketless or on mats rolled out onto radiating floors. Fans whirred around the clock and winter wardrobes consisted of shorts, housecoats, t-shirts and bare feet. When wearing light clothes or adjusting radiator valves gave no relief, the Horner Homes' residents would crack open their windows. Many Extension windows remained ajar all winter because it was the only way to throttle the heat. At both sites the meeting of indoor heat with outdoor air made vapor drifting around buildings a common sight. Condensation formed along the edges of windows and froze them open. Horner's intense heat also allowed people to enjoy a pleasure unusual in Chicago – year-round, outdoor socializing. Steam flashing from deteriorating underground pipes melted snow and heated the area above to balmier levels. Another elderly man who had lived most of his adult life at Horner recalled how one could, 'Go out and see the birds along the building, singing, because, [there was] no snow! Everybody be standing over the pipes, talking because it's warm, standing out all winter long.'

Physical and sensory conditions at such odds with seasonal rhythms struck outsiders as unbearable, but many of my informants defied this interpretation. They could readily identify the risks posed by Horner's intense heat, including aggravated asthma, radiator burns and nosebleeds.[13] Yet most did not waiver from their insistence that they longed for project heat's return, praising its sublimities in remarkably similar terms: 'Great heat', 'the best heat in the world' and 'the best heat we ever had'. One might view this nostalgia as a longing for a 'free' service whose costs residents must now bear. Yet my informants disagreed with this view, as did Samantha, a 32-year-old who had relocated to private rental housing.

> Samantha: It was the best heat we'll ever have.
>
> Author: Well, it was free.
>
> Samantha: No. It was *hot*. They didn't just give you a little heat, and then you freeze. They gave us heat constantly.

Samantha's correction points to how the 'freeness' of project heat cannot be separated from the largesse that colored the comfort it provided.

Project heat's demise made clear to its former recipients that it had been a boon for anyone on a fixed income, but their nostalgia cannot be reduced to the fact that

it was 'free heat'. Nayna, a middle-aged woman who grew up in an Extension high-rise, reiterated this point when she mused, 'People miss it yes because it's free. Now you have to pay. But also because now you have to turn your heat up high just to get comfortable.' Concerns about comfort went beyond individual preferences, speaking instead to a group-level comfort, as suggested by one resident's distinction between his personal tastes and the collective benefits of project heat. P.B. had lived the entirety of 21 years at Horner, save for brief stints away at college and jail. 'Me, I don't miss it because I dig breezes. So I just opened the windows and let it out', P.B. claimed. 'But it was pretty nice for *us* [my emphasis].'

Nostalgia for project heat's sensory pleasures intersects discourses that shaped comprehensive welfare reform in the 1990s in interesting ways. Scholars have noted within popular critiques of welfare programs that led up to these reforms a preoccupation with welfare recipients' unchecked allocations, excessive consumption habits and general dependency upon outside institutions for basic sustenance and support (Fraser and Gordon, 1994; Mink, 1998; Schram, 2000). Critiques of project heat made to me by various social advocates and heat plant staff shared striking parallels with these discourses. They suggested that the CHA's heat infrastructures conjoined wastefulness and neglect in ways that encouraged tenants' attachments to heat and, with respect to heat consumption, placed them permanently beyond practices of self-sufficiency. It would seem then that yearnings for heat so excessive that its recipients had to let it out the window are entirely consistent with discourses that drove welfare reform in the first place. Moreover, measures compelling leaseholders to manage their own heat speak well to what scholars have approached as the cultivation of self-management techniques within 'neoliberal' welfare reforms (Cruickshank, 1999; Rose, 1999; Goode, Maskovsky, et al., 2001). Here, such techniques champion personal choice and self-sufficiency as both generally empowering and as an antidote for the excesses of the Keynesian welfare state. However, rampant nostalgia for project heat poses certain challenges to analyses of a generalized neoliberal subjectivty. A closer consideration of this nostalgia offers a complementary avenue into charting how and with what specific effects sensory yearnings shape everyday social and political potentials in Westhaven.

In her approach to memory as material culture, Nadia Seremakis observes that as sensory memories mediate historical experience, they can also bring the past into the present in ways that produce a social and historical reflexivity capable of transforming that present (Seremakis, 1996). What kinds of materially imbued reflexivities might remembered sensory pleasures initiate in a context where the self-regulation of heat has recently become implicated in the self-management of sensory care? Mark and Sylvia shed light on this question in their separate comments on the sensory landscapes and certainties of the past.

> Mark: In the wintertime winds is shooting up through here because you're not far from the lake. Say you got to go to the store and walk through the fields with the snow up high. But you don't worry, because you come back to the heat. No heat can ever be like that again.

> Sylvia: Some radiators you control and some you couldn't. But that's ok. You knew you was going to be warm and not ever have to worry about being cold and about paying no bill.

By contrasting a place where one need not worry about adequate warmth with one where worries over its absence abound, Mark and Sylvia's comments typify the individual anxieties that Nikolas Rose has discussed as central to 'advanced liberal' political subjectivity – that is, a motivating internalization of policies, discourses and practices that would 'free' an individual to govern herself.

More than that, though, Mark and Sylvia's comments are shot through with an awareness that project heat warded off the very seasonal worries that now bear down so strongly upon transitioning Horner residents. In other words, their comments suggest a recognition of both a unique and uniquely emplaced status among citizens that has now passed: that, despite its shortcomings (e.g. that it could not be controlled), project heat had located them in a system of care that mobilized the certainties of one particular built environment to mitigate the material exigencies of poverty. Moreover, Mark and Sylvia's comments indicate an awareness that the passing of Horner has located them within a field of worries and risks already faced by non-publicly housed Chicagoans. I read their comments as prefacing reflexive stances that mark a shift from a type of political subjectivity defined by an emplaced form of sensory well-being, to an emerging one defined increasingly by the intensification of sensory and social risks. Below, I explore how reflexivity about this shift has shaped the actions taken and arguments mobilized by transitioning Horner residents to mitigate such risks.

The intensification of social and sensory risk

Transitioning Horner residents' nostalgia for project heat went beyond personal yearnings for the sensory certainty it had provided, to anxieties about how its loss complicated kin relationships. The prior system of care had made them beneficiaries of commitments to their personal comfort and happiness. Less formally, it had also obligated them to mitigate poverty's risks through redistribution. While Horner stood, residents redistributed project heat's comfort and security across their intimate networks in two ways.

The first mode of redistribution involved forecasting project heat's guarantees across a long horizon. Horner residents had no immediate need for private gas utility accounts, so they could loan or sell their names and social security numbers to non-publicly housed relatives and friends who had difficulty maintaining such accounts. Banks of broken mailboxes in building lobbies and requirements that they wear identity badges during the late 1980s and early 1990s also made tenants' personal information available for the taking.[14] Many accounts opened through name loans, sales and thefts fell delinquent. Martha, who lived at the Extension until the late 1990s, describes how this situation later

complicated the process of opening utility accounts, again, a lease requirement in Westhaven.

> People noticed the problem [around 1998], after they started moving around. They go to open up their light or gas and learn that they can't because they names was burnt up. My cousin took my name and opened up accounts in Milwaukee. She thought I would never find out, that I would never need it because I stayed in the projects. I was raised with her like my sister, but she took my name anyway and burnt it up! At the time, I didn't know not to leave things around. She probably took that information right off my [ID] card.

As Martha suggests, precisely because project heat's reliable comfort and security were such a taken for granted fact of Horner's built environment, many residents and their relatives could not anticipate the day in which a loaned, stolen or sold name would become a liability.

The second mode of redistributing project heat's comfort and security fell in line with more general obligations to kith and kin. Horner leaseholders had long opened their homes to friends and relatives in need of a place to stay, allowing everyone to pool resources, manage household tasks and share shelter basics like heat. As they had at Horner, these 'off-lease' arrangements violate lease conditions in Westhaven, but the practice remains common. Practical and ethical considerations barred many leaseholders from shunning the very networks critical to everyday survival.[15] At the same time, Westhaven's new heat provision context complicated these longstanding obligations. Leaseholders' own tastes for abundant heat already caused financial problems. Managing other household members' tastes amplified this dilemma, as illustrated by two middle-aged Westhaven leaseholders joking with friends about the sensory demands of their children, grandchildren and other visitors.

> Henry: People is going to work now, and when they go, their kids turn the heat up to 90. When the kids hear that door open, baaam! They run to get that heat back down!

> Nayna: I know that when I get home, I turn it down to 70 because it be up there, 80, 90. I go in there and look right at that thermostat [*everyone laughs*]. Wait! They've got the oven *and* the heat on. I pay that!

The lighthearted tone with which Nayna and Henry traded stories about keeping visitors in check belied the seriousness of their situations. Nayna for instance struggled with the regular stays of siblings and an adult child who had all grown up at Horner, but who did not hold leases in Westhaven. Their attachments to Horner as a hot place persisted in ways that made Nayna's obligations to them serious liabilities. She tellingly addressed her visitors as 'heat-suckers', and openly blamed them for the unmanageable heat bills that pushed her close to a lease violation. Nayna began to deny their visits, which caused tensions. Yet these

risks did not diminish the enormous pride she took when she could finally again share abundant heat with her kin. In early 2007, high strains on her heating system put it out of commission for good. This led to her 'emergency move' to one of the few buildings in the complex that still included heat in the rent. A few weeks after this move she beamed, 'I can have [my kin] over again. We sit riding the heat all day long.' The mix of pleasure and risk that characterized project heat's demise in Westhaven did not so easily resolve itself for other transitioning residents. For them, the pursuit of adequate heat, let alone comfort, steadily intensified risks that were both sensory and social in nature.

By the winter of 2005, Westhaven's managers, developers, social service workers and resident leaders had recognized the seriousness of heat issues. Chilly units and delinquent gas bills that ranged everywhere from $200 to $3000 revealed the insufficiency of income-based utility allowances provided by the CHA to help residents adjust. The CHA had begun collaborating with social service subcontractors, private developers and gas utility officials to stave off evictions. Collaborations included workshops, incorporating energy saving measures in future building designs, transferring utility allowances directly to the utility company to guarantee the funds were applied to utility debt and referring residents to federal and charity programs. If transitioning residents accessed these programs they could mitigate some of the risks associated with the loss of project heat. Yet Westhaven's social service workers frequently complained to me that many residents chanced disconnection, rather than reveal their utility problems and invite the kinds of scrutiny widely thought to lead to eviction.

Social service workers repeatedly reminded residents that it did not 'make sense' to be cold when thermostats stood at recommended settings (69–72°F [20.5–22.2°C]). Many residents understood this, but nevertheless still felt cold. A young woman summarized this dilemma when she lamented, 'Winter is [for] being sweaty, with the fan on. What do I do if "warm" feels like 90°? I have to have my heat on 80 just not to be cold.' Residents thus supplemented formal heat assistance by trading tips and experimenting with methods designed to replicate project heat's sensory qualities. Some donned coats and hats indoors and swaddled children in thick blankets. Others huddled all winter long in one or two rooms sealed off by heavy blankets and plastic tarps. Keeping one's electricity bill current before all other accounts could guarantee that, barring other disconnections, one could still plug in an electric heater or boil water in the microwave. Some filled pots and bathtubs with steaming water to release humid heat slowly. Supplemental electric, kerosene and butane heaters sent interior temperatures above recommended settings. Still others who preferred more intense blasts of heat than what could be coaxed out of thermostats, portable heaters and pots fired up ovens and stove burners.

Chasing such habituated comforts not only led to delinquent utility accounts and tattered credit records. It also sent residents down the path of ever-intensifying social and sensory risks. Unpaid heat bills would build up and result in disconnection. Disconnections were barred during certain parts of the year but once that time

was over, heat could legally remain off until an account holder resolved her debt. In such situations, residents who did not avail themselves of utility assistance programs or rely on kin undertook dangerous measures to secure adequate heat. Few admitted to tampering with their heat. The ones that did always situated this practice within obligations to their family, as one young woman does here:

> Of course I did what it took to help my babies because nobody else cares. The [utility] companies won't help you out. On [local street] my mother-in-law showed me how to fix the gas so it could circulate through a rubber hose. It was really dangerous but it worked.

My informants would more readily, and hypothetically, walk me through the steps necessary to reconnect heat. I learned how makeshift connector hoses could carry gas from a neighbor's source to one's oven and how running extension cords from a neighbor's home or tripping their current could power portable heaters. Others explained how to remove locks from gas meters and grind down gears to slow registration. Still others relayed how to 'borrow' someone else's account indefinitely by swapping one's gas meter with ones from vacant units.

Improvised heat involved risks that eclipsed the utility company's hefty tampering charges – it could cause fires that harmed household members and burned adjacent units. The aftermath of a house fire in Westhaven did not just involve a scramble to replace ruined basics like beds and clothes or to find temporary housing. It also involved avid speculations about the exact cause of the fire, the extent of damage beyond the originating unit and who to blame for a botched tampering job. Gossip flew about fire victims who meted out their own justice. A handyman with a reputation among my informants as a go-to person for safe reconnections critiqued several recent botched heat cases:

> You can go to prison. But worse, you can cause a death. The people that you did this to, the survivors, do you think they are not going to tell when they learn who set [the heat] up, and then [a fire] happened? Do you think their families won't come [for you]?

This man's comments reflect the most extreme situations that have emerged when lingering sensory attachments to intense heat meet the material exigencies of everyday life in Westhaven. Nevertheless, when considered alongside the experiences of other residents, his comments reveal the extent to which place-based attachments saturate transitioning Horner residents, their kin and neighbors in an ever-intensifying field of physical and social risk.

The formal politicization of risk

In Westhaven, project heat's lingering qualities echoed beyond individual nostalgia and intimate social networks to constrain the forms of political recourse

available to transitioning Horner residents. The ways in which some Westhaven residents have managed to politicize project heat's demise speak to longer-term dynamics on site but they also suggest changing conditions of political recognition for the poor in urban America.

At the most micropolitical level, Westhaven's resident leaders brokered access to home heat to shore up support among their constituency. When faced with intractable heat bills or disconnections, transitioning Horner residents could always petition members of their representational body, the Local Advisory Council (LAC). Resident leaders then on a case-by-case basis mobilized ties with on-site social service workers and managers to resolve disconnections and facilitate applications for utility assistance. Heat provision thus entered broader patron–client obligations that had long characterized relationships between tenant leaders and residents within Chicago public housing.[16] Much more was at stake however in the politicization of project heat's demise than micropolitical exchanges and the reproduction of local power.

Throughout my research, Westhaven's private developers wielded increasingly effective arguments about the LAC's obsolescence. They argued that a separate political body for transitioning residents thwarted efforts to integrate them into an emerging mixed-income neighborhood. Their push to deflate the LAC centered on assertions that its practice of mediating residents' access to critical resources, like heat, encouraged residents' continued dependency while simultaneously obstructing efforts to familiarize them with mainstream social and political channels. In was within this ongoing contestation of authority that LAC members politicized problems with heat to assert their relevance as both resident advocates and 'stakeholders' in Horner's redevelopment.

During the winters of 2005 and 2006, leaders leveraged residents' preoccupation with heat to mobilize a series of disjointed critiques and actions. They dispatched allied residents to troll the development with clipboards in hand and instructions to note all the telltale signs of heat issues visible within Westhaven's built environment: shrink-wrapped windows, missing storm doors and gaps yawning around window frames and doorjambs. Leaders followed up with informal audits that scrutinized the intensity of heat outputs and drafts and the condition of windows and doors. Through this work, leaders began suggesting to developers and external advocates that hasty construction had resulted in substandard weatherization, which had in turn adversely affected residents' capacity to manage their heat bills. They also documented cases in which crossed utility lines caused one unit to carry the heating loads of one or more others in a building. Residents and their leaders also began positioning heat problems within broader imaginaries of conspiracy. Here, they spun theories that the CHA had worked with architects or utility companies in decades past to fashion a built environment specifically designed to produce abnormal attachments to intense heat. Accordingly, such attachments would eventually compel residents to spend excessive sums on the private utility market while also facilitating future evictions from subsidized housing.

Despite their limited success, the flurry of formal critiques and actions cohering around project heat's demise in Westhaven could be seen as a form of political empowerment within a redevelopment process widely critiqued for disempowering Chicago public housing residents. In order to understand what kind of political empowerment these critiques and actions might engender, it is important to consider on what terms such empowerment unfolds and what these terms demand of transitioning Horner residents. In other words, I want to implicate these moves within a politics of recognition that, in the wake of entitlements-based welfare programs like public housing, I suggest now governs transitioning Horner residents' formal access to critical resources like heat.[17]

Arguments about heat problems in Westhaven took less conspiratorial bents, but nevertheless still interfaced broader genres of formal political recognition that conferred legitimacy and its resources through demonstrable risks and related harms – in this case, the kinds inflicted by the material conditions of an unsound built environment. In making such arguments, the LAC president herself drew on the legal trajectory of the class action lawsuit that had mobilized dangerous physical conditions on site to win Horner residents unique protections in the redevelopment process. She repeatedly warned Westhaven's development team that crossed utility lines, insufficient weatherization and the lack of adequate training to prepare transitioning residents for life without project heat could become the grounds for a 'new lawsuit'. The fact that this suit never materialized did not stop her and her allies from imagining a settlement large enough to wipe out all past utility debts and cancel all future utility payments on site. Although it never happened, other LAC members toyed on and off with the idea of 'going public' with heat troubles in Westhaven. In an instance particularly suggestive of the broader discourses of harm through which some residents were fashioning a post-Horner political subjectivity, an elderly LAC member proposed that residents make a 'Heat March' on City Hall and CHA headquarters. She explained that the idea struck while watching a television documentary about the Warsaw Ghetto. Footage of people wearing overcoats inside decrepit apartments, huddled around improvised fires and standing by children wrapped in heavy blankets had leapt out at her. She insisted that these grainy images confirmed, 'How much they [the interned Jews] were like us.'

Conclusion

Transitioning Horner residents' experiences with heat and the related ambitions of their leaders touch on two strands of thought running through recent scholarship on the politics of neoliberal urbanism and urban citizenship movements. By way of conclusion, I would like to consider how the sensory politics of project heat's demise speak to both, as well as how it might push them in productive directions.

The first line of thought, emerging from urban geography, might situate project heat's demise within the overhaul of national, transnational and municipal regulatory landscapes during the past several decades (Brenner and Theodore, 2002; Harvey, 2005). Here, project heat's demise provides a concrete example of the historic shift from the regulatory frameworks of Fordist-Keynesian development to 'neoliberal' restructuring strategies. It exemplifies how a state project to care for its citizens through a large-scale intervention in the urban built environment, for instance, the pairing of heat plants with state-subsidized housing, now enters restructuring regimes that promote market deregulation alongside consumer discipline. In this vein, transitioning Horner residents compelled to both recalibrate and privately manage their own sensory comfort seem to be archetypes of a distinctly 'neoliberal subjectivity' that 'normalizes the logics of individualism and entrepreneurialism, equating individual freedom with self-interested choices, making individuals responsible for their own well-being, and redefining citizens as consumers and clients' (Leitner, Sheppard et al., 2007: 2).

Scholars working with the above approach have charted the lived effects of what Brenner and Theodore have called 'actually existing neoliberalism' through case studies that show how urban residents have worked together to counter regulatory restructuring (Leitner et al., 2007). These cases resonate with project heat's demise. Transitioning Horner residents' experiences around heat emphasize the severity of social and physical risks posed by enduring sensory attachments to what we might call 'Fordist' heat within a radically different built environment. These experiences also show how residents have developed alternative imaginaries and resourceful strategies that critique new forms of heat provision, all the while reaffirming a type of care that could attend adequately to sensory comfort. In many ways then, residents' formal and informal mobilizations around heat can be approached as a grassroots contestation of assumptions that underwrite a neoliberal political subjectivity.

The above approach helpfully positions neoliberal restructuring as a fundamentally uneven and by no means inevitable process. Yet it can privilege acts of contestation at the expense of investigating the specific discursive and material conditions under which responses like mobilizations around heat become effective. Acts like utility piracy or a class action suit might well expand access to resources curtailed by neoliberal restructuring regimes, but exactly what kinds of belonging are they expanding?

A second strand of thought pertinent to analyzing the political subjectivity of transitioning Horner residents comes out of studies of what are sometimes called 'quality of life' movements (Holston and Appadurai, 1996; Caldeira, 2000; Appadurai, 2002). These studies have investigated urban contexts in which translocal or transnational flows of goods, populations and ideas have upset regulatory structures associated with the nation-state in ways that complicate formal citizenship and its state-mediated guarantees. Drawing on theories of modern governance that emphasize the most mundane articulations of regulation and power, scholars have shown how urban dwellers mobilize the quality of

everyday environments to achieve informal modes of social and political inclusion. Examples have included mobilizations around sanitation, housing and public space.

We can recognize in transitioning Horner residents' preoccupations with project heat and practical responses to its loss concerns similar to those that have driven quality of life movements in other cities. Moreover, as some transitioning Horner residents leverage relationships with kin, neighbors, utility pirates or external institutions to secure sensory comfort, the material exigencies they face have begun to gain broader political traction. In particular, the practices by which some have documented and publicized heat problems speak to what Arjun Appadurai has discussed in a very different context as a kind of 'countergovernmentality':

> . . . animated by social relations of shared poverty, by the excitement of active participation in the politics of knowledge and by its own openness to correction through other forms of intimate knowledge and spontaneous everyday politics. This is government turned against itself. (Appadurai, 2002: 36)

As transitioning Horner residents push social service providers, housing agencies and private developers to take notice of heat provision in Westhaven, they render its associated risks thinkable and visible beyond Westhaven.

We can also see how nascent organizing efforts around heat might renegotiate the benefits of substantive citizenship in a place impacted by comprehensive welfare reform. Federal grants and private charity programs have in fact emerged to ameliorate the risks associated with project heat's loss. At the same time, the social and physical risks that transitioning Horner residents now navigate alongside project heat's loss (e.g. kinship strains, house fires, credit problems, eviction threats) raise questions about the nature of a citizenship born out of severe material exigencies. If the politicization of these exigencies enables new forms of belonging, how and with what effects might it also constrain the political and social legitimacy afforded to transitioning public housing residents and groups like them? I want to suggest some preliminary inroads into this question by considering how the sensory politics of welfare reform in Westhaven circulate within a broader politics of recognition.

In recent years, scholars have asked how the moral sensitivities of liberal society have been implicated within contemporary arguments for political recognition (Kymlicka, 1995; Povinelli, 2002; Markell, 2003). They have suggested that liberal society has distributed recognition based on a social group's ability to embody some set of acceptable differences (e.g. a sanctioned cultural identity), or alternately, how they embody a set of harms resulting from the failure of a society to recognize what has made them a distinct group. Such a politics holds out the promise of formal recognition to groups thought to have experienced some form of cultural, social or economic marginalization, provided that harms attributed to such marginalization can be demonstrated. The stakes of such a politics are not insignificant. As others have shown, in contexts characterized by severe

material want, demonstrations of sympathetic or reasonable differences have become tied to the distribution of resources that support social and physical well-being (e.g. Povinelli, ibid.).

The politics of recognition scholarship has centered on identity debates within the context of cultural pluralism. I want to expand this scope by examining arguments about how built environments born of American welfare programs rendered the people who inhabited or navigated them on an everyday basis distinct in consequential ways. I have shown above that the atypical sensory landscape of Chicago public housing rendered project heat's recipients distinct kinds of citizens in that they developed attachments to homes characterized by intense and abundant heat. It is precisely these attachments that many of my informants credited with making their transition to the consumer-based forms of discipline that other Chicagoans must practice especially difficult. At the same time, this difficulty has also become a political resource in its own right.

In the past, Horner residents' political legitimacy – and thus their access to critical resources – rested on their ability to organize around public housing's myriad insecure conditions. It is perhaps not surprising then that the political struggles of residents transitioning into Westhaven still focus on residents' association with the material qualities of a very particular place. Perhaps more surprising is how some residents have begun formally to politicize bygone and emerging sensory landscapes.

Sensory comfort *qua* intense heat is no longer an entitlement in Chicago public housing. Some transitioning Horner residents have adjusted to this new utility context by recalibrating their expectations about such comfort and adopting austerity measures. For them, winter will never again be the season for 'being sweaty, with the fan on'. Others have suggested that they have been negatively impacted by the faulty material conditions of their new homes – conditions that encourage or necessitate excessive utility consumption. On a case-by-case basis, they have benefitted financially from increased assistance with utility debts or from repairs and designs that improve the energy efficiency of their units. In this way, some individual entrances into a neoliberal subjectivity that both valorizes and mandates self-regulation have been softened.

Yet many more transitioning Horner residents have not severed their attachments to public housing's disappearing sensory landscapes and in fact insist that it is impossible to do so. For them, attachments to abundant heat are indelibly ingrained across their skins, tastes and perceptions. Some even argued that because these attachments were born of neglect by the very institutions charged with making state-subsidized, low-income housing safe for the poor, any dangers resulting from residents' efforts to approximate past sensory comforts warrant formal, if not also legal redress. For them, the compulsions and harms of a habituated comfort, especially as both complicate obligations to kith and kin, have become a risky political currency. This currency provides distinctions with which to petition for political recognition and its resources, but only while also requiring those wielding it to continue inhabiting ever intensifying fields of physical and

social risk. In the context of American welfare state transformation, the relationship between the two substantive forms of political belonging I have touched upon in this article – what we might see as a consumer-inflected form of citizenship and a harms-based one – warrants further scrutiny.

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Notes

1. 'A.C.' is an abbreviation for 'air conditioning'.
2. Domestic electricity use is also very much an issue within redeveloping Chicago public housing. However, at Horner it was provided in a manner different enough from heat to warrant a separate discussion that is beyond the scope of this article.
3. In 1999, the Chicago Housing Authority's housing stock consisted of approximately 38,000 units. As of September 2010, the CHA reported that 18,212 units have been demolished since 1995. 12,780 of these were high-rise units, of which the CHA originally had approximately 15,000. For the most part, demolition has focused on family developments, while senior housing and low/mid-rise developments have been rehabbed (CHA 2010, pers. comm., October 26).
4. Women hold the majority of leases in Chicago public housing, which my use of the feminine pronoun form in this article is meant to reflect.
5. With respect to the politicization of project heat's demise, this article focuses on the formal representational politics of redeveloping public housing. Its demise has been politicized in other contexts that warrant more consideration, for instance, within more general discourses of market-based social liberation.
6. All personal names are pseudonyms, most of which were chosen by my informants.
7. Unless otherwise noted, all emphases are original.
8. With a seasonal mean temperature of 29.1°F (−1.6°C), Chicago's 2005–2006 winter stands on the warmer side of the record books. Since official records began in 1873, the average temperature in Chicago between December and February has registered at 25.5°F (−3.6°C). This does account for Chicago's 'wind chill', that is, the temperature felt on any exposed skin when we factor in wind speeds and directions. Given Chicago's intense winter winds, temperatures can feel much more frigid than statistical means suggest. Local slang for this biting winter wind – 'the hawk' – captures some of this feeling.

9. For instance, at the time of its construction, the south side Robert Taylor Homes featured an extremely sophisticated hydronic radiant floor system comparable to only one other site in the country — at the Airforce Academy in Colorado Springs. Heat engineers and firemen who manned several CHA heat plants stressed repeatedly in interviews with me that for their day, the heating systems they operated stood at the vanguard of engineering technologies.
10. These details, as well as those below pertaining specifically to heat operations at Horner, come from archival reports, documents and blueprints in the Chicago Housing Authority archive's Development Contract Files for the Horner Homes and Horner Extension (CHA, n.d. a).
11. An object moving through a network can help identify particular 'cultures of circulation', that is, meaningful practices that emerge in conjunction with the flow of objects, ideas and concepts. However, the everyday significance of such networks cannot be reduced to their objects (Povinelli and Gaonkar, 2003). The heat that circulated within the Chicago Housing Authority developments must be situated within a broader system of meanings surrounding the care of citizens in New Deal and post-Second World War urban America. With respect to domestic utilities, this era involved much larger-scale infrastructural commitments to the poor than heat provision in Chicago Public Housing. Consider for example the Tennessee Valley Authority, billed as an agency that would generate numerous jobs while also providing electricity to the rural poor.
12. For a discussion of how the circulation of photographs that visualized such conditions influenced arguments for urban renewal in Chicago and beyond, see Benjamin Lorch's treatment of Mildred Mead's domestic interiors (2005).
13. For a description of heat-related injuries common at Horner well into the late 1990s, see McRoberts (1996).
14. With varying degrees of success, the CHA attempted to rein in security problems at Horner during the late 1980s with mandatory ID badges, turnstiles and the installation of a security station.
15. Such arrangements were not specific to Horner, nor were they limited to Chicago Public Housing. For a classic anthropological treatment of such networks and their practical and ethical demands, see Stack (1974).
16. For a discussion of such relationships, see Venkatesh (2000).
17. By 'politics of recognition', I mean a process by which one group of social actors mobilizes a set of distinguishing indices which another group recognizes as legitimate, and thus worthy of political recognition, as well as any resources it affords (Taylor, 1994). I follow others in approaching these indices not as inherent to any one group, but rather as marks achieved within specific historical contexts across social interactions (e.g. Povinelli, 2002).

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