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"It's Not Meant for Us": Exploring the Intersection of Gentrification, Public Education, and Black Identity in Washington, D.C.

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“It’s Not Meant for Us”: Exploring the intersection of gentrification, public education, and Black identity in Washington, D.C.

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A Dissertation presented to the Graduate Faculty of The College of William and Mary in
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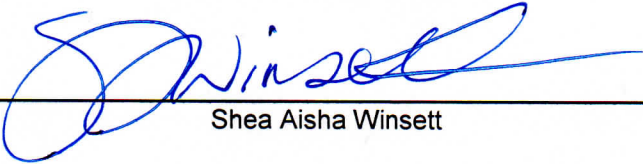
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This Dissertation is submitted in partial fulfillment of
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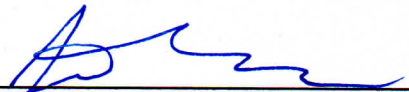


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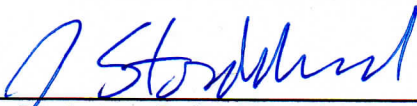
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ABSTRACT

This dissertation discusses themes of racial identity, meaning of space, and class through an exploration of the intersection of gentrification and public education in Washington, D.C. Through analysis of middle-class responses to gentrification I argue, 1) that the public education system is a site of gentrification, as it has become a site of capitalistic development and Black displacement; 2) that the American concept of race, including race relations, is not an aberration of typical American society, but a defining cultural feature; and 3) the best way to understand race and class in America is to use theory constructed from the philosophical writings of W.E.B Du Bois. I ultimately conclude that both Black and White middle-class Washingtonians view gentrification as an economic process. However, in discussing ownership of the city, White middle-class Washingtonians feel as though the right to claim ownership of the city is shaped by politician-backed developers who craft the city by focusing on consumption and not on community cohesiveness. They thus feel excluded from the city based on being reduced to simply a consumer. The Black middle-class on the other hand, as exemplified by teachers, feels excluded from the city because the consumer options presented in the context of gentrification are “not for them” and, in their eyes, appeals to an aesthetic that is simultaneously White and middle-class. Moreover, Black Washingtonian educators embrace the discourse of displacement associated with gentrification, defining gentrification ultimately as “White take-over” of Black spaces and marking the public education system of the city as a site of such take over.

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This dissertation is dedicated to Chocolate City.

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Chapter One

Introduction: The Promise of Public Education

In May of 2014, I attended a Day of Action event organized by the Washington Teacher's Union. The event's title and theme was, "Fulfilling the Promise of *Brown v. Board*: Organizing Educational Justice for All," in celebration of the 60th anniversary of the *Brown v. Board* Supreme Court school desegregation decision. The event's speakers included, a mayoral candidate, local religious leaders, and heads of local activist organizations. The tenor of the speeches that day focused on the idea that sixty years after desegregation, Black American students, particularly Black students from lower and working-class backgrounds were systematically being denied their right to proper public education. This denial of education, as many of the presenters framed it, was veiled, taking form in continuously unaddressed low retention rates, underfunding of schools, and school closures in poor neighborhoods of color. Further, these speakers suggested that the education disparities present in the public school system were a direct result of gentrification in the city, or as some phrased it, "white take-over." The general conclusion was that as the city attempted to attract and accommodate new White residents to the public school system, the educational disfranchisement of Black students would inevitably continue (Field Notes 001).

Since 1999, Washington, D.C., has seen a surge in the development of condominiums, luxury apartments, townhomes, office spaces, and new chain

businesses. Initially, the focus of this development took place predominately in economically depressed, and (in some cases), historically African American neighborhoods (O'Connell 2013). The development, consequently, resulted in increased property values, pushing working-class African Americans out of a city they could no longer afford. Replacing these residents have been mostly, White, middle-class, millennials, adults born between 1981-1997 (Fry 2016). According to the Census Bureau, in 2000, sixty percent of D.C. residents were African American. In 2010, the African American population was around fifty percent, but currently that percentage has dropped to roughly forty-five percent. Concurrently, the White population, which has steadily increased, represented around thirty percent of the population in 2000, thirty-eight percent in 2010, and presently registers around forty-one percent (<http://www.dchealthmatters.org>). The large shift in demography, which has coincided with redevelopment and the shuttering of low-income housing has sparked an outcry that D.C., like many urban centers in the nation, is being gentrified.

Background

British sociologist Ruth Glass is credited with coining the term “gentrification” in the 1960’s to define the changing neighborhood landscape in inner London when middle and upper middle-class people began to purchase and renovate large Victorian homes that had been downgraded and used as boarding houses and multi-occupancy dwellings (Lees, Slater, Wyly 2008, 4). The term gentrification, “was designed to point to the emergence of an urban gentry,” that paralleled the rural gentry of eighteenth and nineteenth century

England (Lees, Slater, Wyly 2008, 4). In the American urban context, gentrification is used as an umbrella term to classify a variety of urban renewal/revitalization projects in economically depressed neighborhoods that result in these neighborhoods turning into booming middle-class enclaves (Prince 2014, Sieber 1987; Smith and Williams 1986). This rehabilitation is not only based upon individual residential choice but is also driven by capital investment from companies and developers, who purchase or buy out properties, creating an economic and urban process while rooted in Glass's original concept is markedly different. This is the process occurring in Washington, D.C.

Washington, D.C. is one of many cities experiencing gentrification. Major cities, such as Chicago, Detroit, San Francisco, Los Angeles, Miami, New York, and Durham, are also grappling with the results of gentrification: the displacement of their poor, working-class communities of color, radically changing the character of neighborhoods long held dearly by those displaced residents, who are left with few affordable housing alternatives (Martin 2014). Iconic American film director, Spike Lee, brought to national attention the plight of gentrification in his natal Fort Greene neighborhood in Brooklyn, New York, when he questioned during a lecture, "Why does it take an influx of white New Yorkers in the South Bronx, in Harlem, in Bed Stuy, in Brown Heights, for the facilities to get better?" In a later interview with CNN, regarding that lecture, Lee reiterated his concern regarding the displacement of communities as a result of urban gentrification, " My problem is, when you move into a neighborhood, have some respect for the history, for the culture," (Lee 2014).

Lee's statement underscores what people of color were already saying about their neighborhoods in cities all over the country. Gentrification as an economic and urban process is highlighting centuries of unresolved issues surrounding the intersection of race and class in America. Particularly, it highlights how race and class intersect with space and ownership, historically and in the present. Despite experiencing gentrification like many other major cities, the process of gentrification in D.C. is still unique.

Major cities, such as Philadelphia, New York, Detroit, and Los Angeles, were central locations for Black migration during various points in history as African Americans moved around the country in search of social mobility, political freedom, and economic advancement (Du Bois 2007; Wilkerson 2010). Over the years, the large percentage of African Americans coupled with legal and de facto segregation and white-flight allowed for the formation of thriving all-Black neighborhoods in these cities. These neighborhoods became enclaves of Black American culture, life, and social progress during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. However, riots and social upheaval of the mid-twentieth century, national economic recessions in the late twentieth century, rapid spread of drugs following these recessions, and years of economic abandonment by city officials tore these communities asunder. People with means left these struggle cities for the suburbs. With both residential and commercial city buildings now vacant, the beginning of the twenty-first century saw the introduction of gentrification, as city officials sought to renew devalued areas.

Washington, D.C. partially fits into this narrative. In other cities, gentrification is taking place in neighborhoods that are predominately African American, but these neighborhoods are located in predominately white cities. Rarely are these cities seen as being all-Black cities.¹ Washington, D.C., by the late 1960's and early 1970's was seventy percent African American (Census). The percentage of African Americans alone is not what sets D.C. apart from the traditional gentrification narrative. What made the percentage extraordinary was that a majority of these African Americans were middle-class, educated, and worked at all levels of local government including the mayor; African Americans were the city leaders (Green 1967). Because of its educated, middle-class Black majority in the 1970's, D.C. became nationally and locally referred to as "Chocolate City." Washington, D.C. was seen nationally as a mecca for and a physical representation of African American achievement; the end product of centuries of social, economic, and political striving (Egerton 2004; Kellog 2011). However, beginning in the late 1970's, D.C. experienced Black middle-class flight in addition to White flight. Neighborhood blight and abandonment, and the increase in gentrified development, such as condominiums, luxury apartments, expensively renovated single-family homes, and chain restaurants, occurred under Black leadership of the city, complicating general assumptions of gentrification.

¹ Detroit is similar to Washington, D.C. with the Black leadership beginning as early as 1967.

² Harrison and Nonini 1992, is the introduction to volume 12, number 3 of *Critique of*

Washington, D.C., therefore, presents an interesting case study for discussing gentrification. First, the process is taking place in a city celebrated for being predominately Black, not just a Black neighborhood embedded in a larger White urban context. Second, gentrification, though framed as “white take-over,” is and has occurred under politicians and leaders, who are predominately African American. Third, some of the loudest detractors of gentrification seem to come from the Black middle-class, particularly teachers, many of who no longer reside in the city but in adjacent counties in nearby Maryland. Yet, beyond the visible changes in the neighborhoods, the demography of the public schools in these gentrifying neighborhoods has not changed; many District of Columbia Public Schools (D.C. Public Schools or DCPS) are predominately (between eighty and ninety percent varying by ward, school, and grade levels) working class and poor African American students (dcps.gov).

Gentrification presents the opportunity to discuss the intersection of race, class, identity, space, and American economic practices, yet gentrification is still not a primary focus for many sociocultural anthropologists, even as the process has globally become a source of displacement (Herzfeld 2010). The topic remains solely the work of urban anthropologists, and only a topic of interest since the 1980’s, while sociologists have performed analysis of gentrification since the 1960’s (Lees, Slater, Wyly 2007). Moreover, this early anthropological work didn’t focus on the ideological components of the process. According to Sieber,

Most social science treatments of the phenomenon emphasize the ecological, land use, political, economic, and especially—as in the

above definitions—demographic aspects of the process. Surprisingly little attention has been given to the sociocultural aspects of gentrification, or to the ways in which ideological and symbolic forms relate to the more structural dimensions of this increasingly common process of neighborhoods change (1987, 52).

Since the publication of Sieber's article, gentrification as a research topic has become an increasingly important facet of urban anthropological research; with most of the work now focusing on the underlying ideology of the process, as well as the effects of gentrification on other classic anthropological topics including, kinship, and sociopolitical structures; as well as other growing topics of interest in the discipline, including capitalism and the intersection of race, class, and gender. What is missing from the literature of gentrification within urban anthropology is a connection with public education.

The public school system is where American children are formally enculturated into American society (Ogbu 1974; Pai and Adler 2001). Moreover, public schools are seen as integral parts of any American city and neighborhood. Within educational anthropology, there is a wealth of relevant work that focuses on enculturation (i.e. Borrowman 1968; Brameld 1973; Brogan 1968; Herskovits 1968; Khleif 1971; Kimball 1974; Mead 1968; Spindler 2000a, 2000b), addressing achievement gaps (i.e. Anderson-Levitt 2012; Moore 1976; Ogbu 1974; Rosenfeld 1973), and even addressing possible culture clash models (i.e. Henry 1971; Landes 1965); yet the communication between urban and educational anthropologists on the ways in which gentrification, a major urban process, affects the public school system, a major urban institution, seems to be unaddressed in the literature. Other educational scholars have primarily

addressed the ways in which changing neighborhood demographics affect public education, from policy changes to racial responses of children (i.e. Bale and Knopp 2012; Lipman 2011).

Gentrification, as stated, brings to the forefront the ways in which race dominates the focus of what is supposedly solely an economic process. Gentrifiers are seen as wholly being White (though as I will explain further in this dissertation, the concept of “White” gentrifier becomes increasingly more complicated). Gentrification is the perfect lens for examining race, moreover, developing an anthropology of race as suggested by Faye V. Harrison (1997). In the introduction to *Decolonizing Anthropology*, Harrison advocates that an anthropology that addresses race and racism forces a critical examination of White supremacy, “a major ideological and institutionalized force in today’s world (Harrison 1997, 3). Moreover, Harrison’s view of a critical anthropology of race includes exposing and engaging with how today’s oppression, disparities and inequality is rooted in a capitalist world development (2). Finally, Harrison’s critique, urges anthropologists to use and critically build upon the work of anthropologists of color who were “generally forced to work and struggle in an intellectual periphery,” if today’s anthropologists are going to contribute meaningful and powerful scholarship on race and intersectional oppression and inequality (4).

Ultimately what Harrison and other anthropologists (i.e. Blakey 1990; Macias 1996; Mason 1994; Mukhopadhyay and Moses 1997; Mullings 2005; Solomos and Back 1994; Visweswaran 1998) are suggesting is to analyze race

not as an aberration of culture but as an integrated aspect of society; giving it the anthropological analytical due diligence usually given to the topics of marriage and kinship, language, or cultural aesthetics. Despite these calls to action, few anthropologists focus on race as a cultural institution (Carbonella and Kasmir 2008).

In this dissertation, using gentrification and education as a framework to construct an anthropology of race, I argue, (1) that the public education system is a site of gentrification as it has become a site of neoliberal, capitalistic development and Black displacement; (2) the American concept of race, including race relations, is not an aberration of typical American society, but a defining cultural feature, playing an integral role in all American cultural processes and institutions; and (3) the best way to understand the lived and daily experiences of racialization is to use the source material from the philosophical and sociological works of W.E.B Du Bois, thus presenting a Du Boisian social theory.

Purpose and Significance of Study

The purpose of this study, therefore, is threefold. First, this dissertation will incorporate Du Bois' writings as a working theoretical framework in order to craft an anthropology of race. Second, to expand the concept of displacement it will examine the connection between race and space, in which displacement is cultural and social, even for those who are not typically viewed as being affected by gentrification. Third, this dissertation is a way of adding to gentrification studies in its understanding of the materiality of gentrification. By exploring the

markers of what is considered to be “White space” versus “Black space” the goal is to understand the current animosity toward the process of gentrification and posit its long-term social and cultural effects as it relates to overall national race and class relations.

This study is significant because it builds onto three scholarly trajectories within anthropology. The first is within urban anthropology, that (1) calls for the study of gentrification by anthropologists as a way of investigating the underlying cultural mechanisms of the process, and (2) using space and the use of land as a way of understanding cultural practices of inequality (Low 2011; Sieber 1987). The second trajectory is among anthropologists of color (and others) who (1) push for developing serious, focused anthropological inquiry about race while developing a theory to frame and contextualize the social reality of race and racialization, as well as attempting to apply that theory (Harrison 1997); (2) insist on viewing race as a created cultural institution similar to marriage, and therefore understanding ways race works on and within other institutions within our society (Mukhopadhyay 2007); and (3) using works of scholars outside of the traditional White western/European canon (Carbonella and Kasmir 2008; Harrison 1997). The third trajectory comes from within educational studies in general as well as in recent work in educational anthropology of (1) exploring the ways in which neoliberal policies, which promote privatization, the hallmark of gentrification, affect the public school system (Lipman 2011), and (2) the most recent literature which views the school building as a physical space of identity (Convertino 2015; Hantzopoulos 2015). It should be noted that the scholarly connection between

gentrification and education within the fields of urban or educational anthropology has not been made.

Beyond building onto the literature, this dissertation is significant because it is part of a larger movement to anthropologically dissect race in a supposed “post-racial society” (i.e. American Anthropological Association Conference 2017). The election of Donald Trump as president, the visible resurgence of white supremacist organizations, the rise of the #BlackLivesMatter movement, and the assertion and celebration of Black/African heritage in other communities of color raises the question of what it means to be an American, particularly in a nation in which race as a category is arbitrary, political, and mundane, all at the same time. How do people address the effects of race when we live in a supposed “post racial society?” How do we address racism when addressing it makes you come across as racist (Blakey 2009)? In short, the intersection of race in American lives (and, in fact globally, as more people assimilate Western ideals) is a topic that anthropologists must tackle. Analysis should not be left to political pundits alone. Anthropology is ripe with the historiography and the cultural analytical tools necessary to critique, analyze, and possibly present solutions to how Americans can and should deal with race.

Methodology

When I set out to do this study, I started with certain assumptions as a Black American and native Washingtonian. My first assumption was that Whites were “taking back” the city, a city they had begun to leave since school desegregation in the 1950’s. My contribution was to show *how* they were “taking

over.” My second assumption, building on the first, was that gentrification was completely an issue of opposing forces: wealthy White versus Black people. When I began my fieldwork in May 2014, I began to see that the conversation about gentrification was more complex than a binary view of opposites. I entered the field with the following research question, “How does the process of gentrification shape the institution of education and what can this intersection illuminate about race, class, space, and identity?” With the knowledge of gentrification being a complex intersection of race, capitalism, and class; and in an effort to battle my bias, my sub-questions were as follows: how do stakeholders (local residents and teachers) define gentrification, what is the materiality of gentrification, can the urban public school system become gentrified, and if so, how and what are the frameworks to analyze race as a cultural institution involved in gentrification?

This dissertation project is an ethnographic examination of how people experience gentrification and its perceived effect on the public school system in Washington, D.C. This study is based on observations of public neighborhood meetings, teacher union meetings, general observations of the city, and interviews with teachers and residents from May 2014 - October 2016. I examine gentrification from the perspective of D.C. Public School (DCPS) teachers as well as members of the Brookland Neighborhood Civic Association (BNCA), a group of residents that actively monitor development among other neighborhood community activities. Both of these groups are considered middle-class, in that the average Brookland salary and the average DCPS teacher salary is

approximately \$70,000 (Brown 2013; dcps.gov; neighborhoodinfodc.org). Thus, this dissertation focuses on resistance to gentrification from the unlikely standpoint of the middle-class. Analysis of gentrification from this standpoint may involve less class conflict between gentrifiers and gentrified communities as it allows for an in-depth examination of the important role that race plays in how people define and experience gentrification, identity formation, and the demarcation of space in association with racial identities. It should be noted, however, that while typical studies of resistance to gentrification do not focus on middle-class teachers, teachers generally and urban public school educators particularly, are often advocates for their students and readily speak out against the effects of neoliberal policies on the lives of their students, as many of the teachers, regardless of race, do in this project.

As an ethnographic exploration into gentrification, this dissertation followed traditional anthropological data collecting methods of participant observation (including casual conversations), personal interviews, and collection of documentary sources such as blogs, news articles, and meeting/organization paraphernalia. Fieldwork began in September 2014 and ended in October 2016, with the initial Internal Review Board protocol renewed twice.

The primary form of participant observation for this project followed a multi-sited approach (Monge 2012; Pardo & Prato 2012; Prince 2014; Winsett 2014). The multi-sited approach is a common ethnographic tool in urban anthropological studies, as urban areas are not neatly bounded (Winsett 2014). To understand how D.C. residents defined and understood gentrification, I

observed the neighborhood civic association meetings, neighborhood events, and community engagement activities of Brookland. Brookland is a neighborhood located in Ward 5, one of the most recent of D.C.'s eight wards to see an onslaught of commercial development and increasing housing prices (indicative of gentrification). I also attended various Ward 5 advisory neighborhood committee (ANC) meetings, which included several adjacent neighborhoods. In addition to meetings, participant observation of Brookland included shopping in local stores, walking around the neighborhood, and attending several open houses.

Gentrification as a topic is discussed often and openly in Washington, D.C. so I also attended public forums, outside of the Brookland neighborhood, that addressed this issue. These meetings were necessary to get a broader scope of the issues the process of gentrification was creating and the sentiments felt towards the changes in the city overall.

To understand the effect of gentrification on the public school system, I initially intended to observe how race was taught in classrooms and how students were processing the changes in their neighborhoods and in the rest of the city. I, however, was unable to observe public school classrooms as a researcher. D.C. Public Schools (DCPS) only works with researchers who are also DCPS teachers or researchers they have selected. I did, however, have access to other public DCPS events related to the culture and climate of the school system. Furthermore, I had access to the local teacher's union and their meetings.

The last site of participant observation was the Charles Sumner Museum and Archives (Sumner Museum), the museum and archive for D.C. Public Schools and most recently, D.C Public Charter Schools. I initially went to the museum for research but became increasingly involved with various projects; including interviewing retired D.C. teachers and transcribing these interviews. As well, I was a founding member for the organization, Friends of Sumner Museum and Archives. In my time spent here I was able to have access to interviews for the project as well as access to people who stopped by the museum to donate materials or get a tour.

For this dissertation I formally interviewed thirteen educators I met at Washington Teacher's Union (WTU) meetings and at a school I unofficially volunteered in for three months; and fourteen Brookland residents I met at the neighborhood civic association meetings. Collecting interviews, particularly from educators in DCPS was difficult. Within a small, political town like D.C., many had no problems with casual conversations but did not want to be a part of formal interviews, even after I disclosed that names would remain anonymous. The interview questions were open ended except for demographic information. The interviews focused on understanding the meaning of the city, personal views of gentrification, how the interviewee saw him or herself in relationship to gentrification, and how they thought gentrification affected the school system. Some of the interviews took place over the phone with the informed consent being read out loud, recorded verbal consent, and a copy of the consent form

sent to the participant through email or mail; most interviews were in-person. All of the teachers interviewed either lived or worked in Ward 5.

Finally, this dissertation also uses documentary sources. These include handouts, pamphlets and flyers collected at various meetings and events. Additionally, local news outlets regularly discussed gentrification. This dissertation will pull mainly from *The Washington Post* and local National Public Radio (NPR) channel WAMU. Lastly, there are many local blogs that discussed gentrification in the city and neighborhood development in general and these blogs will also be used, they included *POPville*, *Greater Greater Washington*, and the *Brookland Bridge*.

Theory

During my research, I learned that gentrification in D.C. is predominately viewed as a dichotomous racial battle between Black and White, however, these racial terms are broad and are used to define various good and negative aspects of urban development, in which developers and capitalists are viewed as “white” and those fighting for their neighborhoods are viewed as “black”, even if the actual actors are neither. Furthermore, there are particular material aspects of gentrification that are viewed as created by White people for White people, with limited places in developing D.C. created for Black people, with the exception of the public school system. The current public school system is viewed as the last bastion of blackness and Black Washingtonian history and culture that shifting neighborhood dynamics are threatening to make extinct. Finally, responses to gentrification are framed in the context of resentment and loss. Resentment to

gentrification is not about White people moving into neighborhoods. The resentment is between those Black people who left and those who stayed, framing the discourse, as the people who stayed did not fight hard enough for the city and the people who left did not fight at all. There is resentment among residents of all “races” towards the political leadership for “selling out” neighborhoods to developers, thus leading to the “loss” of character of particular neighborhoods, and the city as a whole. There is resentment held by Blacks of all classes, particularly the Black middle-class towards the character of urban development in the city that results in the erasure of the particular Black identity that influenced and shaped the city for many years. And lastly, feelings of resentment among Black D.C. teachers, that echo the feelings of Black residents, but with a specific feeling of resentment toward “white take over” of the public school system as gentrifiers move their children into local schools and the city adjusts to accommodate these new students, to the perceived detriment of Black students, Black teachers, and the memory of the role of the public school system to African American progress, locally and nationally.

In connecting race, gentrification, and education, this dissertation explores the idea that resistance to gentrification is rooted in the view that the changes in the city should be based in a *Black-space* worldview. This view recognizes the aesthetics of Black Americans as viable urban renewal strategies and recognizes the contributions African Americans have made during a near fifty-year period of majority. Furthermore, this view pushes for an overall Black identity of the city, in which Black is defined broadly and inclusively beyond Black as a racial category.

Therefore, this dissertation argues that in order to understand the nuances of race relations and other social interactions shaped by race within the American context, a theory dedicated to understanding race must be used. The theoretical perspective must acknowledge the present and historical intersections of race and class in America and view race not as an aberration of typical social norms, but the social norm itself. I argue that understanding the various nuances in definition of White and Black and conceptualizing race as a social norm can only be understood within a race-based theory, and that theoretical perspective is a Du Boisian social theory.

Mostly known as an activist, and, for his role in creating the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), Du Bois' scholarly contributions to general examinations of American society and economics during the early twentieth century while mentioned in some areas in sociology textbooks have largely been overlooked in the discipline of anthropology, though he wrote the first urban anthropological/or sociological ethnographic account in the United States, *The Philadelphia Negro* (1898). One could make the argument that Du Bois' writings are excluded from serious inclusion with anthropology because his works were usually more narrative or sociological in form than ethnographic or overtly theoretical. While this could be a point, scholars within anthropology have in years former and particularly since the mid-twentieth century highlighted the discipline's interdisciplinary nature by developing perspectives from the writings and works of scholars very much outside of the purview of anthropology (though Black anthropologists have leaned on his work since the mid-20th century, i.e. St.

Clair Drake's *Black Metropolis* (1945) (Battle-Baptiste 2011; Harrison & Nonini 1992²).

Du Bois spent much of his life writing and studying what he termed as the problems of the twentieth century, which included racism, capitalism, imperialism, sexism, colonialism, and education reformation; of these issues the “the colorline” was of utmost importance (Du Bois 1999). The color line was of the issue of segregation and systemic discrimination in Jim Crow America. Most of Du Bois's works were philosophical and dealt with analyzing racial discrimination in its many forms, the origins of various racial issues, questioning if American citizens can undo the legacy of racial discrimination, the social and cultural ways race is lived and expressed, and the cultural role of power and race. The use of Du Bois' writings has only recently been suggested as a means of creating decolonized/ anti-racist anthropologies (Carbonella and Kasmir 2008) but not widely and only recently. Analyzing race using the lens of gentrification encourages the use of an anthropology that examines inequalities. Developing a theoretical perspective from the writings of Du Bois' may offer something particular to a studied African American vantage on urban racism. The theoretical perspective presented here will cover the breadth of Du Bois' writings focusing on three critical pieces that span the course of his writing career: *The Souls of Black Folks* [1903] (1999), *Darkwater* [1920] (2010), and *Dusk of Dawn* [1940] (1975).

² Harrison and Nonini 1992, is the introduction to volume 12, number 3 of *Critique of Anthropology*; in this volume all the contributing authors discussed the theoretical and methodological merit of including W.E.B. Du Bois' writings in anthropology.

Within the context of these works, as I understand them, I assert that a Du Boisian social theory is a social and economic philosophy that recognizes the central role race plays in economic, political, and social systems. It frames race as a dominant cultural institution shaped by various race ideologies. The Du Boisian social theory understands that there can be multiple race ideologies, corresponding to the various races a society constructs, but understands that the prevailing race ideology is that of whiteness. Furthermore, race is viewed, as most heavily intersecting with class, but in most cases is the primary mode of oppression (Du Bois 2010). In such, race is viewed as a caste (Du Bois 1999). Race, as a cultural institution, is also seen as impacting itself physically on the landscape. Economically, as race intersects with capitalism, this theory acknowledges that capitalism can oppress non-white people, however, through modified economics, Black people can achieve temporary social liberation (Du Bois 1975). Lastly, the Du Boisian social theory emphasizes the importance of the institution of education, as it can be a tool for continued racial and social oppression or used as a tool for social, political and economic reform, in opposition to physical conflict for revolution (Du Bois 1975).

The goal of this dissertation is to understand the connection between race, space, capitalism, and identity; larger concepts embedded within the process of gentrification. Therefore, I connect Low's conceptual framework of spatializing culture (2011) with the Du Boisian social theory.

Low examines the underlying sociocultural mechanisms of gentrification suggesting that gentrification is a result of, and a way to study, what they call

“spatializing culture” (2011, 390). Spatializing culture is a way to study culture and political economy through the lens of space and place, which “provides a powerful tool for uncovering material and representational injustice and forms of social exclusion” (2011, 309-391). Furthermore, Low, using the Lefebvre’s work on the social production of space, presents a dialogical approach to understanding how culture is spatialized in the form of *social production* and *social construction* (2011, 392). Social production situates the development of urban space historically and within a political-economic framework. The term takes into account all the factors of society that craft the physical. Social construction focuses on the symbolic and psychological meaning of space to the people who use the space and have various social exchanges within that space (2011, 392).

A Note on Term Usage

In their 1984 edited volume, *Gentrification, Displacement, and Neighborhood Revitalization*, sociologists, J. John Palen and Bruce London, dissect the prevailing terminology within the field of urban studies at the time. One analysis that is important to this dissertation is the use of the term gentrification. Palen and London make an important observation that the term “gentrification” has been used as a catchall term to describe urban change. They argue that the term is inappropriate to use to discuss urban change in America as: (1) the term isn’t culturally relevant. Ruth Glass coined the term to address the urban phenomenon in London neighborhoods. While British social stratification does include the gentry (a landed noble class, aristocracy, etc.),

America does not. Moreover, the phenomenon that is being termed gentrification is taking place globally, once again in places that do not have similar social-class compositions as the British; (2) Even if one were to loosely use the term to describe the renovators seen in declining urban neighborhoods, these people are the exact opposite of a wealthy upper class, as they are purchasing these homes *because* they are inexpensive. They put in do-it-yourself labor rather than having liquid cash to renovate and upgrade homes (7-8).

This argument has some merit. Yet, thirty years after the publication of this volume, the term gentrification persists as the choice term used to describe urban redevelopment, particularly in the literature about “gentrification” within anthropology. This dissertation uses the terms gentrification and urban development interchangeably but for a strategic purpose. In disagreement with Palen and London, I think gentrification is the best term to use for discussing American urban development.

Using this term allows for the anthropological discussion of the process of appropriation and displacement. In classic gentrification scenarios, middle-class Whites move into neighborhoods that are in decline and displace the current residents who are predominately lower/working class people of color, particularly African American and Latinx communities. The term gentrification took hold and stayed in describing the American urban development process because while not exactly the same, the process does parallel the process described by Glass. While those moving to the city are not “landed gentry” the character of

development in cities allows for “gentrifiers” to emulate the perceived lifestyle of the gentry through consumer choice discussed later in the dissertation.

While *all* Whites were not landowners, historically, *most* African Americans were not. In American society, the history of slavery has established a dichotomy in which White equates to owner, be it of property or people; and Black equates to non-owner, moreover, the person to be owned. Furthermore, as presented by Palen and London, the definition of gentry includes, “upper or ruling class.” It cannot be denied that African Americans, and other racial minority groups were denied citizenship in the country solely based on race. Once again, race politics in America were such that the only people who were allowed to participate politically were White. Therefore, when White people purchase homes in economically disfranchised, predominately Black neighborhoods, they are, in a sense, taking on that role of the ruling white, land owning class, economically and politically (a role systematically denied to African Americans by paying Black people lower wages, denial of loans, artificially increasing cost of property and rents, and labeling neighborhoods as dangerous when such neighborhoods were occupied by Black people or if Black people moved in). The last case for the use of the term gentrification is in understanding the relationship between the word “gentry” and the social implications of home ownership in crafting an American identity (Jefferson 2013). Owning a home creates a status that has social, economic, and political benefits in American society. Therefore, while, people who move into declining neighborhoods may not initially be “gentry”, they become akin to gentry through the process of—gentrification. While their land is

small, they are owners of that land and become American local, urban aristocrats. Through their ownership, they have the “right” to craft the neighborhood in their vision (Boyd 2005; Sieber 1985).

In partial agreement with Palen and London, while I will use gentrification to describe the urban phenomenon I witnessed in my fieldwork, the term gentrification does not elucidate the complicated realities of the process on the ground. Gentrification as it has unfolded in Washington, D.C. is a knotted string of issues that encompass race, class, and gender on the one hand and go beyond those concepts on the other. Moreover, what is the most fascinating is that when Palen and London published their book, the term *gentrification*, was mostly academic in nature. Now it is an on the ground term, used by academics, politicians, and lay folks alike. It is used as a political football and as a pejorative descriptor. Furthermore, while the term gentrification may not be the lexically correct term to use, however, it has become the defining term to describe the volley between the perceived haves and the perceived have-nots in claiming city landscapes.

In the rest of this dissertation, I continue to explore the dichotomy of *Black* space versus *White* space and the relationship between race ideology, space, identity, and capitalism as these concepts intersect with the process of gentrification and the institution of education. The organization of the dissertation is as follows: Chapter two situates this dissertation within the larger scholarly contexts of work related to race, African Diasporic scholarship, urban anthropology, and education. Chapter three fleshes out the Du Boisian social

theory as it connects with Low's spatializing culture concept. Chapter four is an ethnographic exploration into how Brookland residents and DCPS teachers define the process of gentrification and what gentrification looks like in D.C. Chapter five, using Low's concept of social production and social construction examines the history of Black people in the city as that history relates to urban redevelopment and access to education. Chapter six will be an application of Du Boisian social theory to the ethnographic and historical data presented in chapters four and five. Finally, chapter seven concludes the dissertation summarizing the arguments presented and providing some reflection.

Chapter Two

Literature Review: Gentrification, African Diaspora Scholarship, and Educational Narratives

This dissertation builds onto and uses three academic trajectories within and outside of anthropology. The first trajectory is rooted in urban anthropology and calls upon anthropologists, urban and not, to explore the cultural mechanisms and ideology that give way to gentrification. The second trajectory is among anthropologists of color (and others) who since the 1990's have persistently implored the discipline to develop critical anthropologies of race. The final trajectory is within the field of education and explores the way neoliberal economic policies, specifically privatization, have harmed public education for the working class and working-class communities of color.

Gentrification

Gentrification entered into academic discourse in the mid 1960's when British sociologist Ruth Glass coined the term to describe the urban phenomenon of upper and lower middle-class people moving into formally working-class neighborhoods in the broader context of a changing London. She states,

one by one, many of the working-class quarters of London have been invaded by the middle-classes—upper and lower. Shabby, modest mews and cottages—two rooms up and two down—have been taken over, when their leases have expired, and have become elegant, expensive residences. Larger Victorian houses, downgraded in an earlier or recent period—which were used as lodging houses or were otherwise in multiple occupation—have been upgraded once again. Nowadays, many of these houses are being sub-divided into costly flats or 'houselets'. The current social status and value of such dwellings are frequently in inverse relation

to their size, and in any case enormously inflated by comparison with previous levels in their neighbourhoods. Once this process of 'gentrification' starts in a district, it goes on rapidly until all or most of the original working-class occupiers are displaced, and the whole social character of the district is changed (Glass 2010, 22-23).

Widespread American studies of gentrification occurred within the discipline of sociology during the 1980's as American scholars and the general public began to see similar trends of displacement, value inflation, and neighborhood character shifts (Smith and Williams 1986).

Sociological studies of gentrification were predominately empirical and focused on the demographics of gentrifiers themselves: age, race, gender, occupation, etc. Few studies focused on the background of the people being displaced or where displacement took them (Smith and Williams 1986). Some studies tried to add theory to gentrification studies, but these theoretical analyses were largely economic and framed gentrification in the context of housing and land trends and general urban market processes (i.e. Smith 1996). Later studies have included an exploration of the effects of gentrification on those displaced, but there is still a focus on the economic causes of gentrification and developing theories centered on this (Atkinson 2002).

Before the 1960's, urban anthropology struggled for legitimacy as the North American city was considered *impure* anthropological research (Eames and Goode 1977, 18). In that quest for legitimacy, many urban anthropologists explored similar study themes as traditional anthropologists, such as kinship, or examining the particular parts of the city as ceremonial or ritual spaces (Plotnicov 1987). But as the city became increasingly the location of people's lived

experience and a location of social inequality, some urban anthropologists began advocating for using the city within the context of urban anthropology to explore the cultural and social framework of injustice (i.e. Mullings 1987).

In the premier volume of *City and Society*, the journal for urban anthropology, Timothy Sieber, implores other urban anthropologists to explore the process of gentrification in an effort to add more dimension to previous social science work, including the work of sociologists that tended to focus on such topics as demography, economics, and land use (1987). Sieber argued that anthropologists could add to the canon on gentrification because the discipline was equipped to understand “the ideological and symbolic forms” related to the “increasingly common process of neighborhood change,” (1987, 52).

Gentrification during the 1980’s was couched within the larger context of urbanization. These earlier works focused on the political economy of cities, specifically how the looming end of the industrial era was not only changing the city landscape but also the ways of life of people and communities who depended on industry (i.e. Johnson and Orbach 1990, Plotnicov 1987, Sieber 1991). These themes were also explored internationally (i.e. Hoffmann 1995). Though Sieber had advocated for exploring the underlying ideologies of gentrification, large-scale study of gentrification would not become widely explored in urban anthropology until 2008.

Whereas in the previous decades urban anthropologists were concerned with how the city would redevelop as industrial dependency faded, this era of research, which takes place in a globalized, post-industrial, and “post racial”

society, sought to explore social and cultural issues in cities including the intersection of race, class, and gender and how these identities are shaped and can shape the process of gentrification within a larger political economic framework.

These studies include understanding how the natural environment can be gentrified (Checker 2011); the intersection of class and gender in people's lived experiences in understanding of the gentrification process (Cahill 2007; Potuoğlu-Cook 2006); discourse of gentrification and urban revitalization including the shifting meaning of the term "diversity", discourse that posits whiteness as central to revitalization, and the construction of specific historical narratives as it relates to urban redevelopment (Benson 2008; Gregory 2012; Modán 2008; Pérez 2002; Stoval and Hill 2016); and understanding resistance and activism to the process of gentrification (Cahill 2007; Low 2011; Paris 2001; Prince 2014; Sorensen 2009). Current gentrification studies also include examining the meaning and results of the process beyond an economic framework which include understanding motivations of the gentrifier (i.e. Brown-Saracino 2009) and also bringing to the forefront the intersection of race and class within the context of gentrification (Chatman 2017; Boyd 2008) as well as the role of whiteness in crafting social injustice on the cityscape (i.e. Hargrove 2009; Mumm 2008; Prince 2002; Stoval and Hill 2016, Zukin 1995). Taking Sieber's call into consideration, studies of gentrification also include examination of neoliberal ideology in the use of urban space in facilitation of gentrification (Bayat 2012; Herzfeld 2010; Peterson 2006; Potuoğlu-Cook 2006). Some of the

current works on gentrification continue previous examinations of urban redevelopment and shifting urban economies, such as Cahill 2007 and Williams 2002 whose works examine the effects of gentrification on local economies.

This study builds on the established work by continuing to investigate the underlying cultural mechanisms of the process of gentrification as well as the influence of the process on local expressions of culture. First, this dissertation continues the overall focus of urban anthropology described above by taking a political economic approach, specifically focusing on the historical trajectory of the economy of Washington, D.C. in developing into the specific gentrification context found in the city today. Furthermore, this study builds on the work of anthropologists such as Boyd 2005 and Sieber 1987 in analyzing the role of middle-class desires in reshaping cityscapes and the commodities of the city.

Boyd's 2005 study entitled, "The Downside of Racial Uplift: the meaning of gentrification in an African American neighborhood," focuses on understanding gentrification from the Black middle-class perspective. According to Boyd's study of a neighborhood in Chicago, for the Black middle-class neighborhood activists, gentrification is regarded as one solution to neighborhood divestment, particularly if the gentrifiers are African American (2005, 266). Boyd's study complicates the assumption of gentrification as "whites against blacks and other communities of color" and allows scholars to focus on using Black identity models, specifically understanding twentieth century models of racial uplift to contextualize gentrification.

Using racial uplift as a framework to explore gentrification, Boyd presents a conversation about American race ideologies, focusing on ideologies of Blackness among African Americans. In her study she shows that modern racial uplift models obscure the inherent class issues embedded within gentrification and simultaneously recognizes that working class and poor African Americans benefit the least from the process. Overall Boyd concludes that “neither black gentrification, specifically, nor uplift ideology in general, seek to disrupt structures of political or economic inequality that maintain poverty and disinvestment,” (2005, 286).

This dissertation does not examine Black gentrification, but it does examine the varied responses to gentrification from African Americans, including the middle-class African Americans response, which, similar to Boyd’s study, recognizes the end products of gentrification as not being for them. Yet it differs from Boyd’s study, with some exceptions, in that middle-class African Americans feel gentrified in the city of Washington while still acknowledging and sympathizing with the Black Washingtonians who are being displaced. It is not the same type of gentrification, but it is a displacement of culture that middle-class Black Washingtonians feel.

Sieber suggested anthropologists examine the underlying ideology of gentrification in “Urban Gentrification: Ideology and Practice in Middle-class Civic Activity”(1987). This article presents a New York City neighborhood he called Chestnut Hills, that in the years since the mid-1970’s had gained an increasing number of “brownstoners”. These people from other suburban and

rural parts of the United States had migrated to the city, typically for work. Their ambitions for the neighborhood come to fruition within the neighborhood civic association, which the brownstoners founded. The core of the neighborhood association's civic activity included opposition to commercial and industrial development, promotion of historic preservation and restoration as keys to revitalization, promotion of greening and overall beautification, and political reformation. In the article, Sieber discusses that the particular neighborhood aesthetic and design as well as the brownstoners civic activity was rooted in a middle-class ideology that associated revitalization and neighborhood with Victorian era concepts of middle-class respectability (1987, 57). This ideology accepts typical understandings of the city as ugly, disorderly and artificial. Sieber states that brownstoners, "retained the traditional negative urban images but also advocated other, long-standing American bourgeois cultural ideals—individualism, volunteerism, democratic localism, and privatism—ideals to which the city in the past has been viewed as inimical," (1987, 62).

Beyond attempting to answer the call of examining ideological underpinnings of gentrification, this project, attempts to understand the ever-evolving definition of gentrification. This dissertation focuses on gentrification in the Brookland neighborhood of D.C., similar to Chestnut Hills in many ways, most notably in the activities of the neighborhood civic association. This study differs from Sieber's in that while the activities of the Brookland Neighborhood Civic Association (BNCA) are identical to those of Sieber's study, residents view the activities of the Brookland Neighborhood Civic Association as resistance to

gentrification. Thus, my study continues Sieber's work but also builds on it, exploring how the term gentrification has persisted and been redefined in the twenty-first century. Beyond the examination of the middle-class and neighborhood civic activity in relationship to gentrification, Sieber briefly mentions that the neighborhood association of Chestnut Hills was able to secure such control because it "entered and exerted increasing influence over local institutions such as the schools," (1987, 54). Furthermore, Sieber discusses that one of the major achievements of the brownstoners was the introduction of a special "open education" track for their children (1987, 59). This battle for the urban school in the midst of gentrification is the center of Black middle-class teachers' responses against gentrification. Moreover, this study adds to gentrification studies by placing the school as a part of the neighborhood and thus affected by gentrification, while mentioned in Sieber, most urban anthropological studies of gentrification do not include public schools.

Additionally, in terms of gentrification studies, this project is also building on a growing body of work that examines the nature of Blackness in the city of Washington, D.C. as Blackness relates to the cityscape and general urban lived experiences, including gentrification (Chatman 2017; Hannerz 1969, 1982; Holston 2006; Hyra and Prince 2018; Liebow 1967; Modán 2008; Prince 2014; White 2006; Williams 1988, 2002). While earlier studies such as Liebow (1967) and Hannerz (1969) focused on race and poverty (whereas, Hannerz promoted a concept of "ghetto culture" while Liebow attempted to push against the idea that there was a culture of poverty), this dissertation is more in line with Williams

(1988), Prince (2014), and more recently Chatman (2017). These studies focus on the meaning of space in Black Washingtonians' expression of their identity and their present and historic selves. Furthermore, these works examine Washington, D.C. as anthropologists who are living in, working in, or have originated from the city.

Williams book *Upscaling Downtown: Stalled Gentrification in Washington, D.C.*, focuses on a neighborhood in Downtown D.C. that had been predominately Black since the 1960's. In the course of the book, Williams gauges residents' feelings toward the gentrification process that was beginning to enter their neighborhood. Williams presents a Black neighborhood that was a change from typical anthropological portrayals, which focused on poverty. Williams discusses that both Black renters and homeowners were invested in the identity of their neighborhood. This investment took the form of crafting and creating a loving environment to meticulous upkeep of even rental properties that had become slums due to poor landlord management. Overall, while change was welcomed, the residents of the neighborhood were opposed to homogeneity and White control over the neighborhood (1988).

Chatman's study, "Talking About Tally's Corner: church elders reflect on race, place, and removal in Washington, D.C.", uses the fiftieth anniversary of *Tally's Corner* to discuss how "Black churchgoers at Mt. Zion Pentecostal Church are negotiating gentrification in the community of their church home," (2017, 35). In a series of book talks, in which church members read *Tally's Corner* and share their thoughts and feelings, Chatman is able to expand analysis of gentrification

by creating a full scope of neighborhood, which for many Black Americans includes the church. One key finding that relates to this dissertation project is that churchgoers were losing a sense of community and belonging as the neighborhood changed. Chatman discusses that while most church members no longer lived in the city, their ties to the neighborhood were strengthened by their ties in the church. As White gentrifiers moved in, there was alienation as policies, such as parking for instance, went in favor of residents. Some church members argued that parking, among other reasons, affected membership retention. Beyond the racial dichotomy of Black and White, Latinx people who don't seem to be interested in attending the church are also increasingly populating the neighborhood where the church is located. Furthermore, Chatman presents church members' negative interactions with White residents that place the church members as outsiders in the neighborhood that White residents consider to be theirs (2017, 45). Moreover, Chatman's study presents overall issues of displacement and erasure of Black institutions (churches and schools) in light of gentrification and how these processes speak to a larger context of American racial discrimination.

A native Washingtonian, Prince's book *African Americans and Gentrification in Washington, D.C.: race, class, and social justice in the Nation's Capital*, examines the varied responses to and understandings of gentrification by the African American community of Washington, D.C. This book uses examinations of critical whiteness studies to place gentrification within a larger continuum of white racism and injustice toward Black people and specifically

poor and working-class Black people. At the same time, the book pushes further examination of race relations that gentrification necessitates beyond a dichotomous analysis. Moreover, the book presents a study of gentrification from an auto-ethnographic standpoint, which is rare in gentrification studies (though Brett Williams had already been living in the neighborhood she studied for ten years). Prince is a Black Washingtonian and purposefully weaves the experience of gentrification from both standpoints of anthropologists and interlocutor.

Moreover, this dissertation, beyond building onto gentrification studies presented above, is a part of a general scholarly practice of African American academics who study the urban lifestyle of African Americans—to understand in an effort to possibly ameliorate the social, economic, and political issues that Black Americans face. Therefore, this dissertation is rooted in two of the most prolific and comprehensive urban ethnographies about Black Americans, or otherwise, written within the discipline: Du Bois' *The Philadelphia Negro* (1899) and St. Clair Drake and Horace Cayton's *Black Metropolis* (1945).

Despite not being widely recognized, *The Philadelphia Negro: A Social Study* (1899) is considered to be the standard of excellence in social scientific work. His second full work published after turning his dissertation into a book, Du Bois's *Philadelphia Negro* was born out of his desire to “study the facts, any and all facts, concerning the American Negro and his plight, and by measurement and comparison and research, work up to any valid generalization,” (Du Bois 1975, 51). Du Bois, at this period in time, had a deep belief that through scientific study, racism in America could be cured, and he highly desired to put science to

this test (1975: 58). The opportunity came through the University of Pennsylvania. Concerned with the rise of the Black population and the “crime and venality” that seemed to be associated with them, the president of the university at the time, granted Du Bois a one year appointment in 1896 and tasked him with understanding “precisely how this class of people live; what occupations they follow; from what occupations they are excluded; how many of their children go to school; and to ascertain every fact which will throw light on this social problem,” (Bobo 2007, 28). In short, Du Bois was tasked with explaining the “Negro problem”. Du Bois and his wife lived in the seventh ward of Philadelphia for fifteen months collecting data. Alone, Du Bois developed six interview and enumeration protocols, conducted several thousand interviews, tabulated to produce numerous tables and charts, and systematically compared his data with other representative data sets (Bobo 2007, 30).

The Philadelphia Negro is a historically grounded analysis of late nineteenth century African American urban life. The study takes into account historical, political, economic, and social influences that up to the point of the study, shaped Black Philadelphians. Du Bois analyzed many facets of Black Philadelphian life including; marital status; migration pattern and history; access to education; historically and in the present, occupation, health and mortality; family size, income and spending; social organization, access to housing, criminal activity; and economic activity. Du Bois concluded that the present condition of Blacks in Philadelphia was the result of several overlapping and intersecting issues: the history of slavery and oppression which negatively

influenced various moral aspects of Black life; general racial prejudice; leadership and community being organized solely around the church; economic competition with native Whites and White immigrants; and lack of knowledge and/or capacity for self-determination. Of all the factors, Du Bois focused on the economy as the central factor shaping Black Philadelphians lives. What Du Bois noted was the systematic exclusion of able-working Black people from employment opportunities outside of menial service jobs (Du Bois 2007). Even if skilled labor jobs were acquired, Blacks were often paid less for the same jobs compared to White workers. Additionally, Black Philadelphians were excluded from participating fully in the local economy by being limited from opening businesses, barred from businesses that were patronized by Whites, and calculatedly excluded from fair renting and housing prices.

Du Bois thus states of economic uplift and general social uplift, “the Negro in Philadelphia; he is trying to better his condition; is seeking to rise; for this end his first need is work of a character to engage his best talents, and remunerative enough for him to support a home and train up his children well,” (2007, 121). Moreover, in examining criminality and work, Du Bois found most crimes were misdemeanors resulting in lack of parenting. Parental oversight was lacking because both parents, specifically the mother, had to work long hours far from home, leaving children unsupervised. These children could be left unsupervised in better neighborhoods, but honest, working people were forced to live in slums where rents were not astronomical; or if they were able to purchase a home they

had to rent out rooms in order to make the rent, thus creating instability within the home for children (2007).

The economic standpoint would continue to be a theme throughout Du Bois's writings on race in America. *The Philadelphia Negro*, however, does not present the full scope of the intersection between economics, race, and politics that Du Bois would later come to terms with and write fully about. In fact, the tone of *The Philadelphia Negro* is scientifically detached yet highly optimistic. Du Bois, while placing limited economic opportunity due to racism (or the color line as he calls it) at the center of the "Negro Problem," is equally critical of Black ambition in crafting a life within the city. In his study, race, as a concept is not presented as cultural, though it is systemic and intersectional; meaning in later works Du Bois equates the economic progress of whites with systemic racism and oppression. However, in this study, Du Bois sees the economic exclusion of Blacks not as a key for white economic dominance but the result of overall racial and economic ignorance, not realizing the overall economic benefit of including Black people. Still other themes are presented that Du Bois would continue to take up: the importance of education, crafting self-determination, and race functioning as caste and class.

Pulling almost directly from Du Bois' methodology and building on the idea of race as caste, *Black Metropolis: A Study of Negro Life in a Northern City*, is a sweeping sociological and social anthropological ethnography of Black Chicagoans that uses historical, economic, political, and social analysis to paint a detailed and often recognizable modern picture of Black urban life. The authors

St. Clair Drake and Horace Cayton, aggregated data from a series of projects financed by the Work Projects Administration (WPA) and referring to them as the Cayton-Warner Research present their ethnography in three parts. Part one is a brief and thorough economic and political history of Chicago in which migration, economic need, class ideologies, and ethnicity and race are seen as interlocking aspects in crafting the modern (1945) Chicago. In this history the authors explain the role of war in pushing Black migration and also shaping current desires for political and social advancement.

Part two of *Black Metropolis* is a detailed sociological presentation. In this section, harkening back to themes Du Bois presents in *Souls of Black Folk* and *The Philadelphia Negro*, Drake and Cayton explore the economic and political context that creates and maintains the color-line or in modern parlance, segregation. First, the authors establish what areas of life segregation is most rigid and decide that separation based on race is most rigid in terms of work or the “job ceiling”, in living, so the purposeful establishment of a ‘black ghetto’ and in general socializing (in contexts where possible inter-racial marriage could occur). Similar to Du Bois’ findings in *Philadelphia Negro* and in *Souls*, much of the separation is based on racist ideas among Whites who still refuse to move the color line even with Black Americans whose economic and political beliefs match their own. Moreover, *Black Metropolis*, presents this idea of cultural contradictions as these contradictions relate to race and democratic ideals.

Part three is the social anthropological exploration of what constitutes Black life in Chicago. In this section, Drake and Cayton present five axes of Black

Chicagoan life: 1) staying alive; 2) having a good time; 3) praising God; 4) getting ahead; and 5) advancing the race. The authors explore the meaning of each of these categories as a whole to all Black Chicagoans then explore how each of these aspects of life are affected by class status and the color-line. Thus, part three explores Black business, colorism, the ideal Black person and idealized Black lifestyle, and the role of Black religious practices.

Black Metropolis is not only an exploration of Black life, but also an ethnographic exploration into American racism. The thesis of the work is clear; much of the strife of Black Chicago is due in part to Whites limiting Black access to employment and housing. As Du Bois would later recommend, *Black Metropolis*, is a race and class analysis of employment and urban development. The book tends to focus, historically and in the present context of the study, on the beliefs and desires of the lower and middle classes of both Whites and Blacks in shaping the economic and social climate of the city. Whereas, White working-class people consistently avoid and sometimes violently resist labor cohesion with working-class Blacks, maintaining the color-line and preventing Black people from acquiring higher wages for further social and economic advancement. Moreover, not only is the Black working class limited in economic advancement, so is the Black middle-class in getting more “white collar” employment. This lack of economic advancement creates an economic context that has the middle-class “striving and straining” and many of the working class entering poverty. This economic situation is coupled with aggressive segregation in housing, in which middle-class Whites control. The housing situation is such

that the presence of Black people in an area pushes Whites out (based on racist ideologies) causes divestment in an area, as landlords and other property owners simultaneously charge above market rates to Black buyers and tenants. The economic stagnation of the Black community, particularly of the Black working class creates situations in which Black people struggle to pay rent or find affordable housing. This is coupled with the White middle-class' insistence on keeping all Black people regardless of class confined to one location, thus leading to overcrowding. Ultimately, overcrowding and divestment result in the creation of the Black ghetto. While the White middle-class controls housing, the Black middle-class becomes socially responsible for maintaining racial cohesion in the midst of the color-line, influencing the behavior of the working and lower-classes so that general social reformation of the poor coupled with continued protest and action will lead to Whites dismantling the color-line.

Overall, *Black Metropolis*, rooting itself in a Du Boisian framework, as this dissertation does, decides that analysis of America's "race problem" cannot be summarized as economic alone. In fact, the authors refer to this idea as a platitude. This work recognizes the origin of race in America as economic but pushes for a more dialectical analysis of race and class as this dissertation argues for.

Finally, this project plans to use Low's concept of spatializing culture to explore the use of space and the use of land in cultural practices of inequality and identity construction (2011). Space and political economy are central to the analysis of the data presented in this project. This dissertation, however,

recognizes that race is not just a category of analysis to understand the political economy of space, but race is a cultural institution that is essential to the political economic framework of a racialized society. In short, space, politics, and economics are always racialized, and that the current political economic system is inherently a racialized system. To reshape injustice in urban centers requires a complete dismantling of the entire system, beginning with dismantling our current notions of race.

Low examines the underlying sociocultural mechanisms of gentrification but goes further by suggesting that gentrification is a result of and a way to study what she terms “spatializing culture” (2011, 390). Spatializing culture is a way to study culture and political economy through the lens of space and place, which “provides a powerful tool for uncovering material and representational injustice and forms of social exclusion” (2011, 309-91). Furthermore, Low, using Lefebvre’s work on the social production of space, presents a dialogical approach to understand how culture is spatialized in the form of *social production* and *social construction* (2011, 392). Social production situates the development of urban space historically and within a political economic framework. The term takes into account all the factors of society that craft the physical. Social construction focuses on the symbolic and psychological meaning of space to people and understanding the various social exchanges that take place within that space (2011, 392). In a self-critique of this model, Low suggests that the social production/construction model does not:

consider two other important spatial dimensions: that of the body and of the group—the embodied spaces of the self—person—

family in the Western intellectual tradition and the transnational and translocal spaces of the modern world and global economy. Further, the coproduction model does not address how language and discourse influence the meaning and politics of the built environment...Adding embodied space to the social construction and social production of space solves much of this problem. The person as a mobile spatial field—a spatiotemporal unit with feelings, thoughts, preferences, and intentions as well as out-of-awareness cultural beliefs and practices—creates space as a potentiality for social relations, giving it meaning and form; ultimately, through the patterning of everyday movements, the person produces place and landscape (2011, 392).

Building from this framework, this dissertation uses the dialogical relationship of social production and social construction within a historical presentation of urban development and education for Black Washingtonians. Furthermore, this dissertation will contextualize and frame the “embodied spaces of the self” through a Du Boisian theoretical perspective.

Anthropology of Race

The second trajectory is among anthropologists of color (and others) who push for developing serious, focused anthropological inquiry about race and furthermore, 1) developing a theory to frame and contextualize the social reality of race and racialization (Harrison 1997); 2) insisting on viewing race as a created cultural institution similar to marriage, and therefore understanding the ways, race and racism work on and within other institutions within our society (Mukhopadhyay 2007); and 3) using frameworks from scholars outside of the traditional White western/European canon (Carbonella and Kasmir 2008; Harrison 1997). This study takes on these issues and will be presenting a Du Boisian social theory, crafted from the philosophical writings of W.E.B. Du Bois, to formulate an anthropological theory of race.

In the introduction to Faye V. Harrison's, *Decolonizing Anthropology*, Harrison critiques the field of anthropology for overlooking the socially beneficial opportunities in pursuing serious critical research on the topic of race (1997). Furthermore, she suggests that developing an anthropology of race is critical at a time when the world is in a period of

ongoing crisis and uncertainty, marked, on the international level, by the cooling of the Cold War, serious dilemmas and setbacks in socialist development, the escalation of conflict in the Persian Gulf and the emergence of a "New World Order" led militarily by the U.S., growing ecological/environmental problems, the imposition of dehumanizing and recolonizing structural adjustment policies upon debt-ridden "developing" nations, and the heightening of North-South contradictions; and, on a national level, by backlash and threats to civil displacement, a widening gap between the rich and the rest, and the intensification of state repression in ghetto and *barrio* communities (2).

This dissertation builds on the call presented by Harrison and other anthropologists of the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries whose evaluation of the field called for and continues to ask for critical inquiry into the role of race, racism and intersections of oppressions within American culture (and other Western cultures) and the incorporation of non-white, non-canonical scholars into the discipline (Blakey 1990; Carbonella and Kasmir 2008; Harrison 1995, 1998; Macias 1996; Mason 1994; Mukhopadhyay and Moses 1997; Mullings 2005; Solomos and Back 1994; Visweswaran 1998).

This dissertation is also building onto studies of whiteness. Whiteness is a term used to discuss the conscious and unconscious belief in white supremacy, and the practices in place that help to maintain white supremacy. The term whiteness involves a set of norms and values in which *white* becomes the "legal

legitimation of expectations of power and control that enshrine the status quo as a natural baseline, while masking the maintenance of white privilege and domination,” (Garner 2007). This dissertation follows the scholarship of anthropological and historical studies that critically analyze whiteness and seek to recognize its many social forms (i.e. Bonilla-Silva 2003; Bush 2011; Fishkin 1995; Frankenberg 1994; Garner 2007; Hartigan 1997; Painter 2010, Smedley and Smedley 2012), however, scholarly inquiries into the sociocultural, political, and economic meanings of whiteness have been written and discussed before the late twentieth century. Scholars such as Anténor Firman (1885) and Frederick Douglass (1854) used anthropological scholarship to critically analyze the pervasive racial ideology of whiteness present in America and countries with similar race histories. Yet, these works have not been readily incorporated into anthropological thought—an example of the pervasiveness of whiteness within the field of anthropology.

When race intersects with class, class is often seen as the dominant topic of interest; race issues are seen as class issues disguised (Marable 1986). In fact, for some Marxist anthropologists, race and class are not seen as equivalent analytical concepts (i.e. Fields 1982). The research that unfolds in this dissertation shows that gentrification has multiple meanings and becomes almost completely identified as a racial process, not just an economic process with racialized elements. Understanding how to frame race as an analytical concept can best be done through the literature of W.E.B. Du Bois. Du Bois is not

typically viewed as a theorist despite his avid dedication to understanding race scientifically.

The Du Boisian social theory is a theoretical framework that attempts to provide a critical, intersectional, and nuanced examination of the intersection of race, class, capitalism, and power within the context of space and place. By using this theory, I am taking a departure from most whiteness studies and not just “naming and critiquing” hegemonic beliefs, but instead, placing whiteness as an ideology in the larger context of an American worldview; a worldview that is racial and thus, the cultural practices of society then exist as reiterations of that worldview (Smedley and Smedley 2012).

A Brief Look at Possible Critiques of Du Bois

One critique that a theory of race using Du Bois’ writings could receive is that many of his writings are autobiographical. As Du Bois’ states, however, by writing autobiographically, he attempted to create “digressive illustration and exemplification of what race has meant in the world in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries” (1975, 221). It can be argued, however, that some of Du Bois’ most popular works: *The Souls of Black Folks*, *Darkwater*, and *Dusk of Dawn*, which are the three books of focus for this dissertation, are not simply autobiographies but are a form of auto-ethnography (Prince 2014).

Auto-ethnography is doing ethnography self-consciously and reflexively (Butz and Besio 2009). Furthermore, practitioners of auto-ethnography, “scrutinize, publicize, and reflexively rework their own self-understandings as a way to shape understandings of and in the wider world,” (Butz and Besio 2009,

1660). In this sense, Du Bois was practicing a type of anthropology that wouldn't emerge until the late 1980's (Prince 2014) (Only one similar expression exists in the works of Zora Neale Hurston, whose works are similarly viewed as non-anthropological in nature despite her training under Franz Boas at Columbia). Du Bois' works can be viewed as auto-ethnographic: his bounded group was the "American Negro" and in the "American White", and his fieldwork period extended all of his life. When viewed from this lens, Du Bois' works are some of the most powerful cultural analyses of race in America, not just what it means to be Black or White, but the intersecting political, social, and economic institutions one can see that develop from a racial worldview.

The Souls of Black Folk, Darkwater, and Dusk of Dawn were completed between Du Bois's early thirties into his eighties. If the text that Du Bois' provides is not seen as useful to future anthropologists of race, the existence of these texts as cultural material items should be. These texts span over fifty years and yet the topic and the impetus for writing them remained the same: persistent American racism that thwarted the lives and social, political, and economic advancement of Black Americans. The existence of the same theme in three different texts that span half a century is a powerful testimony to the fact that race is more than a "thing" that occurred within slavery. It demonstrates that each American lives a racialized life; that race is at the heart of the American experience and is the key symbol of American culture (Ortner 1973).

Marx was influential in Du Bois's early writings. This can sometimes be used to discount the necessity of examining possible direct contributions from Du

Bois. As Du Bois continued his scholarship, he found Marxist interpretations lacking for analysis of the intersection of race and class (Du Bois 1995); particularly, dealing with contradictions, in such that White Americans have historically, and some argue presently, work opposite of their class needs in order to uphold their racial standing. Yet, Du Bois deals thoughtfully and directly with the contradictions of the American racial system, included intra-racial class issues (1975).

Some could also argue that for racial analysis a theory such as Critical Race Theory (CRT) should be used instead of Du Bois. CRT is often used as a way of approaching data as the theory recognizes that racism is engrained in the fabric of the American system (Brooks 2009). In fact, Du Bois's writings influenced the development of CRT, but CRT often focuses on race and racism as aberrations of a larger system, placing blame on white hegemony (Brooks 2009) and not race as the cultural institution that other institutions were built around, which a theory using Du Bois does explicate.

As his works are mostly auto-ethnographic, theory or the places to extract theory are not obvious. Du Bois, however, did contribute one very interesting analytical concept that if anything proves the limitless possibilities his works provide and that concept is *double consciousness*. The notion of *double consciousness* has been used in isolation for some anthropological papers (i.e. Mullins 1999). What the presentation of *double consciousness* proves is that Du Bois was uniquely attempting to examine not just racism but construction and maintenance of ideologically based racial identities both Black and White.

Du Bois theorized about education in a way that is different from much theory used in anthropology. Compared to Bourdieu for instance, who saw education as replicating oppressive class structures (Bourdieu and Passeron 1990); Du Bois saw education as liberating spaces, similarly to Freire (1970). While Du Bois recognized where education could oppress, he saw education as not just racial uplift but the uplift of the nation's character, moving toward a de-racialized or more racially tolerant society (Du Bois 1998; Rabaka 2003). As this dissertation project seeks to understand the meaning of educational spaces to racial identity, Du Bois' understanding of education's societal role helps to parse through how educational spaces become part of this larger narrative of loss associated with gentrification for Black Washingtonians.

Education and Privatization

The third trajectory of literature that this dissertation draws from more so than builds upon is the research within the field of education that focuses explicitly on the intersection of neoliberal policies and education reforms. Neoliberalism upholds values of the free market, democracy, freedom, choice, and individual rights (Au 2016; Hursh 2007; Scott 2011). Additionally, neoliberal practices favor dismantling welfare states, privatizing public services and promoting class ascension (Winsett 2014). The results of gentrification are often seen as the physical representation of neoliberalism. Moreover, these educational professionals have been making explicit connections between the neoliberal redefinition of cities and changes in education policy. Notable works include Jeff Bale and Sarah Knopp's edited volume, *Education and Capitalism:*

struggles for learning and liberation, education activist and education blogger, Diane Ravitch's *Reign of Error: the hoax of the privatization movement and the danger to America's public schools*, and the most recent history of public education in America, Dana Goldstein's *The Teacher Wars: a history of America's most embattled profession*.

It is the research of Pauline Lipman that has crossed from the education field into anthropology. Lipman's most notable work, *The New Political Economy of Urban Education: neoliberalism, race and the right to the city* (2011), examines school closures, policy, and race in the context of local and national economic change. Lipman suggests that public schools become the playing ground for the neoliberal agenda as cities where poor people of color live become redefined. This redefinition of the city involves creating a racial ideology that pushes the idea of "individual responsibility" and ending "dependency" on the state (2011, 12) constructing an idea that the poor and by default people of color are lazy, pathological, and welfare dependent. Policy, therefore, follows attempts to restructure or eliminate government-funded social programs. Furthermore, the city and the public intuitions associated with government care are also pathologized in a "racially coded morality discourse," that legitimizes the dismantling of public institutions, including the public school, the ultimate representation of government funded social care (Lipman 2011, 12). Moreover, schools then become a free-market playground.

These works help situate teacher responses that view high stakes testing, stringent teacher accountability, and the increased push for charter schools as

evidence of gentrification because they, as discussed by the literature above, are symptoms of neoliberal policies. Furthermore, as will be explored in this dissertation, neoliberalism is the hallmark ideology that fuels gentrification. These sources also situate the role educational systems have historically played in political battles against racism and staking claim in the ownership of Washington, D.C.

Conclusion

This dissertation project is a typical gentrification study in that it addresses the intersection of politics and economics embedded in a capitalistic process. This dissertation picks up on the calls of other urban anthropologists to find different ways of exploring the topic of gentrification in order to bring to the forefront conversations about social inequality, particularly as social inequality becomes embedded on the landscape/cityscape. This dissertation proposes to understand identity and space and how the process of gentrification affects these two analytical concepts. Focus on space here is not necessarily just the neighborhood but includes the school system, as well as the meaning of the city as a whole to Black Washingtonian identity. Few scholars have examined the ways that gentrification affects the school system, and even fewer have focused on the meaning of school buildings and education systems to identity construction.

Finally, this dissertation proposes the use of a racial social theory crafted from the writings of three of W.E.B. Du Bois's most notable works: *The Souls of Black Folks*, *Darkwater*, and *Dusk of Dawn*. Using this theoretical approach, I

will be able to show that race as a cultural institution and not just a pervasive social quirk leads to various social atrocities. Viewing race as a cultural institution helps to elucidate the social contradictions surrounding race and class that appear in the data. Moreover, the Du Boisian social theory allows for class and race to become equally important if not completely paired analytical concepts without sacrificing either's importance or relevance. Lastly, this theoretical approach allows for the analysis of lived racialized experience: what it means to be Black but also to be White, not just as racial categories but as broader frameworks of identity construction.

Chapter Three

Du Boisian Social Theory

As an early twentieth century African American scholar, W.E.B. Du Bois devoted his academic life to the analysis and understanding of, “all facts, concerning the American Negro and his plight, and by measurement and comparison and research, work up to any valid generalization,” about African American society (Du Bois 1975, 51). Through study of the historical and sociological context of African Americans, Du Bois was developing a “concept of race” in America (1975); specifically, understanding the ways that the concept of American race is culturally constructed, and subsequently, replicated in various cultural institutions of society. Though housed predominately within the discipline of sociology, the studies, observations, and social commentary of Du Bois’ writings provide untapped possibilities for developing theoretical frameworks of anthropological inquiry into understanding race, racism, racialization, and intersecting oppressions within the American cultural landscape.

In this chapter I will present the Du Boisian social theory as conceived from my understanding and dissection of select literature from Du Bois’ bibliography. These works include, *The Souls of Black Folk*, *Darkwater*, and *Dusk of Dawn*. I assert that a Du Boisian social theory is a social and economic philosophy that recognizes the central role race plays in economic, political, and social systems. It frames race as a dominant cultural institution shaped by

various ideologies. The Du Boisian social theory understands that there can be multiple race ideologies but posit that the prevailing race ideology is that of whiteness. Furthermore, despite intersectional oppressions, race is in most cases the primary mode of oppression (Du Bois 2010). As such, race can analytically be viewed as caste (Du Bois 1999) and as a cultural institution, seen as impacting the physical landscape. Economically, as race intersects with capitalism, this theory acknowledges that capitalism is the tool that oppresses non-white people, and thus, participation in capitalism as it exists hinders racial and social liberation (Du Bois 1975). Lastly, the Du Boisian social theory emphasizes the importance of the institution of education as a tool for social, political and economic reform in opposition to physical conflict for revolution (Du Bois 1975).

In the first section of this chapter, I will briefly summarize the sources used for crafting the Du Boisian social theory. The second section of this chapter will explain the tenants of the Du Boisian social theory using details from the three major texts mentioned. Finally, I will discuss the ways in which this theory can be used and its purpose in this dissertation.

Summary of Selected Texts

The Souls of Black Folk. Published in 1903, *The Souls of Black Folk* is one of Du Bois' most widely known scholarly contributions, next to *The Philadelphia Negro* (1898). *The Souls of Black Folk* is a cross between biting social commentary and wistful memoir. As Du Bois states in his forward, the aim of *Souls* is to explore and explain what it means to be Black in America at the turn

of the twentieth century, specifically presenting this point of view as a scholar and member of the group (1998, 5).

The Souls of Black Folk is an ethnographic presentation of twentieth century Black American life in the South explained through thirteen essays. By exploring African American religious practices, economic realities, intra-racial social relations, critiques of various race leaders, and deconstructing relationships between Whites and Blacks during this time period, Du Bois presents a sweeping narrative that not only gives the reader a true understanding of what it means to be Black in America, but also what the concept of race means to the fabric of American society. Overall, the thesis of *Souls* is that to be Black in America is to exist in a constant state of striving, specifically striving to be seen as fully American and fully human. Moreover, whiteness as a racial ideology is the conflict/roadblock on this path (1998,16). The state of striving is examined through three major concepts presented throughout the book: the color line, the Veil, and *double consciousness*.

Du Bois began chapter two of *Souls* with the following statement, “the problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the color-line, — the relation of the darker to the lighter races of men in Asia and Africa, in America and the islands of the sea (1999, 18).” Thus, Du Bois means that racial segregation was going to be a major world issue that would hold back social progress. According to Du Bois, the color line (or racial segregation) manifested itself in four ways: in physical proximity, economically, politically, and socially. In discussing how Black and White people are separated, Du Bois describes, “how the black race in

the South meet and mingle with the whites in these matters of everyday life” (1999, 153). Discussing the physical manifestation of the color line, Du Bois states, “First, as to physical dwelling. It is usually possible to draw in nearly every Southern community a physical color line on the map, on the one side of which whites dwell and on the other Negroes. The winding and intricacy of the geographical color-line varies, of course, in different communities (1999, 153).” Then, discussing economic relations, Du Bois continues,

Coming now to the economic relations of the races, we are on ground made familiar by study, much discussion, and no little philanthropic effort. And yet with all this there are many essential elements in the cooperation of Negroes and whites for work and wealth that are too readily overlooked or not thoroughly understood. The average American can easily conceive of a rich land awaiting development and filled with black laborers. To him the Southern problem is simply that of making efficient workingmen out of this material, by giving them the requisite technical skill and the help of invested capital. The problem, however is by no means as simple as this, from the obvious fact that these workingmen have been trained for centuries as slaves...Even the white labors are not yet intelligent, thrifty, and well trained enough to maintain themselves against the powerful inroads of organized capital. The results among them, even, are long hours of toil, low wages, child labor, and lack of protection against usury and cheating (1999, 155; 157).

On politics and the color line, Du Bois points seem initially to be at odds with ideas about Black suffrage that he espoused in some previous chapters. Throughout *Souls*, Du Bois discussed how ill prepared for freedom Black people were and how much training was needed to erase the centuries of training as slaves. Thus on discussing voting he states, “I freely acknowledge that it is possible, and sometimes best, that a partially undeveloped people should be ruled by the best of their stronger and better neighbors for their own good, until

such time as they can start and fight the world's battles alone." Yet, Du Bois still insists that a path to suffrage for Black people must be made, stating further,

That to leave the Negro helpless and without a ballot to-day is to leave him, not to the guidance of the best, but rather to the exploitation and debauchment of the worst; that this is not truer of the South than of the North, —of the North than of Europe: in any land, in any country under modern free competition, to lay any class of weak and despised people, be they white, black, or blue, at the political mercy of their stronger, richer, and more resourceful fellows, is a temptation which human nature seldom has withstood and seldom will withstand (1999, 163).

Du Bois also connects Black political status to crime stating that while there are crimes done by Black people, Black people are not inherently criminal, yet this is how Whites view them and the excuse given for excluding them from political participation (1999, 163-65). Finally, on social interactions, Du Bois states,

Now if one notices carefully one will see that between these two worlds, despite much physical contact and daily intermingling, there is almost no community of intellectual life or point of transference where the thoughts and feelings of one race can come into direct contact and sympathy with the thoughts and feelings of the other... But increasing civilization of the Negro since then has naturally meant the development of higher classes: there are increasing numbers of ministers, teachers, physicians, merchants, mechanics, and independent farmers, who by nature and training are the aristocracy and leaders of the blacks. Between them, however, and the best element of the whites, there is little or no intellectual commerce. They go to separate churches, they live in separate sections, they are strictly separated in all public gatherings, they travel separately, and they are beginning to read different papers and books (1999, 169).

Du Bois ends the discussion of the color line explaining that ultimately, if African Americans are to thrive the end of the color line must happen. As I will discuss further, Du Bois changes this idea to accepting segregation in order to build a thriving Black economic and social life.

The Veil and *double-consciousness* are two connected concepts that Du Bois consistently presented in his writings; and both are born from his ideas on color line. Whereas the color line is the visible social and physical separation of the races, the Veil and the concept of *double consciousness* are the particular effects of living in a racist and segregated society. The Veil is metaphors for how Black Americans are present in society, but not of it and are told do not belong. Thus, they must experience the world in a blurred reality; the Black person “sees out” into a world in which he is not allowed to participate nor is he welcomed.

This aspect of being within a society but not a part of it, functioning in a muted reality, leads to a double consciousness. One of Du Bois’ most used philosophical concepts, *double consciousness*, is the state of existence in which Black Americans see themselves in one way while simultaneously understanding the way the outside White world sees them. They are excluded from living as American citizens because of their blackness but at the same time they cannot be anything other than Black and for all intents and purposes do not desire to be anything else. On connecting the Veil and double consciousness Du Bois states,

...this sense of always looking at one’s self through the eyes of others, of measuring one’s soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity. One ever feels his twoness—an American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder (1999, 9).

Furthermore, as Du Bois explains, Black Americans’ history of striving is a history of striving against the color line, against the Veil, and against *double consciousness*. Du Bois elaborates on this struggle, stating,

And yet it is not weakness—it is the contradiction of double aims. The double-aimed struggle of the black artisan—on the one hand to escape white contempt for a nation of mere hewers of wood and drawers of water, and on the other hand to plough and nail and dig for a poverty-stricken horde—could only result in making him a poor craftsman, for he had but half a heart in either cause...The would-be black savant was confronted by the paradox that the knowledge his people needed was a twice-told tale to his white neighbors, while the knowledge which would teach the white world was Greek to his own flesh and blood. The innate love of harmony and beauty that set the ruder souls of his people a-dancing and a-singing raised but confusion and doubt in the soul of the black artist; for the beauty revealed to him was the soul-beauty of a race which his larger audience despised. And he could not articulate the message of another people. This waste of double aims, this seeking to satisfy two unreconciled ideals has wrought sad havoc with the courage and faith and deeds of ten thousand people (1903, 10-11).

Here Du Bois shows that to have any type of success, financially, socially, or politically, a Black person must appeal to the desires, wants, and beliefs of White Americans; even if it goes against the desires, wants, beliefs, and needs of Black people—this is the core of double consciousness and a veiled existence.

The Souls of Black Folk should be understood as an auto-ethnography.

Du Bois in these collections of essays explores how the color line, particularly as it has manifested itself in the early twentieth century has created a variation of strife, for which Du Bois interprets as being most disastrous to not only the culture, future, and identity of Black Americans but America in general. Moreover, the disastrous aspect of the color line is the growing restlessness and possible violent resentment of younger generations who did not know slavery and are frustrated by slow, social progress.

Darkwater: Voices from Within the Veil (1921). In *Darkwater*, Du Bois takes a turn in the tone of his writing. While *The Souls of Black Folks*, was a critical

narrative on race relations, it mainly focused on presenting the complex and nuanced culture of Black Americans that developed in the South due to slavery and systemic racism following emancipation. Du Bois' presentation of the way Whites behaved towards Black people was subtler, choosing instead to rest on the possibility that ignorance rather than systemic hate created the racial climate in the United States and cooperation, intra and interracial, could erase the color line. *Darkwater* diverges from this cooperative tone to outright social criticism of White people, individually and as a whole, by explicating the ideology of whiteness.

Darkwater, in following the same style as *Souls*, intersperses poetry and poetic prose with sharp and uncensored criticism of White Americans (and White Europeans) and their knowingly and seemingly willing participation in the systemic and violent oppression of Black people. In discussing this, Du Bois states,

Down through the green waters, on the bottom of the world, where men move to and fro, I have seen a man—an educated gentleman—grow livid with anger because a little, silent, black woman was sitting by herself in a Pullman car. He was a white man. I have seen a great, grown man curse a little child, who had wandered into the wrong waiting-room, searching for its mother: “Here, you damned black—“ He was white. In Central Park I have seen the upper lip of a quiet, peaceful man curl back in a tigerish snarl of rage because black folk rode by in a motorcar. He was a white man. We have seen...what have we not seen, right here in America, of orgy, cruelty, barbarism, and murder done to men and women of Negro descent (44-45).

Du Bois demonstrates to the reader that injustice, racism, and hate, while systemic, is not something that occurs outside of people living within that society; each member of the society perpetuates cultural injustices in daily choices and

actions. Moreover, Du Bois also suggests a sense of agency in participating in systemic racial oppression.

Whereas, *Souls*, is known for the theoretical contribution of double consciousness, *Darkwater*, should be known as the earliest sociological/anthropological concept of whiteness. Moreover, *Darkwater* can be viewed as an auto-ethnography of whiteness in segregation. Building onto this concept of whiteness, Du Bois' *Darkwater* presents the framework of intersectional oppressions, including race, class, and gender to argue that the increasing spread of the ideology of whiteness corresponded with the rise of capitalism, specifically using whiteness to justify the economic oppression of non-White people.

Dusk of Dawn (1940). Written upon his 80th birthday, *Dusk of Dawn*, is another auto-ethnographic exploration about science and race. Beginning with his earliest memories of learning what it meant to be Black in America, Du Bois explores how he attempted to develop a personal and scientific concept of race during his life. Whereas *Souls* and *Darkwater* were more poetic, the essays in *Dusk of Dawn* are neither as critical as *Darkwater* nor as expository as *Souls*. *Dusk of Dawn* is more contemplative, reemphasizing many of the key concepts Du Bois presented in earlier works, including the intersection of race, racism, and capitalism. The main focus of the text however is the conclusion that he has made regarding his quest to scientifically analyze race and find a solution to the "problem of the colorline." He ultimately concludes two things: 1) that race is a cultural institution and 2) that Black people need to develop their own ideology of

being, socially and economically, one not based on the systems of White America which have been structured within the race ideology of whiteness that maintains white supremacy.

Dusk of Dawn is not only a cumulative presentation of the race studies Du Bois conducted in his life but also another attempt to take analysis into action. Towards the end of the book, Du Bois presents his steps to using legally sanctioned segregation to build Black economic self-determination in the form of cooperative farming and trade. Beyond the outlined course of action, Du Bois also presents more terminology that one could consider to be foundational for studies of race. While the concept of whiteness was addressed in *Darkwater*, the concept of social guilt, or what today would be referred to as white guilt, is presented in *Dusk of Dawn*:

Thus it is impossible for the clear-headed student of human action in the United States and in the world, to avoid facing the fact of a white world which is today dominating human culture and working for the continued subordination of the colored races. It may be objected where that so general a statement is not fair; that there are many white folks who feel the unfairness and crime of color and race prejudice and have toiled and sacrificed to counteract it. This brings up the whole question of social guilt. When, for instance, one says that the acting of England toward the darker races has been a course of hypocrisy, force and greed covering four hundred years it does not mean to include in that guilt many persons of the type of William Wilberforce and Granville Sharpe. On the other hand because British history has not involved the guilt of all Britons we cannot jump to the opposite and equally fallacious conclusion that there has been no guilt; that the development of the British Empire is a sort of cosmic process with no individual human being at fault, (1940, 137).

Du Bois was a prolific writer, completing over twenty single authored works ranging from fiction to autobiography to historical accounts, as well as numerous

essays and sociological studies in his lifetime (Gates 2006). These three texts, however, encompass a philosophy of race that is most useful for constructing the particular anthropological theory for racial analysis that will be applied in my study of Washington, D.C.

Theoretical Framework

Du Boisian social theory is a way of examining lived experiences in racialized cultural settings. It is a social and economic philosophy that recognizes the central role race plays in economic, political, and social systems of racialized societies. In this section, I will outline this theory using *The Souls of Black Folk*, *Darkwater*, and *Dusk of Dawn*.

Race is a cultural institution. In Du Bois' writings, race is more than an analytical concept; race is a central component to American society, it is not just embedded in American culture, it *is* American culture. As he states in *Dusk of Dawn*, "race is a cultural, sometimes an historical fact," (1940, 153). In calling race a cultural fact, Du Bois is stating that race is an institution, similar to marriage, the church, or education.

It is helpful to view institution as Smedley explains,

Multiple individual decisions may well accumulate and become entrenched as cultural orientations that persist through time and space. As such decisions become incremental parts of the cultural order, they reflect specific understandings of the world and its environmental and social realities. They provided explanations for, and often a means of controlling, social and natural forces. As their adaptive usefulness is realized, they become established as givens, as worldviews or ideologies, and thus institutionalized, they feed back into thought and action (2012, 15-16).

Thus, through accumulated practices, choices, and other mechanisms, society begins to organize itself. These practices and choices become accepted rules and roles (Wright 2000, 30). There is some tension in conceptualizing race as an institution based on the definition used above; this tension rests in the idea of acceptance of rules and roles. It would seem that most non-White and White people alike neither accept nor agree with race particularly as race becomes racism. If one focuses, however, on the aspect of “givens” as Smedley states, then we can understand how race, whether a person is non-White or White, can be viewed as an American cultural institution.

Race is a category meant to demarcate difference based on outward perceived biological human variation with ascribed traits and characteristics according to that outward appearance and thus divides society into categories based on that system (Hartigan 2015, Smedley 2012). Racialization is the process of ascribing race to a person, but also particular personal and social attributes based on a perceived racial category. Racism, using a very basic and simplified definition, is discrimination of a person based on race. Racism and racialization can both be seen as cultural practices embedded within such an institution as race. Each of these processes has set patterns and unwritten rules. By rules, I am referring to the givens, the list of attributes we have learned to use to place people within their racial categories and interact with them accordingly. Everyone, White, Black, and non-White, participates in the process of racialization, and much of that processes is guided by our daily understanding of the ideology of whiteness. Moreover, Du Bois examined how each person in

America made daily decisions based on these givens. Du Bois made efforts in his writings to demonstrate the multiple ways that race should be seen as an institution by demonstrating how it intersected with such institutions as the economy, education, language, and religion, and he did this by presenting the analytical concept of race as caste (Du Bois 1999, chapter 8).

In presenting the idea that racial categories should be viewed as a caste system Du Bois is presenting the facts of how race is institutionalized in America, including the hereditary transmission of occupation, social networks, and endogamy expected of Black people. Furthermore, a caste system carries two coordinating assumptions: ideas of purity and inescapability. To avoid pollution as a result of intermingling castes one must avoid contact with lower, polluting castes. In chapter seven, eight, and nine of *The Souls of Black Folk*, Du Bois explains the way the economic system in America is set up to legally entrap Black farmers into peonage, how crime is determined on race and not actual crimes committed, and how Whites purposefully demarcate boundary lines to avoid living near or among Black people of the same class or otherwise (1999). Moreover, Du Bois emphasizes how difficult it is with each generation of Black American to overcome these issues as laws and social practices are continuously recrafted to maintain Black Americans in low political and economic categories for White prosperity.

Understanding how American racial categories can be viewed as a caste system is seen in Du Bois' examination of urban employment. As Du Bois's states in *The Philadelphia Negro*,

Every one knows that in a city like Philadelphia a Negro does not have the same chance to exercise his ability or secure work according to his talents as a white man... in general that the sorts of work open to Negroes are not only restricted by their own lack of training but also by discrimination against them on account of their race; that their economic rise is not only hindered by their present poverty, but also by a widespread inclination to shut against them many doors of advancement open to the talent and efficiency of other races (2010, 121).

Lack of access to better employment was not the only issue associated with race and employment. Black people were often treated unfairly, being paid far lower wages than their white counterparts or facing other insults to personhood on the job (Du Bois 2010). Thus, like any caste system, the mistreatment of Black people, as people on the bottom of the class scale, was socially accepted and legally sanctioned. One's race also determined social inclusion or exclusion (Du Bois 1975, chapter seven), similar to any caste society. Moreover, Black people were expected to generationally continue to function within the social, political, and economic categories expected of Black Americans; attempts to disrupt this order would face resistance from both Whites and sometimes fellow caste members (1999, chapter 13).

While it may not be perfect, and perhaps an oversimplification, viewing racial categories similar to caste classifications, it is still an interesting and powerful examination tool. Racial categories in the United States emerged over time, through various practices that aligned with the solidification of a slave based economic agricultural system (Smedley 1997). By viewing race as a caste in order to understand its institutional role in American society allows the

understanding of the significant way one's race shapes your role in the American cultural landscape.

Whiteness is an ideology. There are many studies of whiteness today within anthropology, but Du Bois is probably the earliest social scientist to give it a name and use as a concept. Du Bois referred to whiteness as “the soul of white folks” and first discusses this concept in the essay of the same title in *Darkwater*,

The discovery of personal whiteness among the world's peoples is a very modern thing—a nineteenth and twentieth century matter, indeed. The ancient world would have laughed at such a distinction... This assumption that all the hues of God whiteness alone is inherently and obviously better than brownness or tan leads to curious acts; even the sweeter souls of the dominant world as they discourse with me on weather, weal, and woe are continually playing above their actual words and obligation of tune and tone saying: “My poor, un-white thing! Weep nor rage. I know, too well, that the curse of God lies heavy on you. Why? That is not for me to say, but be brave! Do your work in your lowly sphere, praying the good Lord that into heaven above, where all is love, you may, one day, be born—white! (42-43).

In *Dusk of Dawn*, Du Bois once again presents and analyzes the concept of whiteness and begins to explain whiteness as an ideology in the chapter entitled “The White World.” Du Bois writes, “...according to white writers, white teachers, white historians, and white molders of public opinion, nothing ever happened in the world of any importance that could not or should not be labeled ‘white’ (1975, 143). In creating an understanding of whiteness as ideology Du Bois focused on its discourse and how concepts of whiteness were developed in coded language dealing with war, social progress, and economic advancement. This is best seen in *Dusk of Dawn* when Du Bois presents part of a conversation with a “friend” who he describes as,

...free, white, and twenty-one. Which is to say-he is as free as the law and his income, his family and friends, and his formal and informal education allow. He is "white" so far as the records show and as tradition tells; he is not twenty-one—he is fifty-one. He is respectable, this is he belongs to the Episcopal Church, the Union League and Harvard Clubs, and the Republican Party. He is educated, in the sense that he can read if he will, he can write in case his stenographer is absent and he has the privilege of listening to the Metropolitan Opera on Tuesday. He is a Son of the American Revolution, a reserve officer and a member of the American Legion. He reads the Times and the Evening Post (Saturday); he subscribes to the Atlantic and last year he read two books. He also began "Man the Unknown." He owns a home in Westchester assessed at fifty thousand; he drives a Buick. He associates quite often with a wife and a child of fifteen and more often with his fellow employees of the wholesale house which pays him ten thousand a year (153).

His "friend" is an amalgamation of White people Du Bois has come to know. This amalgamation is meant to represent White men who saw themselves as respectable American citizens, and perhaps not necessarily racist or anti-racist, but as believers and promoters of fairness and justice often seen as "the American way." Some key points to consider in Du Bois' amalgamation are: references to the Union League, a semi-secret male club originating in the 1860's, that promoted loyalty to the Union; the *New York Times*, which had built a reputation of avoiding yellow journalism; the Buick considered to be an American car for economically secure middle-class Americans; the *Saturday Evening Post*, which traces its roots to Benjamin Franklin (one of the Founding Fathers) and which chronicles American history as a reflection of distinctive characteristics and values of the American way; and finally the amalgamated character's participation in the Republican party which was still considered to be the party of Lincoln at the time Du Bois wrote (Bahde 2010; Dennis 2011; Ward

2010). Du Bois uses this characterization to discuss not only whiteness as an ideology but also the cultural practice of racism as systemic and individual choice.

The conversation between Du Bois and his “friend” begins with the stock White character confronting the societal contradictions of his social identity. The “friend” begins with Christianity. As a self-identified Christian the amalgamated friend knows that he is supposed to have good will towards all men, treat others as he himself would want to be treated, fight for the freedom of all people, and live a life of poverty, meaning not having more than what others have. The “friend”, however, believes that it is particularly difficult in the twentieth century, to live up to these ideals. The character’s pastor assures him that one should aim to be at minimum a gentleman, with a capital G. This presents the first contradiction. The stock character wants to be a gentleman and believes that he is because,

my friend has gathered this rather vague definition: a Gentleman relies on the Police and Law for protection and self-assertion; he is sustained by a fine sense of Justice for himself and his Family, past and present; he is always courteous in public with “ladies first” and precedence to “gray hairs”, and even in private, he minds his manners and dignity and resists his neighbor’s wife; he is charitable, giving to the needy and deserving, to the poor and proud, to inexplicable artists and to the Church. He certainly does not believe in the WPA or other alphabetical ways of encouraging laziness and waste and increasing his taxes. And finally, without ostentation, he is exclusive; picking his associates with cares and fine discrimination and appearing socially only where the Best People appear. All this calls for money and a good deal of it. He does not want to be vulgarly and ostentatiously rich. As millionaires go, he is relatively poor, which is poverty as he understands it (1975, 156).

The conversation continues in that the stock character understands that while his definition of a gentleman is snobbishness and not purely Christian, he believes he is a good, honest, moral, hardworking man, which is what every American should be, at least how he understood life before World War I.

While the character is not sure if an American can be a Gentleman with a capital G or Christian in the total sense, the character, following World War I (a war he never participated in) has come to believe that the true code of American conduct is in preparation and defense. America must be prepared for all possibilities, “England wants her trade, France wants her gold, Germany wants her markets, Russia wants her laborers remade into Bolsheviks. Italy wants her raw material; and above all—Japan! Japan is about to conquer the world for the yellow race and then she’ll be ready to swallow America. We must, therefore, be prepared to defend ourselves,” (1975,157).

The friend goes on to explain that in order for the country to be ready for military defense it must have able and “efficient” citizens who are at the top, ruling and controlling the decisions. In this social and political hierarchy, “well-bred persons of English descent and New England nurture are the kernel and hope of the land,” with some exceptional southern slave holding aristocracy and midwestern farmers (1975, 158). Non-White people are to be forced to the bottom rung in order to submit to the will and wish of those efficient few. Thus, not only does the country have to be diligent about defending itself but also about protecting the internal hierarchy (1975, 158). To this the friend surmises, as Du Bois sees it,

For this, deliberate propaganda is necessary and permissible; propaganda assists the truth and hurries it on; it may at times exaggerate and distort but all this is for the defensible end and newspapers, radio channels, and news distribution agencies should be owned and used for this end. Here comes the necessity of smoking out radicals. Radicals are insidious intellectuals, themselves usually unsuccessful misfits, envious of success and misled by cranks...If honest and able, they are even more dangerous. They should be sternly dealt with.

The friend believes that once all the un-savories are dealt with there is left a country worth defending and patriotism can flourish,

...and patriotism means standing by your country, thick and thin. It means not simply being an American but feeling proud of America and publicly asserting the fact from time to time. Also, it means seeing to it that other people are patriotic; looking about carefully when the "Star-Spangled Banner" is played to see who is sitting down and why; keeping a watchful eye on the flag. Americans traveling abroad, or at any rate white Americans should, like the English, have such a panoply thrown about them that street urchins will be afraid to make faces and throw stones.

Du Bois' "friend" concludes his thoughts on the third code of Americanism, by ending with a note about power in which the nation cannot only be powerful but must extend that power to gain more territory, more commerce, and influence the happenings of all places in the globe (1975, 159).

Du Bois' "friend", the amalgamation of White Americans, reaches his next code, which has been built on the previous three. This is where he feels the strongest contradiction as Du Bois continues,

But there was one difficulty about this code of Americanism which my friend learned; and that was that it led directly and inevitable to another code to which, theoretically, he was definitely opposed, but which, logically, he could not see his way to resist...This statement of his fourth code of action was found in unfinished assumption rather than plain words...This code rested upon the fact that he was a White Man...Now until my friend had reached the age of thirty he had not known that he was a white man, or at least he had not realized it...But lately he had come to realize that his whiteness

was fraught with tremendous responsibilities, age-old and infinite in future possibilities. It would seem that colored folks were a threat to the world. They were going to overthrow white folk by sheer weight of numbers, destroy their homes and marry their daughters (1975, 161).

This all leads Du Bois' "friend",

...to understand, if not to sympathize with, a code which began with War.

...but war against the darker races, carried out now and without too nice discrimination as to who were dark: war against the Riff, the Turk, Chinese, Japanese, Indians, Negroes, Mulattoes, Italians and South Americans. We must hate our enemies.

...no effective war, no determination to fight evil to the death, without full-bellied Hate! We need to lay emphasis upon "white": acting like a "White" man, doing things "white"; "white" angels, etc.; efforts to boost novels which paint white heroes, black devils and brown scoundrels with yellow souls; efforts to use the theater and the movies for the same reason; emphasis upon the race element in crime. Self-preservation is the First Law; the crimes and shortcomings of white people, while unfortunate, are incidental; news of them must be ignored or suppressed; crimes of colored people are characteristic and must be advertised as stern warnings.

War, righteous Hate and then Suspicion. It was very easy to be deceived by other races; to think of the Negro as good-natured; of the Chinaman as simply "queer; of the Japanese as 'imitative.'" No. Look for the low subtle methods and death-dealing ideals. Meet them by full-blooded contempt for other races.

Next, Exploitation. No use wincing at the word. No sense in letting Roosevelt and the "New Deal" mislead you. The poor must be poor so that the Rich may be Rich. That's clear and true. It merely means using the world for the good of the world and those who own it; Bringing out its wealth and abundance; making the lazy and shiftless and ignorant work for their soul's good and for the profit of their betters, who alone are capable of using Wealth to promote Culture.

And finally, Empire: the white race as ruler of all the world and the world working for it, and the world's wealth piled up for the white man's use. This may seem harsh and selfish and yet, of course, it

was perfectly natural. Naturally white men would and must rule and any question of their ruling should be met and settled promptly.

Thus, as Du Bois explains to the reader that his friend lines up the codes, he finds that they cannot be applied and lived by simultaneously as they are contradictory in essence. Du Bois displays this in a table, which I have modified (1975, 163):

Christian	Gentleman	American	White Man
Peace	Justice	Defense	War
Good Will	Manners	Caste	Hate
Golden Rule	Exclusiveness	Propaganda	Suspicion
Liberty	Police	Patriotism	Exploitation
Poverty	Wealth	Power	Empire

Table 1. Modified table of Du Bois' White man's code of Americanism.

The contradictions are as follows: 1) at the basic level of existence an American man should seek to be a Christian which is to follow the tenants of peace, good will, the Golden Rule, liberty and poverty; 2) the code of Christian life for the character is at odds with the lifestyle of a twentieth century man, thus, he must decide to be at least a Gentleman which encompasses a belief in justice, manners, exclusiveness, the power of the police and the importance of wealth; but over time, Du Bois "friend" come to realize that 3) the true definition of being an American is about following the tenants of defense, caste, propaganda, patriotism, and expansion of power. Moreover, to maintain a national American identity, whiteness must be perpetuated through the practice of war, hate, suspicion, exploitation, and expansion of White empires across the globe.

Hence, the character comes to realize that the facet of his identity, which he values most, is to be a White American man, an identity whose tenants and beliefs are in contradiction to other parts of his identity: to be a Christian and a Gentleman. At the same time, he cannot seem to imagine a life where all the tenants of the codes do not exist, particularly as it relates to concepts of American identity and Whiteness as at the base of that identity. As Du Bois interprets it, modification of what makes a White American Man able to fit into the concepts of a Christian Gentleman would result in a loss of power, prestige, and money from the mining of resources owned by non-White people. Giving up on these ideals would give way to White people being “ruled” by the “colored world”, which Du Bois’ “friend” cannot fathom nor accept. He is lead to this “fearful” conclusion rather than the alternative of sharing resources.

Du Bois’ *conversation with a friend* demonstrates that whiteness is not just a term or a concept but a systemic ideology that shapes institutions and guides cultural practices. Though the conversation is heavily laden with obvious personal critiques of American militarism, capitalism, the media, and of course racism, Du Bois has examined the systemic practice of the institution of race through language; examining what people say and the coded meanings of words, a practice in racial discourse analysis (Bush 2011).

Current scholars use whiteness as, “ an analytical object,” to examine and critique “the reproduction and maintenance of systems of racial inequality, within the United States and around the globe,” (Hartigan 1997, 496). Whiteness is often viewed as, “a compilation of institutional privileges and ideological

characteristics bestowed upon members of the dominant group in societies organized by the idea and practice of pan-European supremacy,” (Bush 2011, 3). In short, whiteness as a term, is a way of labeling the practices that are employed in society. Understanding whiteness, however, as an analytical object or analytical term does not help to clarify the daily lived experience of existence as a White person in America. Nor does it help to expand on an understanding of the lived experience of a Black person in America living within the ideology of whiteness. Du Bois’ definition of whiteness is ideological and more than just a concept or a framework.

Returning to Smedley’s definition of ideology as, “sets of beliefs, values, and assumptions, held on faith alone and generally unrelated to empirical facts, that act as guidelines to or prescription for individual and group behavior,” (2012, 18). If whiteness is only seen as an analytical tool, then it focuses on the actions of White people alone. The acts of whiteness, which are viewed as upholding white supremacy, get placed into the category of aberration and, thus, racism and race become social mishaps in an otherwise coherent and functional society. But as Du Bois explains, people make cultural and personal choices that uphold white supremacy at the expense of other aspects of their social and personal identity (2010). Viewing whiteness as an ideology that informs a larger context of practices makes sense of the way race and racism generally function in America. Moreover, viewing whiteness as an ideology gives anthropologists the opportunity to address the ways whiteness affects non-White people beyond the categories of racism and discrimination; particularly as non-White people attempt

to navigate American lifestyles by resisting and simultaneously, dancing with certain aspects of the ideology of whiteness.

And what of white supremacy? Du Bois characterized white supremacy as a catch all term for the collective actions of those who believe in the ideology of whiteness as well as an embedded tenet within the ideology. Inherent in whiteness is the idea that White people are supreme and the rightful participants of American democracy. But, as expressed by Du Bois' White "friend", there are those people who are not white and resist this ideal. Thus, white supremacy becomes a collective action, to "pound them back into their places every time they show their heads above the ramparts," (Du Bois 1975, 169). In summary, the actions that keep non-Whites in their place are cultural practices of racism. By viewing white supremacy as cultural practice, Du Bois is able to show how every aspect of American society is connected to the institution of race; education, economics, politics, media, landscape, etc. Thus, cultural practices that stem from those institutions, be it voting, employment, or marriage, through individual, group, or institutional actions, uphold the belief of white supremacy, a belief embedded in and resulting from the ideology of whiteness.

Race, economics, and politics are tightly interconnected. During Du Bois' time studying in Germany, he developed his critique of capitalism and American democracy (1975). Though in his early years, he had not pieced together the connection between race, politics, and economics by the time he wrote *Darkwater* in 1921, however, following the end of World War I, he was fully aware

of and attempting to understand the national economic and political decisions in the United States formulated in response to color line.

At the center of Du Bois' critique of American democracy and American economics is an insistence on the driving ideological factor of whiteness. Whiteness, as discussed, delineates the rules of the institution of race as it intersects with the ideologies of other institutions of American society. The main ideology at the center of capitalism is private ownership of the means of living; class monopoly over the means of wealth production and distribution (Marx 1983). Thus, as whiteness intersects with this ideology, cultural practice and belief becomes such that those who should have a monopoly and ownership over production should be White. In his writings Du Bois explicates this connection, when discussing World War I, where he states,

As we saw the dead dimly through rifts of battle smoke and heard faintly the cursings and accusations of blood brothers, we darker men said: This is not Europe gone mad; this is not aberration nor insanity; this *is* Europe...

Bluntly put, that theory is this: it is the duty of white Europe to divide up the darker world and administer it for Europe's good...The European world is using black and brown men for all the uses which men know (2010, 49, 53).

Du Bois continues,

Thus the world market most wildly and desperately sought today is the market where labor is cheapest and most helpless and profit is most abundant. This labor is kept cheap and helpless because the white world despises "darkies." If one has the temerity to suggest that these working men walk the way of white workingmen and climb by votes and self assertion and education to the rank of men, he is howled out of court...Let me say this again and emphasize it and leave no room for mistaken meaning: The World War was primarily jealous and avaricious struggle for the largest share in exploiting darker races (2010, 56-57).

This critique though focused on Europe, makes a direct connection to America and its role in World War I and subsequent desires after the war.

In using the war as a building block, Du Bois begins to develop his critique of American democracy in relationship to capitalism and global market expansion as it relates to non-White people. He states,

But what of this? American Land of Democracy, wanted to believe in the failure of democracy so far as darker peoples were concerned. Absolutely without excuse she established a caste system, rushed into preparation for war and conquered tropical colonies. She stands shoulder to shoulder with Europe in Europe's worst sin against civilization (2010, 58).

Clearly stated, American democracy was failing and would continue to fail as long as Americans remained staunch capitalists, moreover, capitalists who believed in profiting off the labor and resources of brown people to the exclusion of those brown people.

Du Bois saw the aim of government or, "the ruling of men is the effort to direct the individual actions of many persons toward some end. This end theoretically should be the greatest good of all, but no human group has ever reached this ideal because of ignorance and selfishness (2010, 113). That selfishness can be interpreted as actions governed by the ideology of whiteness. Du Bois states that, "The present problem of problems is nothing more than democracy beating itself helplessly against the color bar," (2010, 61). In simplest terms, the central ideology to democracy is a government ruled by the people, for the people. Affected by the ideology of whiteness, American democracy then becomes defined as a government in which the people who should rule are

White; the people for whom the government should represent are White. Du Bois states,

From British West Africa comes the bitter complaint “that the West Africans should have the right or opportunity to settle their future for themselves” is a thing which hardly enters the mind of the European politician. That the Balkan States should be admitted to the council of Peace and decided the government under which they are to live is taken as a matter of course because they are Europeans...(2010, 64).

Du Bois further states,

Democracy alone is the method of showing the whole experience of the race for the benefit of the future and if democracy tries to exclude women or Negroes or the poor or any class because of innate characteristics which do not interfere with intelligence, then that democracy cripples itself and belies its name (2010, 119-120).

In short, people of color are not considered human enough to warrant citizenship and voice, in Europe and America. Moreover, American society, which is supposedly based on democratic ideals cannot grow and flourish to the exclusion of such integral parts of its society. Furthermore, since black and brown people are not given political access, they cannot interfere in policy decisions, thus American law becomes structured for the benefit of White people with money.

Race proceeds class in oppression. Though Du Bois was dedicated to writing about class oppression, he without fail believed that race was the primary mode of oppression in America. This idea became even clearer to him following the Industrial Revolution and the end of World War I; American capitalism and democracy were used to maintain racial oppression but also used to exacerbate racial tensions.

Here, Du Bois presents the idea that American society has a theory of exclusiveness. In this concept, Americans have an idea that there are some jobs, menial labor jobs, that are necessary, but no real human being should be compelled to do (2010, 103). Thus, the social undesirables are pushed into those areas of work while everything else, including democracy and economy are built above them. Included in this category of social undesirables are Black people (this also connects back to Du Bois' earlier concept that race, particularly the category of Black should be viewed as caste). Thus, in terms of economy, jobs, and class, Black people are supposed to fulfill those roles that Whites believe they should not have to perform on the account of their whiteness. Discussing this Du Bois writes,

Not only are less than a fifth of our workers servants today, but the character of their service has been changed. The million menial workers among us include 300,000 upper servants,—skilled men and women of character, like hotel waiters, Pullman porters, janitors, and cooks, who had they been white, could have called on the great labor movement to lift their work out of slavery, to standardize their hours, to define their duties, and to substitute a living, regular wage for personal largess in the shape of tips, old clothes, and cold leavings of food. But the labor movement turned their backs on those black men when the white world dined in their cars. Negroes are servants; servants are Negroes (2010, 100).

Therefore, couched in this 'theory of exclusivity' is that exclusivity is not only based on class but race; meaning that those who are White can still have access to spaces of exclusivity on the basis of race. Black people are meant to do lowly work (as lowly work is culturally conceived) because they are lowly people on account of their race. It should be noted that in using the word servant Du Bois is not denigrating service jobs. He is discussing a particular mentality that is

associated with jobs of service. In his opinion, jobs of service: maids, waiters, butlers, Pullman porters, cooks, etc., are not positions to look down upon. Each citizen should have a “mentality” of service—helping another person. Moreover, these jobs should be valued in the skill that each requires, and standards and expectation should be associated with them—regular hours, codes of conduct, and most importantly, unions (Du Bois 2010). But implicated in the term servant or servitude, is the idea that it is acceptable to treat people in these positions as less than; and combined with the ideology of whiteness, an economy that excludes people from jobs based on race, limits growth and creativity creates a host of other unfair labor practices and legislation.

Du Bois examines the pervasive and effective use of a theory of exclusivity based on the conceptual blocks of whiteness when he discusses labor unions. Du Bois was staunchly pro-labor union but felt that labor unions could not live up to their true economic and political potential due to the “colorline”. Using the East St. Louis race riot of 1917 as a talking point, Du Bois addresses the failure of labor unions to incorporate Black skilled labor in *Darkwater (1921)*. At the core of the race riot were the lack of jobs. Many southern Black laborers, skilled and unskilled had been traveling to the north and to the Midwest to seek better employment and social opportunities that were unavailable in the Jim Crow south (Wilkerson 2010). The rise in the Black population of these cities created social tensions among Black people who had already lived there for generations among the White laboring class. The White laborers resented Black labor for taking away employment opportunities as it was cheaper to higher Black laborers

(who were paid less because they were Black). Many skilled Black laborers, however, hoped to join various labor unions in an effort to curb industry's abuse of the working class; they were rejected. Du Bois states,

No black builder, printer, or machinist could join a union or work in East St. Louis, no matter what skill or character.

The conflagration of war had spread to America; government and court stepped in and ordered no hesitation, no strike; the work must go on. Deeper was the call for workers. Black men poured in and red anger flamed in the hearts of white workers.

...and finally the anger of the mass of white workers was turned toward these new black interlopers, who seemed to come to spoil their last dream of a great monopoly of common labor (2010, 85).

Du Bois continues to examine the connection between divided labor, labor exploitation, and race, writing,

The thing they wanted was even at their hands: here were black men, guilty of not only bidding for their jobs which white men could have held at war prices, even if they could not fill, but also guilty of being black! It was at this blackness that the unions pointed the accusing finger. It was here that they committed the unpardonable crime. It was here they entered the Shadow of Hell, where suddenly from a fight for wage and protection against industrial oppression East St. Louis became the center of the oldest and nastiest forms of human oppression—race hatred (2010, 85-86).

In the discussion on the race riots in East St. Louis, one can see how Du Bois' understood the intersection of race, class, and politics. As Du Bois writes, the riot would not have taken place if capitalists and industry did not have a controlling stake of the social-political landscape of the country. He writes,

If the white workingmen of East St. Louis felt sure that Negro workers would not and could not take the bread and cake from their mouths, their race hatred would have never been translated into murder. If the black workingmen of the South could earn a decent living under circumstances at home, they would not be compelled to underbid their white fellows.

Thus the shadow of hunger, in a world which never needs to be hungry, drives us to war and murder and hate. But why does hunger shadow so vast a mass of men? Manifestly because in the great organizing of men for work a few of the participants come out with more wealth than they can possibly use, while a vast number emerge with less than can decently support life.

Thus, one way of reducing and eventually rooting out racial hatred was giving people the equal chance for economic advancement in the form of industrial democracy (Du Bois 2010).

Capitalists, as owners of the materials for production, were already wealthy and becoming more so due to the access and control of political legislation, which in Du Bois' thinking was a threat to true democracy. He states, "birth and culture still count, but the main avenue to social power and class domination is wealth; income and oligarchic economic power, the consequent political power and the prestige of those who own and control capital and distribute credit," (1975, 189). For Du Bois, the solution to capitalist control of government was social promotion of industrial democracy. The first key to industrial democracy was opening up access to participation. Du Bois focused heavily on the idea of democracy and industry in *Darkwater* and *Dusk of Dawn*. During the time of *Darkwater's* publication, Black people, white women, and others were excluded from voting Du Bois argued that ignorance could not be the reason for excluding people from voting because the solution to that was education. In order for democracy to thrive, all people except for the truly mentally unfit should participate in government. Democracy depended on the experiences of all participants to help build up stores of knowledge and wisdom

that future generations could use to continue to further the society in some form of harmony (2010, 119). Therefore, the true role of government was to help align these experiences and create solutions to “reduce the necessary conflict of human interest to the minimum,” (2010, 120).

American democracy, however, in Du Bois’ analysis functioned on the theory of exclusivity; that certain people needed to be disfranchised for their own benefit and that of society as a whole; and leading this idea of logic were industrial capitalists (2010). The government was the leader behind capitalism in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. According to Du Bois, “during my school days, strikes were regarded as futile and ill-advised struggles against economic laws; and when the government intervened, it was to cow the strikers as law-breakers,” (1975, 53). Though time had gained some sympathy for the strikes of various laborers, overall, industrial capitalists had control over all aspects of industry, including the laws and “scientific and ethical boundaries of industrial activities,” (2010, 128). Moreover, Du Bois argued that the influence on politics and the various business decisions that are made are for capitalists’ benefit regardless of the good to others; placing themselves outside of the bounds of democracy all together (2010, 128).

Though it may seem that Du Bois is making the argument that resolution of class issues alone will resolve racial issues, he is not. While class is a part of the process of exclusion, whiteness becomes key and critical for its maintenance; meaning working class Whites have to buy into the idea as well, which they do

through the manipulation of work, wealth, and wage (2010, 128). Using Reconstruction to discuss this matter Du Bois writes,

The opposition based its objections on the color line, and Reconstruction became in history a great movement for the self-assertion of the white race against the impudent ambition of degraded blacks, instead of, in truth, the rise of a mass of black and white laborers...The result was the disfranchisement of the blacks of the South and a world-wide attempt to restrict democratic development to white races and to distract them with race hatred against the darker races. This program, however, although it undoubtedly helped raise the scale of white labor, in much greater proportion put wealth and power in the hands of the great European Captains of Industry and made modern industrial imperialism possible (2010 115).

This democratic development of the White race meant, in Du Bois' analysis, a manipulation of labor in which Black people were excluded from other work, encouraged into labor, but paid lower than the average White laborer, which would help to "restrain the unbridled demands of white labor, born of the Northern labor unions," (1975, 74). These demands are rooted in the theory of exclusivity and American capitalism. As stated, the practice of American capitalism is taking and claiming ownership of the raw materials in the lands of people of color, while systematically excluding them from further involvement in the economic process. This economic mentality is coupled with the social concept of a theory of exclusivity, gives hope to lower class Whites of access into the club of exclusivity based on their race, alone. They seek to protect this marginal exclusivity by eliminating any possibility of interracial, intra-class alliances with Black people. In short, they are aligning themselves with concepts of wealth and democracy by aligning themselves with whiteness.

People of color can achieve liberation through modified economics. Du

Bois believed with strategic thought that Black Americans could manipulate the present economic system to their social benefit. The first strategy to tearing down the Veil and the color line was economic. Du Bois states,

The progress of the white world must cease to rest upon the poverty and the ignorance of its own proletariat and of the colored world. Thus, industrial imperialism must lose its reason for being and in that way alone can the great racial groups of the world come into normal and helpful relation to each other (1975, 171).

Aware, that unless there was a larger change in multiple institutions, such as education, it was going to take time before the uncoupling of whiteness and progress could be made, Du Bois presented a secondary solution. That solution was to make use of forced segregation to advance economically not by copying the present structure of American class systems. Du Bois states, “we cannot follow the class structure of America; we do not have the economic or political power, the ownership of machines and materials, the power to direct the processes of industry, the monopoly of capital and credit,” (1975, 192). Instead Du Bois suggested using the present economic segregation to form a cooperative. Economic segregation was necessary for “sufficient income for health and home; to supplement our education and recreation, to fight our own crime problem; and above all to finance a continued planned and intelligent agitation for political, civil and social equality,” (1975, 197). Moreover, the economic segregation would be based on the role of African Americans as consumers. Du Bois writes,

The American Negro is primarily a consumer in the sense that his place and power in the industrial process is low and small.

Nevertheless, he still has a remnant of his political power and that is growing not only in the North but even in the South. He in addition to his economic power as a consumer, as one who can buy goods with some discretion as to what goods he buys. It may truly be said that his discretion is not large but it does exist and it may be made the basis of a new instrument of democratic control over industry (1975, 209).

With further detail on the cooperative form for Black economics, Du Bois writes,

Outside of agriculture the Negro is a producer only so far as he is an employee and usually a subordinate employee of large interests dominated almost entirely by whites. His social institutions, therefore, are almost entirely the institutions of consumers and it is precisely along the development of these institutions that he can move in general accordance with the economic development of his time and of the larger white group, and also in this way evolve unified organization for his own economic salvation (1975, 210).

Much of Du Bois' plan depended on his belief that capitalism was coming to a global end; or at the very least an industry based on consumer wants and not the desired profits of the capitalist would supplant the present model. Du Bois saw that most African Americans could create their own environment for survival: growing food, building homes, creating and mending clothing, and even raising some raw material like tobacco and cotton (1975, 210). Du Bois envisioned areas where Black people lived together exchanging skills, growing food, building homes, etc. for their own use and purposes. This would eventually lead to building capital to "further take over the whole of their retail distribution, to raise, cut, mine and manufacture a considerable proportion of the basic raw material, to man their own manufacturing plants, to process foods, to import necessary raw materials, to invent and build machines," (211). What could not be handled alone could easily be purchased wholesale with the accumulated capital. Moreover,

industry could be directed specifically to the wants and needs of Black consumers, with the transfer of labor to address those needs.

The key concept that Du Bois presents in his idealist new economy is ownership. Presented in *Souls*, Du Bois, in discussing the character of American civilization in relationship to the oppression of sharecroppers, makes a connection between ownership and civilization. Meaning those who can own or do own property are considered to be civilized (1999, 112). Ownership, specifically private ownership, is a key concept of capitalism, and capitalism is the basis of the American economy. Participation in the economy gives one access to certain political structures, the more one owns, the more political power one has. Black Americans had been excluded from this. Du Bois wants to see the dismantling of capitalism, because it promotes the power of the few, which is not a true democracy. Thus, collective ownership of industry leads to equality in the economy and greater spread of democracy nationwide. By promoting collective ownership among Black people first, Du Bois was positing the idea that (1) Black people would be economically ready for the overall shift in economic systems that Du Bois believed was inevitable; and (2) Black people would have the time, space, and finances to cultivate themselves culturally without being beholden to white America who consistently thwarted their chances of advancement, as that advancement often meant entering what is considered to be spaces exclusive to White people. Thus, the purpose of this economic segregation was ultimately to provide Black Americans the financial capital to

fund their cultural advancement, which was of the utmost importance to Du Bois (1975, 199).

Education can be used for racial and national uplift. Du Bois understood the role of formal education, both public and private, in three ways. First, formal education was the way in which Americans were enculturated. Second, because education was a place of enculturation, it was also where oppression was taught in that both White and Black students' instruction was informed by the ideological tenants of whiteness. Lastly, despite the oppressive possibilities, education was the key to not only the social, political, and economic uplift of Black Americans, but also the country in general.

Anthropologists began focusing on the formal education systems of complex societies, like America, during the mid to late twentieth century; and thus explained that the school is where American children learn both implicitly and explicitly codes of conduct for their adult selves (i.e. Kimball 1974; Borrowman 1968; Brameld 1973; Brogan 1968; Herskovits 1968; Khleif 1971; Mead 1968; Spindler 2000b, 2000c). Du Bois too recognized formal education systems important role in enculturating American citizens. Du Bois, in *Dusk of Dawn*, recalls the intricate intersection of economics, politics and education. He states that the late nineteenth century, as he was growing up, was considered the Progressive era (1975, 25). Progress at that time meant,

Science was becoming religion...wealth was God. Everywhere men sought wealth and especially in America there was extravagant living; everywhere the poor planned to be rich and the rich planned to be richer; everywhere wider bigger, higher, better things were set down as inevitable. All this of course, dominated education;

especially the economic order determined what the next generation should learn and know,” (27).

Here he shows the ways in which economic ideals are taught to future citizens, but moreover, how the essential role the economy, particularly America as a capitalistic based economy, plays in undergirding American cultural identity; only second to war. Du Bois demonstrates how education, as in any institution, is connected to other institutions. In Du Bois’ writings one can see that race and the ideology of whiteness can be and has been taught, both implicitly and explicitly in classrooms.

One of the most damning ways of using education to implicitly oppress Black Americans is in the limits to the *kind* of education they can receive. This viewpoint is probably what Du Bois is most known for as it is often framed as the divide among Black people of his time, between followers of Booker T. Washington and his “Tuskegee Machine” and Du Bois. Du Bois first positioned himself in opposition to Washington’s line of thinking in *The Souls of Black Folk*, in which for an entire chapter he discussed what he saw as faults in Washington’s plan for Black social, economic, and political progress (1999). Central to Du Bois’ argument against Washington was that Black Americans needed to be educated to fulfill jobs that were not just industrial and service jobs, moreover, Black people should pursue higher education (1999). He states,

They advocate, with Mr. Washington, a broad system of Negro common schools supplemented by thorough industrial training; but they are surprised that a man of Mr. Washington’s insight cannot see that no such educational system ever has rested or can rest on any other basis than that of the well-equipped college and university, and they insist that there is a demand for a few such

institutions throughout the South to train the best of the Negro youth as teachers, professional men, and leaders (1999, 54).

It is not that Du Bois was wholly against industrial training, but he had a theory of the whole person being trained in overall culture in addition the specific tasks and jobs for which they are most suited (1999). On this matter Du Bois writes,

But these builders did make a mistake in minimizing the gravity of the problem before them in thinking it a matter of years and decades; in therefore building quickly and laying their foundation carelessly, and lowering the standard of knowing until they had scattered haphazard through the South some dozen poorly equipped high schools and miscalled them universities. They forgot, too, just as their successors are forgetting, the rule of inequality; —that of the million black youth, some were fitted to know and some to dig; that some had the talent and capacity of university men, and some the talent and capacity of blacksmiths; and that true training meant neither that all should be college men nor all artisans, but that the one should be made a missionary of culture to an untaught people, and the other a free workman among serfs. And to seek to make the blacksmith a scholar is almost as silly as the more modern scheme of making the scholar a blacksmith; almost but not quite.

The function of the university is not simply to teach bread-wining, or to furnish teachers for the public schools or to be a centre of polite society; it is, above all, to be the organ of that fine adjustment between real life and the growing knowledge of life, an adjustment which forms the secret of civilization (1999, 80-81).

This viewpoint would extend into Du Bois' concept of the Talented Tenth for which he was and continues to be heavily criticized, despite his readjusting of this idea. While Du Bois' opinion on labor, access, and education shifted somewhat over the course of his life and experiences, at the core of the above statement is the idea that Black Americans should not be limited to one selection or the other: industrial school or liberal arts. Common schools, or as they are called now, grade schools, should be truly foundational to every citizen, including

Black Americans. Grade school should be the time to instill culture of the highest form and for Du Bois that meant “Patience, Humility, Manners, and Taste,” (1999, 82). Thus, the carpenter can have an appreciation of art even though he may not know all the technical terms and doesn’t necessarily want to be an artist. Moreover, everyone can appreciate the roles that they are taking up in society and understanding that each role is helpful and necessary.

Du Bois critiqued the American education system overall as preparing people to learn only for profit, specifically, university training was a way to get paid the most, and Du Bois abhorred this idea (1999, 79). Thus, the core of Du Bois’ critique of the state of education for Black Americans was rooted in his lifetime critique of American capitalism. In schools, particularly grade schools, students were being taught the importance of acquiring wealth. Addressing the Southern school system specifically, though he would later apply this critique to even his own education in Massachusetts, Du Bois writes,

For every social ill the panacea of Wealth has been urged, —wealth to overthrow the remains of the slave feudalism; wealth to raise the “cracker” Third Estate; wealth to keep them working; wealth as the end and aim of politics, and as the legal tender for law and order; and, finally, instead of Truth, Beauty, and Goodness, wealth as the idea of the Public School (1999, 76).

Again, in *Darkwater*, Du Bois discusses the failure of education to develop the whole person stating,

There has arisen among us a movement to make the Public School primarily the handmaiden of production. American is conceived of as existing for the sake of its mines, fields and factories, and not those factories, fields and mines as existing for America. Consequently, the public schools are for training the mass of men as servants and laborers and mechanics to increase the land’s industrial efficiency. We cannot base the education of future

citizens on the present inexcusable inequality of wealth nor on the physical differences of race. We must seek not to make men carpenters but to make carpenters men (1999, 161).

Beyond not being ideal for society, according to Du Bois, this type of ideology was particularly harmful to Black Americans in a society that was shaped by whiteness. As whiteness, education, and class intersected for Du Bois, an ideology of wealth first would see Black people suffer ultimately because of the color line and as Du Bois later writes because of the American theory of exclusivity. Du Bois worried that because of their centuries of enslavement Black people were behind on general fundamentals of social living which included concepts of thrift and saving, understanding the overall political system, history, and most of all how to read and write (Du Bois 2010; 1999, 93). Rather than having Black students learning these skills, common schools focused on industrial training resulting in a Black population still in a state of ignorance at no fault of their own.

In terms of economics and general race prejudice, Du Bois recognized that even if Black people accepted industrial training exclusively, they would not advance socially or politically. This, as he writes in *Souls of Black Folk*, was already evident in 1903 as disfranchised Black people were relegated to a legal category of civil inferiority, as money was steadily withdrawn from institutions that supported Black people's social betterment (1999, 52). Moreover, Du Bois saw fault in solely aiming for equality through participation in American capitalism because, central to it, was a philosophy of progress and exclusivity, which promoted the building of wealth on the resources and labor of people of color

(1975). In order to successfully participate; they too, if able, would have to build wealth off the backs their own people.

Finally, Du Bois was against limiting industrial education as the only type of education that Black Americans should receive because it reinforced the ideology of whiteness and exclusivity based on race. He writes,

...and above all, we daily hear that an education that encourages aspiration, that sets the loftiest of ideals and seeks as an end culture and character rather than bread-winning, is the privilege of white men and the danger and delusion of blacks (1999, 90).

Overall, education was used to supply industry and industry was used to maintain whiteness and exclusivity. Thus, for Du Bois education as it was could not create fully cultured humans, and furthermore education that was focused solely on industrial education could not fully craft cultured Black American citizens.

Despite, the challenges of education for Black Americans Du Bois still felt that education (in conjunction with protest for political rights) would lead to overall liberation not only of Black Americans but America in general,

And so, in this great question of reconciling three vast and partially contradictory streams of thoughts; the one panacea of Education leaps to the lips of all: --such human training as will best use the labor of all men without enslaving or brutalizing; such training as will give us poise to encourage the prejudices that bulwark society, and to stamp out those that in sheer barbarity deafen us to the wail of prisoned souls within the Veil, and the mounting fury of shackled men. But when we have vaguely said that Education will set this tangle straight, what have we uttered but a truism? Training for life teaches living; but what of training for the profitable living together of black men and white, (1999, 88)?

By this question, Du Bois felt that not only was a solid, non-industry focused grade school education necessary but higher education was imperative, both

college and vocational training, for the advancement of Black people (and white America) (2010, 163).

Higher education, Du Bois suggested, would provide Black youth who were never born into slavery, the opportunity to explore cultural activities, teach students about a variety of knowledge outside of the Eurocentric American canon, and create wider social circles with other educated Black people, avoiding growing resentment in youth of color as they fought against Jim Crow. Higher education would provide the community with leadership without relying on White benefactors and philanthropists with mixed intentions (1999, 101-02). Thus, education at all levels created whole beings, an opportunity denied to African Americans during slavery and which they were trying to attain.

Discussion and Application

In the above section, I detailed how Du Bois understood race as an institution, the use of whiteness as an ideology, the role of education in social liberation, the intersectional oppression of race and class, and the role of whiteness ideology in shaping social, political, and economic intuitions. In this section I will explain how the aspects of the Du Boisian social theory can be generally used.

The purpose of using the Du Boisian social theory is to help anthropologists studying race ask more nuanced questions as they analyze race as a part of American culture, similar to any other cultural element. As Du Bois has displayed in his writings, if race (and by this I mean racism and racialization) was an abstract force that appeared to happen to people, then he would not have

been able to show how economic and political aspects of American society shape race but some aspects of economics and politics were also designed with race as an institution.

One critique of using the Du Boisian framework is that Du Bois was writing about America during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, surely what he wrote about then does not apply equally to the present. First, at the center of the Du Boisian framework is a timeless concept: in racialized societies, the concept of race is a cultural institution that is shaped by and also shapes other culture institutions, and as a cultural institution it is informed by ideology that maintains the hegemonic order of the “race” in charge and that ideology shapes cultural practices that once again maintain the social order. For American society, laws and economics created social customs that made discrimination legal, systemic, and difficult to overcome. In short, whiteness is a system.

By accepting that race is cultural, the anthropologist can accept the role of ideology as maintaining the institution. Whiteness as an ideology is key to the framework. Du Bois’ concept of whiteness allows one to focus first on accepting that White is a race like any other. Furthermore, it forces one to ask not just how whiteness is used in discriminating against non-White people, but specifically ask what it means to be White and what does it mean to be Black, dialogically. Therefore, as an ideology, there is an understanding of meaning and roles; that people are making conscious and unconscious decisions guided by the ideology of whiteness. Thus, analysis of race goes beyond perpetrator and victim to

deeper understandings in the way minorities and non-minorities practice race and live racialized lives.

Acceptance of race as an institution and whiteness as the ideology that provides the framework leads to attempting to understand the daily-lived experiences of a racialized society. This lived experience includes such things as family structure, individual employment, and language usage. What the Du Boisian social theory does is help us to understand that race is not just maintained through individual racism but through systemic action that is replicated by the individual, in short race, racism, and racialization are cultural practices.

What does it mean to say that the Du Boisian theory helps to analyze the cultural web of a racialized life? First, this theory can be used to understand the ways that oppressed people of color attempt to navigate other institutions particularly economics for social and political advancement, despite, as Du Bois asserts, that the current economic systems are built on the oppression of minority people. Furthermore, in understanding any situation of race and class, the Du Boisian social theory understands that in any given cultural scenario, race and class are always in a dialectical relationship. The most recent and obvious example of this is the 2016 presidential campaign and election.

In the 2016 election, political pundits and academics alike performed an election autopsy to understand how Donald J. Trump won not only the Republican primary but also the general election over Hilary Clinton. Despite his status as a millionaire, many poor and working-class Whites felt that Trump was

just like them; the only similarity readily noticeable was whiteness, openly and unapologetically celebrated. More than Trump's win was Democratic astonishment that Clinton was not able to appeal to White women. Campaign strategists emphasized categories of class and gender suggesting simultaneously that race was a settled issue since the election of Barack Obama and that these categories operated separately. Following the election, pundits and academics alike realized that aligning one's politics to an exclusively racial standpoint was important to White people; a way of thinking that is usually associated with minorities, specifically Black people (as people say Black people only voted for Obama because he is Black).

A dialectical examination of race and class from a Du Boisian perspective looks beyond Trump's rhetorical racism. When Trump appeals to working-class White Americans via conversations about bringing back jobs and "making America great again," we understand that the economic dream Trump is selling has nothing to do with actual economic uplift but reimagining a period of time when industrial wage labor did establish economic security for White Americans because as Du Bois has explained, these jobs went through great measures to keep Black labor out. Thus, whiteness, and whiteness alone, connected to job security and economic progress. And that is what Trump is selling, not just a celebration of whiteness, he is selling a way to craft, maintain, and protect whiteness through labor; a process that is the historical root of this country, a process delineated in the pages of Du Bois.

Second, the Du Boisian social theory also helps racial analysis in centering and linking present sociocultural life with historical circumstances, as that history relates to the race and race relations in racialized societies. This is not a new concept in anthropology; however, race as a cultural institution is not broadly used as a framework, and thus current practices of racialization/ racial discrimination are seen as individual carryovers of a problematic past. The necessity of this point of view can be seen when discussing policing, the judicial system, and race.

Police brutality and race have been nationally discussed since the Rodney King beating in the 1990's (though Black Americans have discussed the issue of Black people being unnecessarily assaulted or killed by police officers for years). Issues of police brutality have been framed in the context of the police system as institutional errors are magnified by individual racist and/or corrupt officers. And while the Justice Department during the Obama administration investigated problematic police departments, the impetus behind the initiative was rooted in the idea that of all American institutions, the police system is the only that has become susceptible to racism and with appropriate measures can be fixed. If viewed from a standpoint of race as culture, efforts to limit or remove racial bias in policing would start first, with understanding that in some localities, the police department emerged as a way to control newly emancipated African Americans (Alexander 2012). Moreover, it recognizes that this country has crafted many legislative measures to limit the actions and social progress of Black and non-White minorities in this country (Alexander 2012; Du Bois 1999). Furthermore,

understanding race as a cultural institution would go beyond analysis of historical antecedents to include understanding the enculturation process of how civilians understand the role of the police as well as what is and who is criminal.

For White America, the judicial system is not inherently racist or built for the sole protection of White people. Police are supposed to be upholders of the law and the law is culturally seen as “neutral” and “objective”. Thus, if an officer stops you or questions you, it is because you have objectively caused suspicion in some way; do not break the law or rather do not *appear* to be a law breaker and you will live a life free of unwanted police interaction and accusations of criminality. In high profile cases such as the deaths of Trayvon Martin, Eric Garner, Sandra Bland, Michael Brown, and Philando Castile, where the nation is forced to discuss the intersection of race and the judicial system, discourse about police departments center on the institution of policing itself. Police departments are seen as facilities that heighten or even incubate racism, putting the onus of classifying a criminal based on race on the shoulders of the police alone with the rest of society seeming to float above the racist behavior of police departments nationwide.

These national headline-making incidents also bring respectability politics into national discourse on race and the judicial system. In the cases mentioned above, while the White person is accused of making poor judgments, the Black victim is posthumously accused of “looking” or “acting” threatening, “thuggish”, or simply behaving “disrespectfully.” Had the above victims acted differently then perhaps their deaths could have been avoided. The widespread use of social

media and larger access to smart phones, however, has allowed people to share video -recorded incidents of Black people (and other minorities) having police called on them in the most mundane of situations (playing too slowly at a golf course; not waving at a neighbor when leaving an Airbnb; falling asleep in your dorm lounge; using a charcoal grill in a gas grill designated area) call into question the effectiveness of such games of respectability and force people to acknowledge the issue of racism at the core of these incidents. In these “living while Black” incidents, the larger White public has begun to question the narrative of respectability and wonder why White people use the police as a personal grievance hotline; calling the police on Black and brown people for occupying spaces where it is assumed only White people should be, as the presence of non-White people is seen as threatening. These incidents, put in context with the higher profile deaths mentioned above, have created a discourse of trying to understand what is happening in America with regard to race and ideas of criminality.

Recognizing that race is a cultural institution places all of these issues related to race and the judicial system in a cultural context, first, in charting the historiography of connecting blackness to criminality in law, and then, by examining the cultural practices that Americans are socialized into, forcing researcher and pundit alike to ask the relevant questions, for example, how are White people enculturated into believing that the Black body is inherently threatening, how do we contextualize crime, when does that enculturation happen?

History and culture align for assistance in understanding reactions and resistance to racial practices, be it racial discrimination or challenging what are perceived as harmless assumptions, particularly as those reactions are from Black Americans. Du Bois focused understanding Black American culture as it formed not just from African antecedents, but as people living “behind the Veil.” Early anthropological analyses focus on connecting Black Americans to an African cultural past and present (i.e. Herskovits 1941). The Du Boisian framework, however, assumes Black Americans as having an African identity. Instead, this framework doesn’t ask how is the Black American African, but how do Black people create American identities? Du Bois writes of Black Americans,

He would not Africanize America, for America has too much to teach the world and Africa. He would not bleach his Negro soul in a flood of white Americanisms, for he knows that Negro blood has a message for the world. He simply wishes to make it possible for a man to be both a Negro and an American...(1999, 9-10).

Therefore, this framework opens analysis of African American cultural practices, including consumer choice, use of segregation, de facto and legal, and education practices to understand how Black people create American identities despite systemic denial of that right.

As stated, Du Boisian social theory is a way of analyzing the daily-lived experiences of people living in a racialized society. For this discussion I have focused on Black Americans and the racial dichotomy of black-and-white, as is the focus of this dissertation. This theory is a way of looking at how economics and politics are used to maintain white supremacy, how the ideology of whiteness shapes our political and economic cultural practices, and how

oppressed people develop their identities and formulate resistance within the larger context of racial oppression and exclusivity. This theory can be applied to other racial groups in America and in other racialized societies outside of America; particularly societies that have experienced imperialism and colonialism at the hands of Europe.

Finally, the philosophical contribution that this theory lends that can be used widely, outside of the American context and with any colonial or imperial situation is the notion of *double consciousness*. Many cultures of post-colonial and imperial expansion, experienced living in a society that did not accept them but used their labor, land, and resources: be it in Latin America, or South Africa, India, Papua New Guinea, or Vietnam. Furthermore, the concept of double consciousness takes on new meaning in these neo/post-colonial places, which I did not explore here but suggest for future work.

Conclusion

Gentrification is not typically analyzed as a cultural practice of race. It is seen as an economic force with some racialized results. As presented by the Du Boisian theory, economic practices and race in the United States are inextricably linked. Therefore, any analysis of gentrification cannot mention race as secondary, as is often the case in sociological studies of the process. This theory asks us how has the ideology of whiteness shaped gentrification or created the space for gentrification to exist as a practice, instead of asking *if* gentrification intersects with race. Even if some would like to frame gentrification as primarily an economic process, using Du Boisian theory helps one take the economic

importance of the process of gentrification and then ask: why do the gentrified communities in the United States usually understand, resist, and discuss gentrification solely as a racialized process?

Not only does this framework help to contextualize gentrification as a cultural practice and an expression of the dialectical relationship of race and economics, but it helps to understand that gentrification is rooted in history; the history of the prevalence of race in the political and economic decisions and practices of this country. Moreover, resistance to gentrification is rooted in that same history; a history of creating ways of being when the society you are part of systematically oppresses and excludes you. The theory helps to frame questions about the meaning of resistance and the meaning of space when discussing gentrification and Black identity. Furthermore, the framework helps one understand the ways in which gentrification is a threat to Black American economic survival. Economic instability has historically been a way to marginalize Black Americans in society. In conclusion, Du Boisian social theory helps one ask better questions of data that focuses on race, economics, and identity.

In the following two chapters I will present the ethnographic and historical context of gentrification in Washington D.C., presenting these data with the Du Boisian theory in mind. In chapter six, I will apply the theory presented here coupled with Low's spatializing culture framework in analyzing the ethnographic and historical data in order to understand the relationship between gentrification, education, and Black Washingtonian identity.

Chapter Four

Ethnographic Findings

When asked how she defined gentrification, White, 74-year old Brookland/Woodridge resident, Participant 23, defined the process as rooted in the economic desires of the people at the top: politicians, developers, and other business leaders. She further stated that gentrification was “about symbols and it’s about shiny new buildings, or money, money, money,” it was not about people or building community

Participant 23: Well, I like the term community improvement or community growth or participation and that is so far from gentrification. Gentrification in my view is imposed from the top and we really have little to say about it. It’s a combination of business leaders, developers, and government officials who bring us gentrification. Some might think it grows up from the bottom or its sort of a natural occurrence, but I don’t think so I think it’s by design and it serves some people very well. The people making it happen.

Participant 23’s definition of gentrification is more economic. Moreover, the results of the process could disadvantage anyone who was not considered a person “at the top.” Participant 23, however, was not alone in her characterization of the gentrification process. Participant 24, a native Black Washingtonian in his 60’s, characterized gentrification as the results of a general process of economic destruction, inherent within capitalism, stating, “people don’t talk about these issues in the context of capitalism...there is good capitalism and there is bad capitalism. Furthermore, in his opinion, the current development in D.C. was a sign of bad capitalism.

While Participant 23, Participant 24, and others, viewed gentrification as a top-down process, placing blame on corporations and politicians seeking financial gain, many still framed the process in the context of White/outsider not developer/outsider, as described in these field notes below,

As I was writing, with the windows down, a middle-aged/older 50's or early 60's man asked, "are you going to buy that house," pointing to the one across the street. I laughed and said no but I will be at the open house. He volunteers that, "we need more people like you in the neighborhood." I laughed. I said I know what you mean. I told him I often look at houses in the neighborhood. He proceeded to tell me that it was a good neighborhood, how the metro was nearby, etc. I told him I'm a bit familiar, I go to church down the street. He said oh then you know the neighborhood. I said not really, I just go straight to church. I told him I am actually studying the neighborhood for my dissertation, analyzing gentrification, he nodded. I asked him where he lived, and he told me on Perry. At some point he repeated that the neighborhood needed more people like me. He was Black by the way. I don't know how the conversation ended but it intrigued me. Oh, we talked about the price of the house. He said he was shocked at the price and I said yeah, it's \$800,000 and he said yeah, I'm not sure. I told him I look at many houses in the neighborhood because I like houses. I do and I said it seems most of them are going for that price. He shrugged (Field notes C35-C37).

This interaction was just one example, yet in interviews, even with some who approved of certain elements related to "gentrification" or urban development, many, still viewed gentrification as a process of racial displacement.

Compared to Glass' original 1964 definition, gentrification in America has come to mean the pushing out of Black people by Whites. It has come to code for those who belong and those who do not; who is an insider and therefore owner and who is an outsider, an interloper and therefore an appropriator. Ultimately, "Who is the rightful owner of the city?" is the question embedded within statements about gentrification.

In this chapter I will present my ethnographic findings in order to create the context to answer my research question: how does the process of gentrification shape the institution of education; and what can this intersection illuminate about race, class, space, and identity? Fundamental to answering this question are the following research questions which will be addressed: how do stakeholders (local residents and teachers) define gentrification; what is the materiality of gentrification; and can the urban public school system become gentrified and how?



Figure 1. Advertisement on the side of a new apartment complex near Howard University. Note the image and race of woman used. Also note that the new apartments are not offering anything more than a two bedroom. Photo courtesy of author. 2015.

Ethnographic Context

In order to understand how gentrification affects the school system I wanted to understand how gentrification was defined from the typical neighborhood perspective before creating the connection to education. For this, I decided to focus on Ward 5. Of Washington, D.C.'s eight wards Ward 5 is the most recent ward to experience a strong surge in development. Moreover, of all eight wards, Ward 5 also has the highest number of public charter schools. This is important, as some teachers have marked the presence of charter schools to be an indicator of gentrification.

Within Ward 5 I focused on the Brookland neighborhood. Brookland is an interesting neighborhood. It is more characteristic of a suburban neighborhood in the middle of the city, featuring a strong garden culture, many single-family homes, and minimal apartment living. It was also easily accessible via car and public transit, and, had a very vocal and active neighborhood association. The Brookland neighborhood also seemed to be central in much of the development in Ward 5. To understand how Brookland residents understood the current development and how they defined gentrification, my field work included attending neighborhood events, attending neighborhood association meetings as well as advisory neighborhood council meetings (ANC),³ and walking around in the neighborhood, which included attending local open houses.

³ ANC is a non-partisan, neighborhood body made up of locally elected representatives called Advisory Neighborhood Commissioners. They are a unique feature of the District's Home Rule Charter. The Commissioners, who serve two-year terms without pay, are elected at DC Elections in November in even-numbered years (e.g. 2016). The ANCs were established to bring government closer to the people, and to bring the people closer to government. In addition to providing people with a greater say in the matters

In terms of understanding the connection between gentrification and education, I had access to public gatherings, meetings, and hearings held by the Washington Teachers' Union and District of Columbia Public Schools. I also attended some meetings held by the D.C. Public Charter School Board⁴ and digitally watched D.C. government hearings related to education in the city. Most of them were not ward or neighborhood specifically, but, gave a broader context to the issues related to education in the city.

I also attended meetings that were not Ward 5 specifically, but, were about gentrification all over the city. These meetings were held by well-known community activist organizations including Empower DC and One DC. Also, my field notes recorded interactions and conversation that took place at the Charles Sumner Museum and Archives, a repository for the history of education in the District of Columbia. I volunteered there for a few months in 2016 and have used the resources at the institution for this project.

Participants

I interviewed a small sample size of twenty-seven individuals ranging in age from 30 to 78. The participants in this study were of various racial/ethnic

that affect their neighborhoods, ANCs were intended to end the duplication of effort caused by the proliferation of special advisory groups (www.dc.gov).

⁴ The District of Columbia Public Charter School Board is led by a volunteer seven-member board and is the sole authorizer of public charter schools in Washington, D.C. As authorizer, the board is responsible for creating and maintaining a rigorous and comprehensive charter application process. Additionally, the board provides oversight and support for every public charter school and monitor academic performance and other outcomes such as attendance, discipline rates, and finances.

backgrounds; all were from working middle-class/middle-class backgrounds.⁵ Nearly all were educated beyond high school. In terms of other demographics, nearly forty-eight percent of the participants are Black/African American, forty-one percent White, and eleven percent in the categories of Latino, Southeast Asian, and mixed-ethnicity. In terms of gender, forty-eight percent identified as female and fifty-two percent identified as male. The participant breakdown is fourteen Brookland residents and thirteen teachers. Of the teachers, all at the time of the interview were teaching or have taught in Ward 5 or lived in Ward 5.

Definition of Gentrification

While Glass' definition truly focused on the phenomenon of landed gentry moving from the actual countryside back into the city and revitalizing formerly depressed and dilapidated homes in the city, gentrification in twenty-first century Washington, D.C. was related to Glass's definition but slightly different as race and consumerism intersected in the city. There are several common and yet contradictory themes that appear when attempting to define gentrification overall.

On a whole, gentrification has become an umbrella term to describe the overall movement of White people, not just to the city, but also into all places and spaces that were predominately Black (or non-White).

Participant 25: Yeah so...I do think gentrification is a thing. I think it's something that happens, and I think it's something that, I think it's sort of the flip side of the term revitalization. Yes, you know, back in the 90's when American sprawl was at its worse and most unmitigated, there developed an urgency around rebuilding our cities, reinvesting in our cities, getting people back to the cities. Cities, there's a diversity; cities are a place where people walk and talk and meet each other. Cities are great things. And so I think

⁵ See Appendix A

there was a trend...the policy trend that happened especially with the...environmental justice movement the interest in reinvesting in cities and cleaning up cities and making them a place where people want to live, on those terms white people are moving back to the city that's not necessarily a bad thing. The consequence of that however is the white people... have different economic status, different set of social and economic interests; and fundamentally the tendency is for that revitalization to raise property values, to cause inflation to happen and to push people out who were living there and that's how I think of gentrification. But I don't think gentrification should be defined as, although I just said it, I was being a bit glib, as White people moving in and Black people getting forced out. I don't think we should ignore the racial dimension.

Participant 25's definition of gentrification demonstrates a complicated relationship or complex understanding of race. While Participant 25 wanted to find a way to define gentrification above race, ultimately, he could not escape defining gentrification as predominately a racial process. Participant 25's definition and viewpoint was similar to most of his Brookland counterparts. Brookland residents, predominately White and predominately middle-class, desired to complicate the definition.

Brooklanders

The neighborhood of Brookland began in the late 1880's with the sale of Col. Jehiel and Anne Queen Brooks' estate (Feely and Dempsey 2011). Brookland since then has been a neighborhood of predominately single-family homes attracting mostly middle-class residents including architects, lawyers, professors, and the like (Feely and Dempsey 2011). Moreover, Brookland since the 1880's has been fairly mixed-race, with many of Washington, D.C.'s Black leadership building and buying homes in the area. This is not to say that the Brookland neighborhood was a paragon of racial tolerance, but the Black middle-

class was able to live comfortably in Brookland and it is this history that today's Brookland residents find pride (Feely and Dempsey 2011).

Though Brookland was already a middle-class enclave, by 2007/2008 it was experiencing an increase in development of multi-use properties (developments that are both residential and retail/business), "luxury" apartment and condominium homes, and the restructuring of the local housing marketing (with single-family homes on the market, ranging from \$600,000 to \$1 million). During the time I attended the neighborhood association meetings, there were four development endeavors that residents strongly opposed: a parking deck, a 10-story condominium building, the proposal for changing a widely loved green-space into a multi-use development project, and the closing of a housing project. From the discussions framed around these development projects a consistent theme presented itself: the establishment of an insider versus outsider framework, in which the title of outsider could be ascribed to three types: developers, government, and uninitiated residents. Insiders were described as residents who worked to maintain the character of the neighborhood and cohesiveness of the community, length of time meant nothing to this process, though long-term residents felt that newer residents were typically less invested.

Developers. Of the development projects that were mentioned in neighborhood association meetings, the development of a parcel of land owned by a local university was the one that faced the most resistance from residents. This land at one point served as a campus for one of the university's schools and had fallen into disuse. However, the grounds were maintained, and therefore the local

residents enjoyed the campus for leisure activities and the general verdant ambience it provided. The university, however, wanted to develop the site for much needed profit. Though there had been casual discussions of development on this site, this development project became the intense focus of many civic association meetings beginning May of 2016 (continuing to the present) when officials of the university began to enter pre-planning phases.

The center of the Brookland neighborhood's concern was destruction of the core characteristics of the community. In the opinion of the residents, the neighborhood was a "calm neighborhood" and family oriented with detached single-family homes, and plenty of green space and wildlife that residents could enjoy for leisure, family time, and community get-togethers,

The Brookland neighborhood wants to be a part of and slightly in control over the development of the property: 1) because the development would ruin the view and feel of the neighborhood. This area of land is nice and green, full of trees and wildlife. People lay out on the grass and walk about, etc.; depending on the type of development that would change; 2) if they [developers] are going for condos or townhouses that would cause congestion in this otherwise calm neighborhood area (Field notes F5).

Additionally, residents still wanted to clarify that they were not against development, rather, they were against the way development was done; they were opposed to unilateral development without thought and planning for current residents and the overall future of the neighborhood.

Participant 13: People don't like change and you know. The development, there's been so much so fast that it's you know even if everything else was the same all a sudden, their talking about putting a 10-story building behind our house area and they already put 400 apartments down the street. So, they're doubling our ANC population overnight. Well, we're all upset about it because it's going to complete change our neighborhood.



Figure 2. Street view of Monroe Street Market Apartments. Photo taken by author, 2015.

Brookland residents wanted “more single family detached housing in line with what is already present in the neighborhood” in order to maintain the flavor of the neighborhood (Field notes F6). Residents desire to maintain the flavor of the neighborhood surrounding the proposed development location was based on previously disappointing development. Brookland had already experienced what unchecked development of a university property could look like in the Monroe Street Market Apartments (apartments created from land owned by another university in Brookland).

Development in D.C. is characterized as transit focused density. Thus townhouses, apartments, and condominiums are being built near each other in close proximity to metro subway stations. This characterizes the Monroe Street Market apartments, and from the conversations about the University property, many residents didn't like the Monroe Street Market property and feared that a similar collection of structures would be built in the heart of the neighborhood.

The development on the University property and the Monroe Street apartments were not the only places of proposed and already completed development that residents voice animosity towards. Brookland residents were actively resisting the wanton development of a 10- story apartment complex near the Rhode Island Row apartments.

The Evarts street project was a proposed building that bordered the edge of Brookland. The building was already under construction but still incurred dispute. The disagreement: the eventual height of the property and the lack of infrastructure present to support that apartment and the multi-unit Rhode Island Row apartment already present.

Participant 14: We believe the infrastructure is not in place to make that rapid of an increase of the population.

Participant 13: It doesn't matter that it's right next to the metro...I understand and it's a great idea that you are putting places close to the metro, great, that's wonderful, but how are they going to get there. They're gonna have cars, I don't care if they're by the metro or not. There are no sidewalks, literally.

Moreover, the developers were asking city council to approve of the closure of an alleyway that current residents used to access their homes (Field notes F11-12).

Additionally, the 492-unit complex was going to add more traffic to an already highly traveled street.

The rapid development was changing the character of the neighborhood in multiple ways, prefacing single, young people over older people and families.



Figure 3. Construction of Evarts building project seen from Rhode Island Ave. Photo taken by author, 2017.

Moreover, the common theme among detractors of both the University property and the Evarts street property was that the developers were intent on destroying the community by destroying the look and feel of the environment with “one off” projects all for the sake of profit (Field notes E59); and no concern for the future cohesion of the neighborhood and community. Additionally, transparency was an issue. Residents who were detractors of the Evarts street apartments complained

about the developers not doing their part in keeping open communication with the residents. They were accused of avoiding community meetings and in general not attempting to listen to and consider the concerns of Brooklanders.

Developers were the true perpetrators of gentrification. They destroyed community and their greed caused people to be pushed out because they could not afford the base luxury standard.

Participant 2: D.C. is becoming a place where it's kind of a developer's playground. When someone is selling a house and they see an all cash offer, they're going to take that even though there may have been other offers for actual families that want to live in that house. All the developers are buying houses then turning them to condos or something else because it's very money driven, money oriented.

Participant 25: I think of gentrification in its worst form as the kinds of developments that the Civic Association has been working on fighting, which is these mega, high-end apartment and condo complexes, where there's no interest, they're leveling existing housing stock, or leveling existing buildings, they're building these giant things, where every apartment is at least two grand. And, yes, the city has an affordable housing policy, if you have more than ten units generally ten percent of them have to be affordable housing. It's pretty minimal frankly. I don't know if that existing policy is doing all that much to protect economic diversity. I don't think the city is doing nearly enough.

Brookland residents' definition of gentrification was most clearly articulated in their support of the residents of the Brookland Manor apartments.

Brookland Manor is a 535-unit affordable/subsidized housing building, featuring 4- and 5-bedroom apartments. The building had been sold to developers in favor of a mixed-used construction featuring condominiums, apartments, townhouse, and retail—1700 new units in total. Furthermore, developers had been accused of creating petty leasing issues with residents in

order to speed up eviction and keep residents from moving back into the allotted subsidized units when the project is complete (Duggan 2016; Frazier 2017; Goldchain 2017).

While the Brookland Manor Tenant Association didn't speak to preserving a general "flavor" in the same way the neighborhood civic association did, what both organizations shared was the idea that the current state of development was not only making the area less affordable to live but destroying *community* by destroying families and places where families can live (Field notes E47-49). Following D.C law, the developer has allotted 373 units as subsidized housing (Goldchain 2017). Still those units are proposed to be no bigger than 2-bedroom apartments, perhaps 3-bedroom apartments, disrupting family units who were able to keep multiple generation under one roof with the former 4 and 5-bedroom apartments. Thus, whether it was keeping large subsidized apartment rentals for families or maintaining the single-family home stock, Brookland residents seemed to see gentrification as a process that was promoted by developers and was anti-community and family. Most guilty of committing the sins of gentrification were the politicians who seemed to allow the developers to do what they wished.

Politicians. Local ward representatives were seen in two ways: as hands-off people who did not take an interest in the current state of development or as greedy individuals who “sell-out” the people of the city for economic gain. The Brookland residents were particularly disturbed with their ward representative; and a local council member who lived across the street from the University



Figure 4. Brookland Manor Apartments. Empty, residents evicted. Photo taken by author, 2017.

property, and didn't seem to share in residents concerned for over-development.

Residents believed that local politicians were the promoters of the various development projects, with the implication that greed and personal gain were the motivators (Field notes E68). Politicians, however, are aware of the community dislike and distrust. In one ANC meeting, Ward 5 representative Kenyan

McDuffie was invited, in hopes of allying residents' fears over the University property. Some didn't think he

would show up, but he did.

He tried to voice that he

understood the community's

concern for the green space

and the environment. When

asked why everything is a

townhouse, he replied that

the market just wasn't there

for single-family homes.

Despite this, apparent

sympathy, concern, and

explanation of the market,

many residents continued to

place blame for developer rule

on the shoulders of the

politicians.

New Neighbors. Brooklanders characters new neighbors in two ways. The first characterization is renter. In some of the BNCA and ANC meetings, residents, particularly older residents who had lived in the city for more than 15 years or were native to the city, saw a dichotomy between the renters and owners.

Renters are not necessarily people who are renting apartments but are viewed

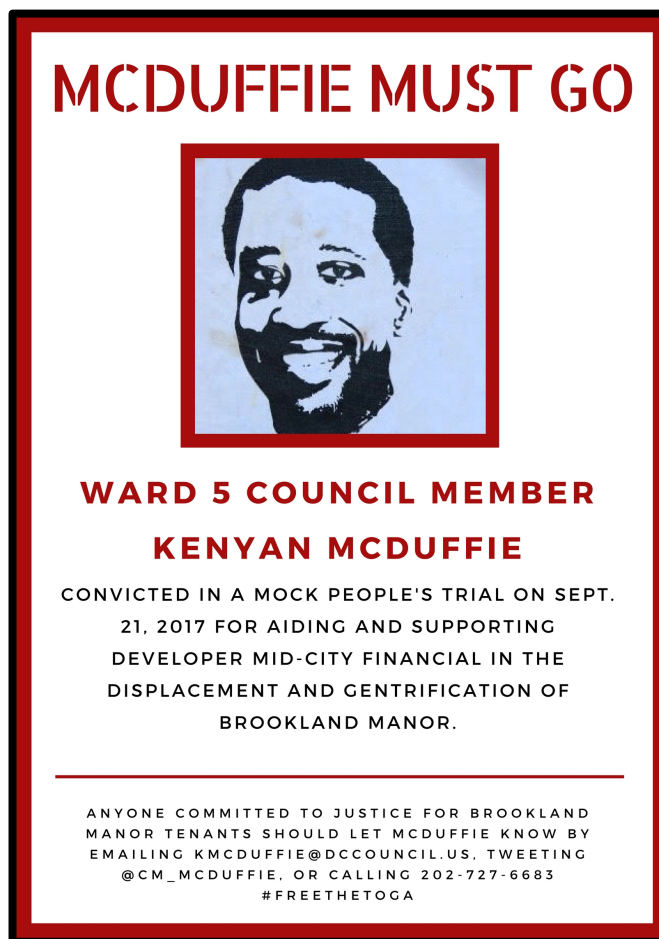


Figure 5. Poster criticizing Ward 5 council member. Image courtesy of One D.C.

as being people who see Washington, D.C. as a layover and temporary location, until one decides to officially settle down in a different area. Development was seen to be largely shaped by the perceived wants and needs of this group; who are typically, White professionals, 20's to mid-30's, non-natives of the area, who are usually single and without children.

Participant 13: I see myself, gentrification of age discrepancy. Where you have a huge amount of people your age and I guess we're empty nester and you got a huge bunch of empty nesters coming in and the people in between. There's a huge number of the younger people coming in and not so many of...the age of the population changes the city dynamics a lot. The services the things that are available. A bunch of young kids aren't going to care about the schools, they're not going to care about the parks. They might care about the sidewalks because they don't drive cars.

Though some of these people have purchased townhomes, the architecture of the townhome does not fit into the community in the same way a single-family home does. These structures, the multi-unit apartments and rows of townhomes seem to be "boxes" for people to live in instead of being homes in a larger community (Participant 13).

The second characterization of a new resident is a person who doesn't want to be part of the community. While this is embedded in the concept of renter, it can apply to a person who is a homeowner.

Participant 18: The gentry are the people that have no long-term investment in the neighborhood.

Participant 17: People have to buy the homes, have their kids then move out. That's gentrification. Even though they left that was gentrification, and they made a big profit. They wanted a place to be but it couldn't possibly serve their fancy needs. They never worked to develop the community. They had no intention of doing that.

Therefore, commitment to the community was important and set a person outside of being a gentrifier. People who came into the community, bought property only to leave the area once it no longer “served” them were similar to developers. They were invested in only themselves and their economic interest and not the neighborhood: how to make it better and how to have it thrive.

Educators

With a clearer understanding in the multiple ways that gentrification can be defined, I then wanted to understand and contextualize how educators defined gentrification, ultimately leading to a larger understanding of the intersection between gentrification and education. For teachers, gentrification was largely defined in the ways that Brookland residents defined the process. Teachers, overall, viewed gentrification as an economic process that ultimately displaces people who do not have economic advantage. Moreover, gentrification was seen as capitalism gone wrong, similar to the description most Brookland residents gave.

Participant 26: I define gentrification as the revitalization of an area but it pushes one group out and it opens up, I guess a pocket where one specific group will be and it doesn't allow for diversity because a lot of the people are all of the same income bracket, it pushes the poor people out and allows for more wealthy people to move in but it lends the opportunity for the people that were pushed out to move back into the area.

Participant 7: Gentrification in my opinion is when the city moves towards a more upper class, middle-class, community. They jack prices up, typically rent and they justify it by bringing stores and entertainment and things that most people who have the means to afford it can actually afford. And the folks who were there initially are forced out because they can't afford the new rate for rent.

Participant 11: Gentrification is a complex system of processes that kind of leads to displacement, what keeps it from just being

development is it leads to the displacement of a population that especially in a city like DC that have been historically ignored, disadvantaged, I guess. From like rising rents, rising prices, and things like that. Sometimes I mean direct displacement like knocking down public housing and refusing to rebuild it...it's not just the natural rise and fall, I mean sometimes it's literal destruction of homes and their refusal to deal with it. I think I don't know; some people call it a natural process but I don't know if I agree with that. I think it's been fostered by the government and people who see easy money on government land in particular.

Despite the similarities in overall definition of gentrification, when discussing race in connection with gentrification, teachers' definitions were split very clearly along racial lines. Most White teachers wanted to find a way to separate race from the process of gentrification, in the sense that they did not want to define gentrification as 'white pushing out black'. When asked however, if they viewed themselves as a gentrifier they said this,

Participant 10: I've had to struggle with that question a little bit. I mean on the one hand working in a place like, this, I want to say no but on the other hand that's clearly a part of it. I consider myself middle-class and we moved into a neighborhood that has been historically African American and it was only a couple of blocks away from the public housing complex there, Brookland Manor, but moving here the rents being so high and we were only on one income because my wife was in grad school it felt like that is what we could afford at the time. So, from a personal standpoint I was trying to do what was best for us. But whenever one does what's best for them it can still create problems for everybody, so I think yeah.

Participant 11: Yes. White woman who bought a house in a predominately African American neighborhood and walk my little dog around and go to coffee shops. I like to think I'm very conscious of my choice. I mean I got lucky in that I found a house from a person who had not been forcibly removed from it, who actually still lives in the area. So, I stay in touch with them. I don't know. I try to be conscious, but I also recognize I wanted to live where I wanted to live.

According to the Brookland residents' definition of gentrification these two participants should not be considered gentrifiers because these White teachers expressed investment in their neighborhood and in the larger D.C. community, particularly since they were educators in the public school system; yet they still defined themselves as such based on race and the colloquial definition that gentrification which centered on White people moving into formerly Black neighborhoods and pushing out those Black residents. Moreover, teachers focused on the displacement aspect of gentrification, both in terms of race and economics. Of course, the typified development in the city, as described by Brooklanders, led to displacement and Brooklanders recognized this. For Brooklanders, however, neighborhoods aesthetics and function were the aspects of community life most affected by gentrification and of the most concern to the community. For teachers, displacement of poor people who were almost always Black was the dominate focus of the definition of gentrification. In short, most teachers defined gentrification as an economic process but one that almost always negatively affected Black people.

Participant 12: And of course, the city had changed tremendously because the electorate or the populace is less Black than what it was when I moved here and that's because of gentrification. I define it as the removal or the dislocation of the less affluent residents and the population of residents who are more financially stable who are generally not Black; who are professional people, who can afford the real estate.

Teachers' continued intersection of race and class in the definition of gentrification comes from their experience of seeing the results of people being pushed out. As stated, Washington, D.C. like many other major cities faces a

homelessness crisis due to a lack of affordable housing. Though many new development projects are planned to include a certain percentage of affordable units, the number of market rate housing options are far greater than the affordable ones (Austermuhle 2016). Homelessness is not an abstract concept for many teachers; they deal directly with the results of teaching homeless children. It is

estimated that over 4,000 students in D.C. Public Schools and D.C. public charter schools are homeless (Rahman 2015; Stein 2018). D.C. Public Schools teachers interact with these realities daily.

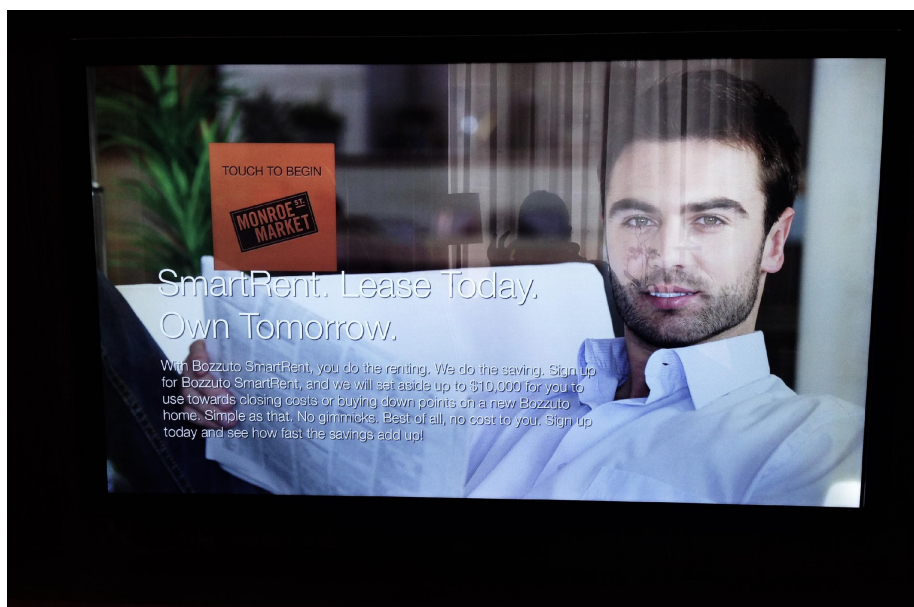


Figure 6. Photo inside Monroe Market Apartments from computer screen in lobby. Note race of man advertising for renting that leads to purchasing of townhouse from same company. Photo courtesy of author, 2015

In summary, Brookland residents framed gentrification in the context of insider versus outsider. An insider was a person who was invested in the character of the community and the concerns of the people in that community. They had right to live there regardless of race. An outsider was a person who only used the neighborhood without thought for the community. This was a gentrifier and this could be anyone, once again regardless of race. Investment equaled ownership and belonging, which was more important than race. This is

not to say that residents did not recognize the inherent intersection of race in urban development, however, the colloquial context of describing a gentrifier as a White person who moves in did not necessarily suit the community. Teachers still viewed gentrification as an economic process, but an economic process that inevitably and disproportionately affected the lives of Black people. The bounded-up nature of gentrification and race for teachers is more clearly demonstrated when discussing the specific effects of gentrification, discussed later in the chapter.

Materiality of gentrification

The material culture of gentrification is connected to how people colloquially define gentrification. As discussed in the previous section, when asked to define gentrification most participants, resident or teacher, Black or White, tended to lean toward a textbook gentrification definition that focused on developer-led displacement. While teachers implicitly articulated some connection between race and the process of gentrification, their linkages between race and the process are most explicit when pulling together themes of materiality in gentrification.

To engage with materiality, I asked participants if they thought that the development in D.C. was gentrification or general urban development/revitalization. While technical definitions of gentrification varied, most participants knew visually, that the development happening in D.C. appeared out of place. That out of place nature of development represented

gentrification. The material culture of gentrification can be classified into three categories: transportation, living accommodations, and public/social space.

Transportation. In February of 2015 I went to a meeting entitled, “City-Wide Forum on the Displacement at Barry Farms.” I came in on the question and answer session of the forum. The meeting room was tightly packed; despite people leaning against the walls and squatting on the floor, I was able to find a chair (Field notes B21-28). The most interesting contributions during the question-and-answer session came from two people, an 85-year old African American man and a 23-year old African American woman. They didn’t really have questions as much as they had complaints with one general question embedded at the center of their complaint, “*What is going to happen to me in this city?*”

The young woman garnered the most applause when she stood up to speak, especially when she stated that “it wasn’t rocket science” to create affordable housing, particularly if there was money to build bike lanes and pop-up shops. When she said bike lanes, she sort of spat the words out, to which the audience madly clapped. Throughout the rest of the question-and-answer session, where it would have the most parenthetical effect, after someone would speak, she would exclaim, “Let’s not forget about the bike lanes,” and everyone would clap. Bike lanes appeared to be a visual and material marker of unwanted/unnecessary change in a city that catered to some residents and not all.

Simply defined, a bike lane is a lane in the street dedicated for bikes to ride, as they are considered vehicles and not allowed on sidewalks. The positive reaction to the young woman's mantra of "let's not forget the bike lanes" is a response to the obvious political and urban planning push by the District to become more pedestrian and bike friendly. All over the city there are bike lanes and bike share kiosks where bikes can be rented using a credit or debit card (Schneider 2017). Bike share programs are seen as inaccessible for those who do not have a debit/credit card. On bike lanes I wrote,

On a side note, the drive to and from the event was difficult also because of bikers. Ward 1 is covered in bike lanes and you either have people who coast and drive outside the bike lane really slow or you just have completely non-caring drivers who do not obey any rules and weave in and out of traffic or drive on a red light. We encountered both. On the way back the guy on the bike used no hands. He smoked with one and texted with the other. He drove when we had the red light and interrupted a car with the right of way. I have noticed in the places that are "gentrifying" or are "gentrified" you will find miles of bike lanes and you will also find plenty of people on bikes happily using the bike lanes. From what I have observed not just today but overall, mostly young people use the bike lanes and most of them are White (Field Notes B79).

One is not saying that bike riding is solely a White American activity, but the emergence of bike lanes has coincided with the rise of White American residents in the city. Bike lanes became associated with unchecked development in that it was associated with whiteness, youth, and individualism implicit in gentrification. But bike lanes are not necessarily the only aspect of transportation that becomes negatively associated with gentrification.

Brooklanders hoped that the University property project would not become the townhomes, apartments, and condominiums already present; that were built

around subway train stations. Ward 5 has two major subway train stations with surrounding development Brookland-CUA and Rhode Island Avenue, one is located within the neighborhood of Brookland and the other just outside of it. The development is typically referred to as mixed-use development: there is a subway station within walking distance, usually less than a mile, an apartment complex, or a mix of apartment/condominium style housing and townhouses, and businesses usually located on the ground floor of the apartment complex.

This type of development is not only occurring in D.C. but other major cities in the nation, even the smaller towns outside of Washington, D.C. (Austermuhle 2016, b). The goal for urban renewal and design is density. Density describes the overall ways that cities should be full of people, closely living in proximity to each other, their jobs, and their spaces of leisure and fun. Denser cities are pedestrian friendly because the need for transportation is limited because people live near a major form of public transportation and there are a variety of public transport means. Despite living in close proximity to one's neighbor, there is still ample space because cities are able to create more public parks and other greens spaces that might have been taken over by a single-family home or one business (Newman and Kenworthy 2006; www.urbandesign.org). Density in turn helps the environment by limiting urban sprawl. Urban sprawl is the process of an urban population spreading beyond the boundaries of the cities; these places have been called suburbs or suburban areas. People looking for cheaper land, increased residential amenities, and decreased congestion, move to areas outside the city, effectively creating

suburbs. These people stay connected to the city through personal automobiles and increasing construction of highways. Because of the early trend of urban sprawl into areas that were more connected to nature, urban sprawl is believed to be a factor in excessive energy use, pollution, traffic congestion, infringement on wildlife, and a decline in community distinctiveness and cohesiveness (Bugge 2011).

Participant 3, a man of South Asian ancestry and computer scientist considered himself an in-between gentrifier because he was raised in Northern Virginia but owns a house in Brookland. He is a staunch supporter of a more pedestrian friendly city. His idea was economic and environmental. Why make D.C. easily accessible for people who only come into the city to work but do nothing else, especially since there is no commuter tax. He further explains,

Car traffic is inefficient; cars are inefficient. They don't scale, you're always gonna have, as long as roads are free and parking is plentiful and essentially free you're always gonna have this...where people fill it all up. That's why I'm with the BNCA [Brookland Neighborhood Civic Association], because having that big plentiful parking right there will increase the number of people that drive...Highways just don't work anymore. And you can widen these roads all you want, it's not going to fix it. There's always gonna be this tragedy of cause and effect where if you build it wider, they'll just have more things being built on the other side unless you force things to the center.

He wasn't the only resident of Brookland that believed in density and denser cities. At an advisory neighborhood council (ANC) meeting that focused on the University property and creating ideas to stop them from building town homes, I wrote,

At the end of the meeting two White men, T and the forest guy, came to talk to me. I think my youth made me approachable as

they were youngish not in their 50's like many of the other people at the meeting. They weren't sure if they were going to be effective but one guy the forest guy commented that ultimately density in the city is better than urban sprawl into suburbs that cut into the environment. This was a point he wanted people to keep in mind, but he dared not state it at the meeting (Field notes F7).

While these residents, Participant 3 and the two men who approached me after a meeting, agreed that they preferred city planning with density in mind, Participant 3 mentioned a concept I had heard at another ANC meeting-- the idea of a commuter tax. At this ANC meeting a representative from the mayor's office spoke about residents writing to the Council to show support for DC employees receiving up to sixteen weeks of paid leave (Field Notes D77). A meeting attendee asked if the paid leave would apply to D.C. residents that worked in a different city. The representative replied that employees who lived in Maryland or Virginia would be eligible for the paid time off if they worked in D.C. This prompted an ANC commissioner to probe about balance and fairness in that those coming to work in D.C. didn't pay taxes while using up resources; the streets, ambulances, and now, the paid leave, and since there was no commuter tax that D.C. could levy on commuters, these people who "come over the bridge" were able to benefit from the taxes of actual residents of the city (Field Notes D 77-78).

While this commissioner seemed to voice a general concern for the lack of taxes commuters into the District pay, the older Black commissioners were not in favor of a city that was not automobile friendly. In a presentation of a new construction project, one commissioner brought up the issue of parking. While appreciating the transparency and the effort to build affordable housing in the

project presented, this commissioner stated that there seemed to be a push with new zoning codes to “divest people of their cars”. Further she stated, that this effort was the wrong position for the city to take when considering that as people’s family status changes or as they age in place, people won’t be able to walk everywhere or take the metro. She then implored the project leaders whether they had looked into possibly having more parking. Ultimately, she approved the project stating she would have to get over the lack of parking, but her comment was similar to other older Black Washingtonians I had casual conversations with in the city—the push for a pedestrian friendly city did not seem friendly for the diversity of lifestyles that existed.

While most D.C. residents are united in their resentment of commuters, they are divided in what the solution to the problem should be. Some residents advocate for a commuter tax; the others suggest making a denser city that promotes multi-use architecture and multi-zoning, thus creating a pedestrian/bike friendly/ public transportation use city. Thus, bike lanes and transportation in the city in general become a framework for discussions about the insider/outsider dichotomy that is embedded in gentrification, which includes age as well as race (though ageism is not completely explored in this project).

Living Accommodations. As stated, the key to the new urban renewal strategy is density. This strategy includes building homes closer together: condominiums, apartments, and townhomes, instead of one house averaging 2,000+ square feet including a large backyard. While density seems like a reasonable idea, especially considering the impact that urban sprawl has had on the natural

environment, living inside a denser city is becoming less attainable as the city continues with this current urban renewal plan.

In interviews and in conversations around the city, people are discussing how living inside of the boundaries of Washington, D.C. is becoming more and more unaffordable. In addition to attending neighborhood meetings, I went to many open houses in the Brookland neighborhood during my fieldwork in order to understand the context of affordability. First, I wanted to understand the nature of the community, the flavor that so many residents spoke of. Second, I wanted to understand the change in the housing market. While building townhomes near metro stations is part of a general urban planning trend, it is also part of a general shift in architectural design based on the perceived wants and needs of consumers. Third, gentrification is said to increase the cost of living, which includes the purchasing of property, so I wanted to understand how the changes in the city affected the price of home ownership in the neighborhood.



Figure 7. Picture of street and for sale sign in Brookland. Photo by author



Figure 8. Green space used by Brookland residents in front of university property. On day photo was taken a child was practicing racing coached by parent. Photo by author.



Figure 9. Row of townhouses behind the Monroe Street Market apartments. Photo by author.

Overall, as stated in many of the neighborhood meetings I attended, Washington, D.C. is faced with the issue of affordable housing (Taylor 2018). According to the D.C. Policy Center, the number of affordable starter homes⁶ has decreased in the city. For a family of four to purchase a home accommodating their need in amount of space, they would need a household salary of roughly \$110,000 to afford the average starter home of \$560,000 or less. Moreover, the study states,

To put this in context, the American Community Survey data tell us that of the 121,101 families in the District of Columbia, about 70,000 families have incomes under \$110,000, 51,000 families make less than 80 percent of area median income, and about 41,500 families make 60 percent of area median income or less (Taylor 2018).

While, in this study, Brookland, including six other neighborhoods, had the largest number of starter homes, although Brookland homes were still quite expensive. Most of the two to three-bedroom houses in the Brookland neighborhood went on the market for \$600,000 to \$1million dollars (see Appendix B). To this, many Brookland residents recognized the increasing unaffordability of this neighborhood and other neighborhoods in the city.

During one visit to an open house in the neighborhood I wrote,

When I left the open house, the neighbor in the house next door asked me if the open house began. I said yes. She came off her porch and asked me how much they were asking. I showed her the papers I had. She was shocked and made a “that’s a shame” smack sound with her mouth (Field notes E42).

This neighbor had also informed me that she paid far less for her home when she purchased it, but she failed to tell me how long ago that was.

⁶ A starter home is a home that has minimal renovations except for what is required. Homeowners can add onto their house as they see fit over time.

While it may seem that new residents to Brookland have a large amount of capital, according to Participant 15, while people were assuming that those who were moving into the city were wealthy, these new people should be understood the definition of the new urban poor because of the large mortgages they were committed to pay,

Participant 15: People are coming in and they're paying much too much money. They're actually poor, the people coming in aren't rich, because I don't see that happening, the people coming into this neighborhood are mortgage slaves. They're enslaved to the mortgage that they signed off on. They're not gentry, okay, they are the new urban poor.

Participant 2: Basically, we're living somewhere, where if you look around there is no such thing as an entry-level house anymore in DC. We have a very expensive city to begin with and if you have an expensive city and every single housing stock there's something with Brazilian hardwood floor and granite countertops; where is the entry-level house where a single parent or a starting family has their carpet and Formica and all the cheap materials. That could definitely help bring down the prices but that's not happening here. Everything is a luxury dwelling.

Participant 2's observation was seen even in rental accommodations.

In March of 2016, I went on an apartment tour of the contested Monroe Street Apartments. The apartment complex had three labeled styles of apartment living: Cornerstone, Portland Flats, and Brookland Works. The Cornerstone apartments have several businesses at the bottom including a local restaurant chain, a Barnes and Noble, a wine shop and a Chipotle. It is advertised as "modern, chic, and contemporary" (Field notes E34). The Portland Flats is a complex located across the street, also featuring several businesses on the ground floor including an artisanal pizza shop, a Potbelly sandwich shop, and a Starbucks. This place is advertised as "elegant". The complex was smaller than

the first and had a chandelier in the main lobby. The third complex was dedicated to working artists, Brookland Works, located in the Arts Walk section of Brookland. Brookland Works was built over top of a mix of businesses, one of which being a bike shop, and several art studios. It was advertised as “industrial chic”. The overall motto of the entirety of the Monroe Street Market apartments was that all of these different styles were part of one expanding community. Behind the Cornerstone apartments were rows of townhomes being built (which as of this writing, are complete),

When we left the Brookland Works apartments I asked about the townhouses being built. The leasing agent explained that Bozzuto was building the townhouses. There is a leasing plan in which as you pay your rent in a Bozzuto apartment, \$300 will be taken out every month to put towards a down payment for a Bozzuto townhome or condo. I asked how many families lived in the apartment and once again the leasing agent stated that she could not give out any demographic information as she did when I asked about the average age in the apartments (Field notes E36).

This area was definitely promoting density and easy access amenities. But this lifestyle was expensive. Though the price listing wasn't available as it varied by floor plan and square footage, a one- bedroom apartment in Cornerstone apartments would cost a person about \$1752 a month, utilities not included; that is \$21,024 a year for rent alone. News reports claim that the median household income is around \$75,000. According to the *Washington Post*, in 2015 the average D.C. resident needed to make a yearly salary of \$108, 092 to live comfortably (according to the article, comfortable is defined as only spending 28-30% of your income on housing), including renting a two-bedroom apartment. Currently, the average D.C. resident needs to make a little over \$80,000 (Moyer

2017; Stein 2015). If the median salary is \$75,000 then a one-bedroom apartment is just within the thirty percent recommendation for comfortable living.

I heard a conversation regarding affordability in D.C. and Brookland specifically at a neighborhood happy hour in Ward 5. The residents in attendance could be classified as middle-class professionals: government employees and teachers. The conversation that I had with them was insightful,

A man sat, this man works for city council. A woman stated, “ You just sat down in front of her.” He said oh, we can include her in the conversation. He then turned and asked if I lived in Ward 5. I said no, I lived in Hyattsville, he said oh well and pretended to exclude me. Then he said no it’s okay and mentioned that he was trying to recruit me into Ward 5. The woman who admonished him is a teacher and is engaged to the city council man. More friends she knew came, one of which was also a teacher. During our chat the bride-to-be teacher asked more information about where I lived, etc. I told them my research. I explained that I was focusing on gentrification in D.C. and the effect on the education system... During the night the city council man tried to recruit me again along with another teacher and a young man named Jasper to live in Ward 5 in general. We all agreed Brookland was a great place to live but no one could afford it. The teacher responded that the houses in the area were becoming too expensive (Field notes C48).

Thus, from this conversation, not only were the working poor excluded from the utopian dense, pedestrian friendly city, but it appears that the working middle-class also perceived this city to be out of reach as well.

Public vs. Private Social Space. There is one trend that I noticed during fieldwork that became indicative of specific types of urban renewal patterns: arts districts. The term *arts district* had become a marker of changing neighborhoods in D.C. and in surrounding suburbs. These art districts feature spaces for artists to work and the general application of the term “art,” for instance in shops that sold “artisanal” wine, pizza, or beer. Thus, these art districts always included a

pizza shop, a fair-trade organic coffee shop, and a themed, organic restaurant. These businesses were local but also national (with larger national chain restaurants attempting to appear local in scale). Beyond the art district spaces, neighborhoods that were “gentrifying” also featured organic grocery stores, yoga shops, and eclectic fusion restaurants. Brookland was similar, though of course there were variations. What all of these things have in common is that they are privately owned.

The division between the public and private space increases with gentrification as the government sells public spaces to private development companies. As stated previously, Brooklanders resist the University property development not only because of the change in the look of the neighborhood in terms of housing but because the space had been used for public recreation for many years. Whether it was walking the dog, or sitting with family to enjoy the day, the property, though always private, had become a de facto park for the neighborhood. Brookland residents did have access to a National Park Service park that was formerly a historic fort, but the University property was different. The University property was well tended whereas the National Park Service (NPS) property often was overrun with trash, poison ivy and other things that made spending a day there unpleasant. In fact, during my fieldwork I spent a day cleaning this fort area as the Brooklanders were committed to keeping the place clean despite the budget shortfalls of NPS. If the University property was developed into townhomes and apartments similar to Monroe Street Market, not

only would there be a loss to the visual “flavor” of the neighborhood but a loss of public recreational space.

When discussing the division between public and private recreation and social spaces Participant 23 states,

Well as I said earlier, gentrification is from the top down and that is not my favorite way of doing things... I think gentrification stimulates privatization and separations and here's an example. I exercise at a community center here in town and I'm the only white person in that class and there are a lot of people, I would say up to 70 people come and go and I mentioned that to [Participant 18], and she stopped and thought and said, the others [implying Whites] go to the gym. And that separation I don't like. Maybe because they have more money, or they wouldn't think to go to a free class I don't know but that's interesting to me.

Places to gather or learn are no longer taking place in public spaces. They are taking place in well-crafted communities in which the people who live in the above condominiums or apartments are expected to take advantage of the “amenities” in the form of retail offered below the units or in the building itself. Monroe Street Market apartments for example offers “ 24-hour fitness centers with yoga studios, cardio theaters, and weights, as well as an express gym; artistic workspaces throughout the community; relaxing lounge, community room, and billiards, extensive libraries with cozy reading nooks, and flexible spaces for community events and private parties” (www.monroestreetmarket.com). While the rest of the Brookland neighborhood can take advantage of the retail below these apartments, these other amenities, things that are also found in shared public places like the community center, parks, and the library, are exclusive to those renting. Thus, a person's neighborhood/community engagement only extends as far as the elevator.

The public/private space dichotomy is connected to the concept of ownership of the city. Who has the right to decide what kind of city/neighborhood exists: politicians, developers, or residents?

Participant 25: And we might not have a lot in common except for the fact that we share this space together and that immediately gives us something very important to have in common. And our day-to-day lives are spent in proximity to each other. I think community ultimately is something that, more and more used as a buzzword by corporations and development interest who want to define community as something they create. Oh it galls me to no end when you are walking by this development and “Welcome to this EYA community” or welcome to this corporate—I mean like am I in a franchise now, am I living in a branded corporate entity...I guess some people can do that but I find it very troubling at a deep, sort of spiritual level. That’s why I love Brookland because we’re not branded. There’s no corporation that has its name plastered on our community.

Politicians and developers are blamed for creating a neighborhood with a corporate identity. The products and services or amenities that the city or any given neighborhood can offer is related to what is perceived as making the most money, not anything that residents might actually need or want; a neighborhood becomes a “branded corporate entity.” What can be found in one area can be found in another as the same developer moves to different neighborhoods in the city taking advantage of and maximizing on the potential profit. Beyond branding of the city, more private spaces also means less public spaces and therefore less public services, and public services are deemed as a citizen’s right. Thus, the answer to the question, who owns the city, seems to residents to be the developers and the politicians who were viewed as being paid off by these developers.

Materiality of gentrification: Educators

Teachers recognized all the above mentioned as indicators of gentrification with one caveat, the materiality of gentrification was classified in terms of race. Moreover, as teachers began to parse through the definition of gentrification in material terms, gentrification become more about race compared to Brookland residents. Amenities such as new restaurants and different shops were classified as things that were not meant for the people already there, Black people.

Participant 5: It's not really for them. Like, these pop-up yoga shops, speaking as someone who does yoga. Like in neighborhoods where they don't really fit in. It's not for them. Like it's for people outside that community or people trying to move into that community. It's not for the people already there. I think they know that, and I think they're waiting for the day they have to leave.

Materiality, or the type of development taking place was seen as being specifically built for White people, not that White people were gentrifiers but that developers were building to attract White future residents.

Participant 22: I came to D.C. you know, when they were calling it Chocolate City. You know you can't call it Chocolate City anymore, so yeah, everything is being built to accommodate the influx of millennials of the lighter persuasion.

The reason for accommodation—the job market had changed significantly in the nation and that was reflected in the D.C. job market.

Participant 16: It's [the development] pushing out African Americans most definitely, cause they can't afford these \$2000 condos and they've changed the city so much. It hurts to see the city change and see you're being left behind. I think that's the reason for a lot of discord. You know people are moving in and as soon as they move in, they're putting in new windows and new doors and they have they're dog park. You see them living well and getting the jobs, and we're not living that. We're being left behind. They're taking over the city and getting all of the jobs.

In discussing businesses as they relate to development, Participant 26 states, “ I see African American businesses being pushed out as a result because, who do you cater to? All of your clientele, they have been moved out.” Participant 7, speaking to a similar concept stating,

Another good thing, the organic market that they just placed there. Because the folks who initially lived there, their income wouldn't permit for them to be able to afford organic food, yet alone have one in their community to even patronize. There is a gym, which is weird because in high African American populated areas, you don't normally see a gym because you don't typically see a bunch of African Americans working out or making it a priority. All types of weird stores, as an African American woman myself I wouldn't typically go there. But I mean it's kind of good to have the diversity, to see something different.

Thus, despite many teachers defining gentrification close to the textbook of Ruth Glass definition as possible, the materiality of gentrification was White because those were the people who used the spaces being built by developers. While gentrifiers might not be classified as only White, the products associated with their presence are classified as such, thus gentrification, through material culture becomes defined as White by teachers.

As an examination of the intersection between material, space, and race takes place, one can begin to see that embedded in people's experience of the process and products of gentrification is a concept of exclusivity and exclusion.

Gentrification and Education

What the various definitions of gentrification exposes is that race sits uneasily in the center of how people experience the process and products of gentrification. These become more explicit as participants begin to make

connections between education and gentrification. Gentrification is colloquially defined as the influx of middle-class Whites into a neighborhood; they buy up neglected property, usually occupied by poor and working-class Black people. The increase in property value due to the newcomers forces the former occupants out. All participants recognized this definition, even if they didn't agree with it or chose to redefine or reshape it. These economic-centered definitions usually collapsed when asked how gentrification affects the school system.

Participant 14: Put it this way. We've lived here seven years. There are a lot of White people in this neighborhood. There's not one White student that goes to this school. There's a Mexican brother and sister but that's it. Because, I mean, I went to school in Fairfax and talking to other people, neighbors, the perception is you do not get a good education in a DC public school.

Even teachers initially view the effect of gentrification on the education system in terms of race and stating that no effect has taken place because the student population is still Black.

Participant 7: I don't really see it here yet (a school in Ward 5) I don't think the gentrifiers who have come here have been here long enough for it to become an issue. The community around here has changed drastically; most of the homeowners are Caucasian young gentrifiers. Some of them are even Black...and they don't have children yet because they're working on their careers. But the ones that do have children, I don't think they feel comfortable enough to put their children in some of these needs improvement schools because it's not there yet and what I mean by there, it's not diverse enough for them to feel comfortable or safe for them to put their children here.

Participant 9: It really hasn't because the White people who have moved into DC, they make sure that their kids go to private schools are in the nicer public schools. Even the ones who live right across from (School), they don't attend. The populations are not changing in the schools at all. I've never taught a White child.

Several interesting points of expansion result from the viewpoint of the participants. First, the viewpoint of individual teachers' ideas of the relationship between gentrification and education seems to be in contrast to that of the teacher's union, that believes, as stated in the introduction, that gentrification is adversely affecting the school system. Second, many of the teachers interviewed saw the city as being taken over by White people. Some may not have said the city was being taken over, but, recognized the high number of White people and the resulting change in the city as something different if not strange. Yet, as the teachers have stated, the public school system in D.C. has remained largely Black and poor/working class. Can a school system be gentrified? Can White people "take over" if such an integral part of the city and neighborhood is still Black? When examining education in D.C. and how it intersects with gentrification, one must go back to teachers' definition of gentrification, which are both equal parts about race and class. For teachers and others invested in the education system of the District, gentrification manifests itself in terms of ageism, race, policy, and privatization.

Ageism and Race. Most teachers who connect negative associations with the rise in White population in the city are veteran, Black teachers. They do not immediately connect gentrification to education but when asked how the school system has changed, consistent themes of age, race, and temporariness emerge.

Participant 20: Now you see a change and what you have is a lot of millennials. Mostly Caucasian, very young, who are down at central office, making decisions about something they have no

experience. But they make decisions, which are regarded very highly by the people who run the system and their like.

When I asked Participant 26, a native Washingtonian, how the school she went to has changed and how has gentrification affected it, she said, “when I went to the job fair, I saw a lot of White teachers there. When I went there, there was an all-Black staff. I don’t know how that has impacted the school. It could be a good thing.”

The introduction of Teach for America (TFA) to D.C. Public Schools is the antecedent connecting ageism and race in the school system. Teach for America is a Participant 19, a native Washingtonian, Brookland resident, and an advocate for the local Brookland elementary school that was threatened with closure around 2009-2010, said this of teachers in the system,

What do we have today in this education system? Well, you have these young, White, Harvard, and Princeton, and Yale, and Brown University teachers coming here at the age of 21. They don’t have a clue about Black children, whatsoever, who fall under the umbrella of Teach for America, who was started a partnership with Michelle Rhee. You come here in this city, you work for two years, we pay your student loan off. What a great deal I’ll do it. Where do I have to work? But that young teacher don’t care about that Black child and whether they learn or not. They’re main concern was getting their student loan paid.

Teach for America, becomes a marker for whiteness, white take over, ageism all considered evidence of and by-products of gentrification. These themes appear again in other teachers’ interviews.

Participant 7: A lot of the teachers that I meet are fresh of the plane from California from Texas, from Louisiana, from Florida. They are younger, a lot of them come from, I don’t want to say Ivy League schools, but some top hitters, and a great deal of them are TFA, Teach for America, and a lot of them are Caucasian. I

remember being in school and the majority of my teachers being older and Black.

Participant 11: Now I'm from the DC teaching fellows program. It used to really be pushed, like take these Teach for America people take these DC teaching fellows people. And I'm noticing a lot of them are going to charters now and DCPS, even in central office⁷, is kind of stepping back from it being a solution and they're not forcing principals to take as many as they use to. When I was young and didn't know any better that almost seemed like a good idea, luckily at some point I realized that wasn't what you wanted a bunch a new people all in a building together. That is not a recipe for success. It's [a school in SE] no longer a dumping ground, which is a little surprising since central office is all Teach for America people.

Participant 22: So, I think when they started having programs like Teach for America, where they sought folk who weren't actually teachers, to come and teach our kids and all of the little bonuses that they offered them to come you know. This is something we talked about amongst ourselves as teachers, folks come in and they'll stick around long enough to get a masters and they can say they worked in an urban setting with students at risk then they have this on their resume then they go out and they're coming back giving you a workshop, telling you how to teach. It's mind blowing. And most of the time it's, you know, folks of the lighter persuasion.

Similar to the critiques of gentrification from the residents' perspective, educators in D.C. see Teach for America as a product of gentrification, encouraging a mentality that DCPS is a layover on the way to better employment opportunities (similar Brookland residents who classified residents who had no investment in the neighborhood as gentrifiers). These participants are usually young and usually White. Moreover, the appearance of Teach for America participants coincided with the beginning of gentrification in the city. Thus, gentrification in the eyes of educators takes the form of young, inexperienced, non-committed White

⁷ Central office is the name of the headquarters of D.C. Public Schools. All the major operating divisions: human resources, evaluations, etc., are located in one office building a mile or two from the Capitol Building.

teachers. This becomes one way that the school system becomes gentrified, particularly if gentrification is defined as a White take-over of Black space.

Policy. Teach for America became a standard in D.C. Public Schools following the collapse of the school board in favor of a mayoral run school system. Former mayor Adrian Fenty dismantled the position of superintendent in favor of a mayoral selected chancellor of schools and that first chancellor was Michelle Rhee. For many teachers, Rhee's time in office did unimaginable damage to an already struggling school system.

At a professional development session, I spoke with a man who used to be a teacher. He mentioned how Michelle Rhee brought the downfall of the public school system with her reliance on test scores to determine the work of a school (Field Notes B14).

Rhee implemented several policy changes in the school system including the creation of a teacher evaluation system that was seen as an attack on teachers, centered on the over testing of students.

Participant 16: [Referring to the school system] It's just gotten mean. I mean blaming teachers for low-test scores. Now he probably saw someone murdered or the kids are hungry, it could be a hundred reasons why a child didn't do so well on that test that day, but it's the teacher's fault. Everything is the teacher's fault. It isn't the mother's fault; it isn't the kid's fault. It's the teacher's fault when he can't pass the test, a test. We need to give him the support he needs, but anything that could go wrong is our fault. And they take points off. The evaluation system that they use is very subjective.

Participant 22: Well, what our kids, when they test, they do not do their best, they just mark anything, so you really aren't getting a true indication of what the teacher is doing. That is not saying that students don't have proficiency. But there are students that can do very well on test and they choose not to because there is no incentive for them to do well, because it's all on the teacher. Everywhere else, the students are the ones faced with the consequences of not doing well but not here in D.C. so there is no


motivation for doing well. It doesn't prevent them from graduating or getting promoted, it doesn't stop anything. That is the attitude they're coming from. I come from a state that tested a lot, testing was not a problem for me, but it wasn't all the time like they do it here. You know the kids are tested out, because I'm tested out. Testing is a set-up. They use that as their data, because everything is data driven, and they use it as data to do what they do.

Participant 11: in an attempt to get wealthier families and whiter families to come into DCPS, there were a lot of schools that got started over, at least at the high school level. You take all the kids out of the school then restart at ninth grade and kind of grow it. And it seemed unfortunately like a way to make certain families feel more comfortable at the school.

The harsh evaluation systems completely based on test scores are viewed, predominately by members of the teacher's union, as being of little benefit to Black students and just a mechanism to get Black teachers out in favor of teachers more appealing to incoming White residents, (Field notes A25).

According to DCPS Fast Facts Sheet, 2017-2018, of teachers in the system, 49.9 % are African American, 32.3% percent are White. This is a decrease, according to the Fast Facts Sheet 2015-2016, 53% of teachers were Black and 36% were White. While there is roughly a 3% decrease, African American teachers are still in the majority. In fact, the percentage of White teachers decreased, however, in the 2017-2018 Fast Facts sheet, there were 6% of teachers who did not identify their ethnicity/race. When looking at the leadership of schools—principals—the percentage is higher: 68.7% are Black and 28.7% are White. This is an increase from the 2015-2016 school year in which 57% of school leadership was African American.

Moreover, African American students represent 60% of the student body, while White students represent 15% of the student population; the second largest



PARCC Measures College and Career Readiness

PARCC Performance Levels	
Level 5	Exceeded Expectations
Level 4	Met Expectations
Level 3	Approached Expectations
Level 2	Partially Met Expectations
Level 1	Did Not Yet Meet Expectations

On track for:
 - the next grade level
 - to leave high school college- and career-ready

Figure 10 . Slid of OSSE presentation about PARCC, from DCPS reports.

group of students is Latinx children representing 20% of the student population. Compared school year

2015-2016, African American students represented 63% of the school population the African American student population. While there is a decrease in the percentage of representation (with White and Latino students' percentages rising by two percent) African American teachers and students are still in the majority in the school system. Teachers didn't mention the increase of White students because they had not seen more White students in their Ward 5 schools. Yet, the general sense among many Black teachers was that they are being gentrified even though they are still in the majority and even as the percentage of White teachers is incrementally decreasing.

In terms of testing, test scores have incrementally increased. The Partnership for the Assessment of Readiness for College and Careers (PARCC) assessment is a nation-wide assessment corresponding to Common Core curriculum and replaced the local assessment the DC CAS since the 2014-2015

school year. The PARCC is an online assessment that tests students 3rd-8th grade in English Language Arts (ELA) and math; and high school students (9th-12th grade) in English II and Geometry and Integrated Math II (later on students were tested in Algebra I and II in addition to the math categories tested). The goal of PARCC is to “measure whether students are on track to be successful in college and careers,” (parcc.pearson.com). Since 2015⁸, the Office of the State Superintendent of Education (OSSE) has presented aggregated, and summarized data on test scores for the public.

While test scores for PARCC have increased since 2015, the disparity between the scores of African American students and White students is large.

		2015	2016	2017	2018
ELA	Ward 3	65.5%	59.8%	69.8%	72.0%
	Ward 5	20.5%	23.5%	26.6%	28.8%
	Ward 8	11.2%	13.1%	14.3%	17.0%
MATH	Ward 3	49.4%	52.2%	58.3%	64.4%
	Ward 5	17.5%	19.4%	22.6%	26.0%
	Ward 8	10.9%	12.7%	11.3%	14.8%

Table 2. Overall ELA and Math score results, scoring Level 4 (OSSE)

The PARCC test is rated on five performance levels. The summarized below data present comparative results of the state, the public charter schools and the traditional public schools of the percentage of students who scored on level 4,

⁸ Consistent presentation of these results did not take place until 2016.

“met expectations” and above. I have presented some key figures in charts below, focusing on traditional D.C. public schools and public charter schools.

Table 2 displays the overall results of the percentage of all students in DCPS and DC charter schools (PCS) who scored level 4 on the PARCC assessment by ward. D.C. has eight wards but for brief comparative purposes I only presented the results of Wards 3, 5, and 8. Ward 5 was the focus of this dissertation project and is the ward that has the highest number of charter schools, has multiple neighborhoods experiencing gentrification, and the majority, over seventy percent, of the residents are Black. Ward 3 is one of the wealthiest wards in the city with no charter schools. Ward 3 is around eighty-three percent White. Lastly, there is Ward 8, one of the poorest wards in D.C. Gentrification in this part of the city is spotty, but generally has not witnessed a stream of middle- and upper-class income, let alone the influx of White people. This ward is 93.5% Black.

	2016		2017		2018	
	DCPS	PCS	DCPS	PCS	DCPS	PCS
Black	15.1%	24.3%	19.9%	24.4%	22.9%	26.6%
Latinx	22.9%	28.3%	29.1%	28.6%	32.0%	32.3%
White	74.0%	75.0%	83.6%	76.9%	83.3%	78.5%

Table 3. Overall ELA results (all students), (OSSE)

Table 3 presents the overall English Language Arts (ELA) percentages; these percentages include all grades tested. I have included the scores of Latinx students for comparison, as they are the next largest group attending D.C. Public Schools. While scores have increased, teachers felt like the policy measures

implemented have not made any significant changes for Black students. While the increase in scores cannot be ignored, when looking at the percentage of students who score 4 or 'met expectation,' African Americans are behind their Latinx counterparts and far behind White students. Though actual benefit versus perceived harm needs to be studied further, it is possible to see the validity in Black teacher's critique of the policies in D.C. Public Schools has implemented.

Privatization. The most obvious connection between gentrification and education that most educators discuss is the selling of public school lands for private use. Once the public school system fell under mayoral control, D.C. government could then make decisions about how to use public-school land. In order to save money, Rhee implemented a policy to close down schools that were under populated. Closed schools were usually sold to developers or to charter school companies.

Participant 11: I've seen obviously a lot of fights over the closing of schools over the past ten years. They've closed like 30 or 40 in two big waves...I've seen the public land get turned into private hands. Usually they would start with a charter school, but some of those schools have been completely taken down and made into condos and things like that. Or like it kind of becomes a park for a while, they promise a school then it doesn't become a school and gets sold to a developer.

Schools often became under populated through "starvation of the school" this occurred by closing down public housing which is also sold, closing group homes, and generally forcing lower income and public assistant dependent families out of the area. With a low school population, the school is shut down (Participant 8; Participant 11). Some community members believe that school closures go beyond low student populations (Field notes C3). In speaking of his

experience resisting Rhee closing down the local elementary school in Brookland, Participant 19 stated,

She was sadly mistaken because I was on post, because I'm a father of five and three of my children went to the school, I was not going to have it not under my watch. So, I galvanized the parents and they voted me as the PTA president we went down, and I took 300 plus community leaders, and activists and grandparents and parents, and fathers and single mothers and we went to testify before city council. And I demanded that the school be removed based on the data; that's what Michelle Rhee said what she runs off of, so we gave her data. Because how do you put schools on the list that the population of the school is down 3% or 5% and that's your reason for shutting a neighbor school down. That's your reason for bringing disruption to a household a grandmother now who has to bus her grandchildren across town so that they can go to school. All they were worried about is shutting the school down and turn it into condominiums.

As Participant 11 and 19 stated, many schools that were deemed under-populated were shut down and sold for private industry, many of them to charter schools.

Participant 22: Charter schools in any other state, well D.C. isn't a state, but in the states they limit the amount of charter schools, but in D.C. it's like its so many of them that they definitely are draining the student population from DC public schools because, and I don't think it's parents necessarily want to send them to a charter school but if it's the closest neighborhood school that's where they'll go. D.C. has relinquished so many buildings to charter schools.

Charter schools are educational institutions that are run independently of traditional public schools. They have the freedom to design their own classrooms and curriculum according to the perceived needs of the student population.

Charter schools operate under a contract with an authorizer, which is usually a non-profit organization, the government, or a university (www.publiccharters.org).

In Washington, D.C., the D.C. Public Charter School Board authorizes charter

schools, which is under general oversight from the Office of the State Superintendent of Education (OSSE), all of which is under the purview of the mayor. This means that in combination with the funds from non-profits, charter schools in D.C. also receive public taxpayer dollars.

Charter schools are viewed as the number one way a school system can be gentrified both from the definition of gentrification as a top down, developer/government dictated process and racially.

Participant 22: But I know a lot of them have been started by other folks, I know there's this big building by Gallaudet [University], KIPP they took over Hamilton School. I taught over there at Hamilton and they have this huge monstrosity of a building and they're still building around there. But the place is humongous, and you know, what municipality gives up all of their land, all of their public school land to other folks like that. I don't understand it.

Participant 12: I think just because they get public dollars that makes them subject to input from the public. I think they are ways for the venture capital to make money.

Participant 11: I think charter schools can become agents of gentrification in that they are a part of the problem of starving public schools and draining resources that could be community based and making them not community based anymore. It feeds into the overall drive of pushing families out either because they didn't get into the charter they want, or they have to go across town to get to the charter that they want. Instead of being able to locally invest in their neighborhood and that makes them not interested to invest in that neighborhood. You don't really see a lot of wealthy white families sending their kids to charter schools. It's not a big draw I don't think for a lot of them. There's a few that are alarmingly white, and you are like how did that happen this is a lottery...But there's a handful and most of them are still pretty segregated. It may contribute to this idea of privatization and that divests from communities and it allows governments to continue to get away with not investing in the community-based institutions that could then help all members of that community. But I don't think they're a draw for, I don't think the families are interested. I don't know if it enhances gentrification because I don't think it's what anyone wants. They want at least an option that is stable.

The ire against charters highlights the multiple layered meaning of gentrification. Many teachers are not sure how to express in words the connection between gentrification and charters, yet they are aware that there is a connection when discussing the selling of public land for private use, be it a condominium or a charter.

What perhaps causes pause for some educators is that part of their definition of gentrification is racial, yet most charter schools do not have a large White student population, as Participant 12 states, “They are generally not placed in affluent communities. They are not necessarily the result of gentrification as they are a result of poverty.” Participant 12 speaks to an interesting contradiction when attempting to formulate a correlation between gentrification and charter schools. Nearly seventy percent of all charter school populations are African American children (www.dcpccb.org). Yet, according to Participant 4, a resident of Brookland and a grandparent with a child in private school,

We have three charters in the neighborhood...I think White kids have exacerbated the opening of public charter schools and I think pretty much the public school system in D.C. is predominately Black, and it is still predominately Black and the White kids go to charter schools, because the charter school is like a private school that is funded by the government,

and according to Participant 19, charters are indicative of a gentrified school system, which is a school system that is allowed to fall into disrepair similar to formerly Black neighborhoods, “ we gentrify the homes, we gentrify the schools,

we gentrify the people...no more public assistance, no more public housing, no more public schools, it's all a part of the plan they put in the city.”

Charter schools are viewed as a piece in the broader narrative of gentrification, mainly in being a symbol of privatization which is a hallmark of gentrification for both Brookland residents and teachers. Embedded, however, within the discussion of gentrification and charter schools is this question of race, which most educators associated in their definition of gentrification. Gentrification for them disproportionately affects Black people and Black children, yet charter school populations are dominated by African American students. Nonetheless, some residents, and granted some teachers, when talking about gentrification and closing of schools, connect charters to the process of gentrification. In what is being said and not said exposes a complicated cultural understanding of race, class, identity, and space in Washington, D.C.; a complicated intersection that people readily recognize but simultaneously cannot place.

Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter was to explore gentrification from two perspectives; the first is through the experiences and opinions of residents. Gentrification is typically classified as a neighborhood phenomenon and thus in order to understand gentrification as a neighborhood affecting process, I needed to understand how residents defined it. The second perspective is education. When asked directly to define gentrification, teachers tended to stick toward a definition that focused on the economic aspect of the process. Yet, in private conversations, in union meetings and in other places where teachers gathered,

the changes in the city, predominately the change in demographics lead to vocalization of Whites taking over the city, this included a take-over of the school system.

Connection between education and gentrification is not often made, therefore it was necessary to draw one for this project in order to fully understand gentrification beyond its traditional definition neighborhood/ housing change. Brookland residents presented an interesting take on the definition of gentrification. Overall, most residents were for development but development that was guided and took into account the neighborhood in the long term. They wanted development that improved the lives of all residents including renters and residents who received public assistance; a type of development that was not happening in throughout city or their neighborhood. What they were seeing and experiencing was development that pushed people out and diminished diversity in terms of race and economics; diversity they wanted to keep. Most of all, the development encouraged a detachment from the neighborhood and, thus, from the community. Brooklanders felt that most new residents, developers, and politicians were not invested in the well-being of the community. They were only concerned with their immediate wants and needs, embodied in the form of luxury apartments.

Brookland's predominately home-owning middle-class residents, felt just as gentrified as the residents of the Brookland Manor Apartments, who sought to keep their subsidized housing against the tide of another luxury mixed-use complex. Gentrification was about take over, from developers and others whose

only intention was profit. Race, while part of the definition, was not at the forefront. Anyone who was not a decision maker could see a home or neighborhood easily become part of the gentrification process. Thus, looking at it through this lens helped to correct some assumptions I carried entering the field, mainly that gentrification was solely about pushing Black people out.

Despite expanding on a broader definition of gentrification, most teachers, many of whom are Black and also middle-class, felt that gentrification was still about White take over and the displacement of Black people. Educators' definition of gentrification was not much different from the one residents held. Many teachers viewed the development in the city as being led by politicians and developers looking for profit at the expense of people. Yet, race could not be removed from the definition, whether it was White teachers referring to themselves as gentrifiers or Black teachers discussing the startling increase of White teaching staff at schools that remained predominately Black. This racial aspect of gentrification, one that residents did not want to play up, could not be removed from how teachers, specifically Black teachers, conceptualized gentrification. Moreover, their conceptualization of the process was not rooted in simple observation; teachers as a whole, in their conversations and interviews, and those people who spoke informally at various events, felt that neighborhoods were being gentrified as well. How is this possible when most teachers are considered middle-class and many of them do not live in the city?

In conclusion, gentrification becomes a broader term for discussing power, class, and race in America. In the next chapter, I will further explore this concept

of race, class, power, identity, and space that has been introduced in this chapter beginning with a presentation of the historical context of urban development and the meaning of educational spaces to Black Washingtonians.

Chapter 5

Historical Context of Education, Urban Development, and Identity

Chocolate City: Past and Present

The purpose of this study is to explore the meaning of space and identity as gentrification intersects with these categories. In exploring space, identity, and gentrification this study asks the following research question: how does the process of gentrification shape the institution of education and what can this intersection of gentrification and education illuminate about the topics of race, class, space, and identity? In the previous chapter, I presented the ethnographic context of space, identity, race, and gentrification. I discussed how middle-class residents felt their neighborhoods became gentrified based on a definition of gentrification as a process of outsider/developer/capitalist versus insider/committed neighborhood resident. That chapter also explored how educators defined gentrification and, similarly, experienced neighborhood gentrification as an outsider/developer/capitalist versus insider/Black conflict, with White people being classified as the benefactors of outsider/capitalists' endeavors.

In this chapter, I will continue to explore Black Washingtonian teachers' feelings of being gentrified through a presentation of the historical context of education and urban planning. This chapter will explore the role of education in Black Washingtonian self-determination and the ways urban planning was used

to thwart Black Washingtonians' economic, political, and social progress. The goal of this chapter is to root current educator reactions to neighborhood gentrification in a historical context in order to build the argument, which will be further expounded upon in chapter six, that public education is a site of gentrification, as a site of capitalistic development and Black displacement.

The first section of this chapter will present the historical circumstances that created a Black majority in Washington, D.C., taking the stance that it was the nature of education in Washington, D.C. that allowed for the growth of a large Black majority. The second section of this chapter will connect present beliefs of gentrification as a racial process by focusing on the history of racial animosity toward urban planning in the District.

Historical Connections: Black dominance in D.C. through education

In 1975, New Jersey originated funk band, Parliament, released a song on their third studio album called "Chocolate City" dedicated to the Nation's Capital. Why did they dedicate a song to Washington, D.C. when they are from New Jersey? By 1971, a little over 70% of the population of the District was African American. Moreover, this population as early as the mid 1960's began to occupy prestigious positions in the local and federal governments. In short, America had not seen an entire city in which the majority of the population was not only Black, but also highly educated Blacks occupying the echelons of the middle and upper classes. How did D.C. become so Black? Much of the rise of the Black population is due to education in the city.

Antebellum Education. Washington, D.C. has always occupied a liminal

political space as a federal territory. But this liminality afforded African Americans in Washington, D.C. opportunities not seen by other Blacks in slave states. In 1790, Congress wrote into the Constitution an act that set aside ten-square miles for a city to be the seat of the new republic's government. There was much debate about where this new city should be, mainly surrounding the issue of slavery, as by this time the ideological differences in the North as anti-slavery and South as pro-slavery were solidified (Asch and Musgrove 2017). After debate and ideological compromise on the part of the nation's founding fathers, Congress approved President Washington's land selection along the Potomac River for the capitol. Maryland and Virginia ceded the necessary land and the District of Columbia was created: a combination of areas in and around Washington City—Alexandria, Georgetown and the nearby counties of Washington and Alexandria (Dickey 2014).

The seat of government officially moved to Washington in 1800 (Dickey 2014). Until then, Congress deemed it appropriate that people residing in these areas would continue to follow the laws of their respective states, Maryland and Virginia (Green 1967). By 1790, both Maryland and Virginia had established that Christianity had no effect on manumission; declared the racial category for enslavement; forbid African Americans from carrying firearms; and limited unlawful assembly under the pretense of meeting for feasts or burial (Legal Status of Colored Population 1871). Leaders of the time assumed that slavery would fade over time and even briefly toyed with forbidding the slave trade (Tremain 1969). Nonetheless, by the time the federal government moved in 1800, neither Virginia

nor Maryland had any laws against the education of African Americans, free or otherwise (Legal Status of Colored Population 1871; Ingle 1971). When Washington, D.C. implemented its first black codes in 1808, the laws controlled movement and types of employment but did not limit education.

No laws against education of African Americans coincided with the District's large free population. Maryland and Virginia at the time of ceding land to the government had fifty-five percent of North America's total enslaved population; Maryland had thirteen percent of North America's free Black population and Virginia had twenty-one percent, thus more than one-third of all free Blacks in America at this time lived between Maryland and Virginia (Asch and Musgrove 2017; Brown 1972). Still, the actual number of free Blacks in the District of Columbia was not large, 783 in 1800. Ten years later, however, that number tripled with the free African American population at 2,549 by 1810. This increase in free African Americans resulted from a change in black codes in Virginia. In 1806, Virginia passed legislation giving newly manumitted slaves one year to leave the state or face re-enslavement (Gillette, Jr. 1996, Green 1967; Oglivie 1994). Though the District: including Georgetown, Alexandria and Washington City was a slave territory it had not had an active slave trade since 1808; by 1840 the city, including Georgetown had one of the highest free Black populations, nearly sixty-four percent (Brown 1972; Gillette, Jr.; Green 1967; Oglivie 1994). With such a large population and no legal restriction to education, free African Americans of the District were able to pursue education as a means of gaining some semblance of social and economic freedom.

Public education began in Washington, D.C. in 1804; and while there were no laws that explicitly barred African Americans from education in the District, a matter of custom and adhering to southern philosophies made the public school system for Whites only. Some free African Americans, often because of their close familial affiliation with Whites in the area, were educated in interracial private schools (Asher and Musgrove 2017; Preston 1940). In 1807, three illiterate, formerly enslaved African American men started the first school explicitly for Black people in Washington. George Bell, Nicholas Franklin, and Moses Liverpool with the financial help of Alethia Browning Tanner, George Bell's sister-in-law, opened a one-story school building under much hostility (Fitzpatrick and Goodwin 1993; Preston 1940). Since the slave population still outnumbered the free Black population at this time, the founders of the school had to publicly swear that no teacher would write anything, such as forged manumission papers or certificates of freedom, for a slave. Though resistance to Black education continued in the District, the Bell school would end up being the

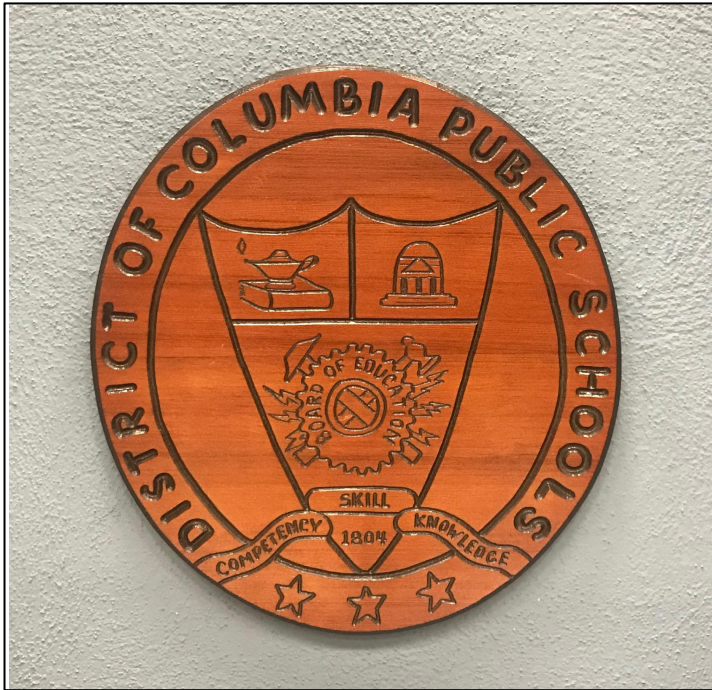


Figure 11. D.C. Public Schools emblem. Photo taken by author at Charles Sumner School Museum and Archives.

first of many more institutions for the education of Black people to emerge in the city over the next decades; many of these schools were founded by White and free Black people alike. The most prominent names of note in antebellum education of

Black Washingtonians were Mary Billing, John F. Cook,

Jr. and Myrtilla Miner (Goodwin 1871).

In 1808, a White widow from England, Mary Billings established an interracial school in Georgetown (Goodwin 1871). After backlash, she decided to focus solely on the education of Black children; she reopened the Billings school in 1810, the first ever in Georgetown (1871). Eventually she moved her school to the private home of a free person of color, Daniel Jones. The Billings School was considered to be one of the top institutions for the education of D.C.'s growing Black elite. Billings relinquished leadership of the school due to ill health in 1823 and died in 1826. Her school helped to produce the next generation of D.C. educators including Henry Smothers (Preston 1940).

Henry Smothers opened a schoolhouse in Georgetown in 1822 and later moved that school behind his personal home in northwest Washington. Though

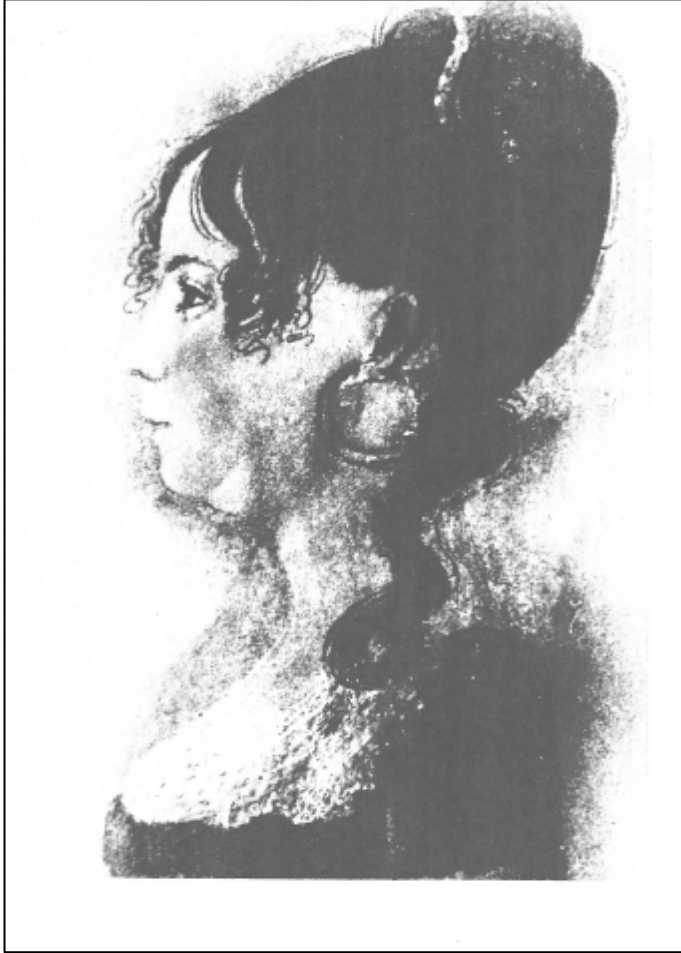


Figure 12. Alethia Browning Tanner. Courtesy of Mooreland-Spingarn Research Library, Howard University.

the building was modest, the student population quickly reached 150 pupils. While Smothers only ran the school for less than three years, the site became an important part of the history of D.C. education; after Smothers stepped down, a man named John W. Prout took over leadership and renamed the school the Columbian Institute. The Columbian Institute was run by a board of trustees, and

organized as a free school, meaning students attended without having to pay tuition. This only worked for a few years before Prout was forced to start charging tuition (Preston 1940). One of the Columbian Institute's most notable students was John F. Cook.

In 1834, John F. Cook, Jr. the nephew of Alethia Browning Tanner, took over the Columbian Institute as director at the age of twenty-four. Cook renamed the school "Union Seminary" and developed a rigorous program of classical and practical studies (Logan 1969, 10). In 1835, Union Seminary was almost

destroyed in the midst of the Snow Riots (Long 1938). In 1841, Black Presbyterians organized and began the first Black Presbyterian church in Union Seminary, eventually opening the Fifteenth Street Presbyterian Church, located on 15th Street between Eye (I) and K Streets, N.W. in 1842. Cook became the first minister of this church and served until his death in 1855. This church is historically relevant, as it became the original site of one of D.C.'s most illustrious public schools for African Americans, Dunbar High School. Cook and his descendants became the key players of Black education in D.C. (Cook's son George F.T. Cook becomes the first superintendent for the Colored Public Schools for Washington and Georgetown) (Wormley 1932).

Another common name in the history of antebellum Washington education was Myrtilla Miner. A White woman from New York, Miner fought for her own education growing up relatively poor. She later went on to teach White children in Mississippi, which irrevocably changed her view of education. Witnessing, first hand, the brutality and horrors of slavery, Miner was determined to educate African Americans. Knowing that she could legally only educate free African Americans, Miner moved to Washington, D.C. in 1850 and by 1851 opened the Normal School for Colored Girls, colloquially referred to as the Miner School (Daniel 1949; Null1989; Wormley 1920).

The school was initially housed in different homes, including the home of an African American family that was continually harassed, causing her to move the school by the summer of 1851. Miner secured enough money from philanthropists of the time, including Harriet Beecher Stowe, to purchase a three-

acre property near New Hampshire Ave, NW (Schools of Colored Population; Miner 1851). In 1853, Miner opened the expanded high school with a \$15 per year tuition (*The Black Washingtonians* 2005). The school had a dormitory with sixty students in residence, even though full capacity stood at forty. Instruction included arithmetic, astronomy, literature, penmanship, geography, history, drawing, and philosophy. By 1858, the school had amassed a prestigious library collection including over 1000 books, 12 newspapers, and 26 magazines.

Unfortunately, Miner opened her school in the District at the height of racial tensions concerning free Blacks. By 1850, seventy-three percent of the District's Black population was free. Many antagonists to the sharp increase in the number of free Black population blamed the increase on Blacks access to education. Antagonism to Miner's school increased as Miner began to shift the education format in an effort to open a high school/college (Morton 1957). Former D.C. mayor Walter Lenox, who initially supported the school, wrote a scorching op-ed in a local newspaper listing three reasons African Americans should not be educated in the way the Miner school sought to educate them. First, he felt African Americans were simply not mentally capable and even if they were, the education would make them strive for better in a society that had no place for them. Second, having a high school would draw and saturate the city with more free African Americans. And lastly, speaking for many others in agreement, Lenox identifying himself as southern was concerned that "Northerners" would likely try to change the social system in place. Furthermore, there was plenty of opportunity to open schools in the north and, thus, they

should do it there. If Black education continued at its current rate the former mayor threatened violence (Null 1989). And so as feared, violence resulted when Whites set the school on fire in 1860 with Miner inside; smelling smoke she was able to stop the fire before it completely destroyed the school. Despite her efforts the Miner School closed temporarily in 1860 (Cooke 1982; Wells 1943). Despite ill health, Miner continued efforts to raise funds for her school. With her efforts and those of others, Congress granted the school a charter in 1863 by passing the "Incorporation of the Institution for the Education of Colored Youth in the District of Columbia," which gave the power to establish a board, buy and sell property, and hire and appoint teachers (Cooke 1982). Miner was on the board but died the following year from complications following a carriage accident. Despite hostility toward Black education, Black Washingtonians and their White allies continued forward in their efforts to educate free Blacks.

Rise of Public Education 1862-1870. Washington, D.C. has had a public education system since 1804, exclusively for Whites of all classes. Freed African Americans were educated in Sabbath schools in local White churches or private schools and either paid tuition or had free tuition based on donations from abolitionists and other proponents of African American education (Dabney 1949). In May 1862, Congress passed an act stating that ten percent of taxes collected from people of color would be used to establish a public education system, beginning with primary schools for children in both Washington City and Georgetown (Annual Report 1868). When the Board of Trustees of Public Schools declined to run the schools for children of color, Congress passed

another act in July of that same year establishing a completely separate board of trustees for colored schools (Roe 2004)

Public schools for African Americans and other children of color were not established until 1864 allegedly due to lack of available funding, based on the excuse that most African Americans did not have property to tax. Additionally, in 1862, there was not a segregated registry to take the taxes of Black people and when one was made in 1863, it was believed that funds were not correctly registered to contribute to the colored school system. In June 1864, Congress repealed the Act of 1862 to provide that “all the school funds raised in Washington and Georgetown should be set apart for colored schools as the number of colored children might bear to the whole number of children, taking the last reported census of children between the ages of six and seventeen as the basis of the calculation” (Goodwin 1871). Still, municipal authorities found ways to short-change the colored school system resulting in another act of Congress in 1866. This act stated that it,

shall be so construed as to require the cities of Washington and Georgetown to pay over to the trustees of colored schools of said cities such a proportionate part of all moneys received or expended for school or educational purposes in said cities, including the cost of sites, buildings, improvements, furniture, and books, and all other expenditures on account of schools, as the colored children between the ages of six and seventeen years in the respective cities, bear to the whole number of children, white and colored, between the same ages; that the money shall be considered due and payable to said trustees the first day of October of each year, and if not then paid over to them, interest at the rate of ten per centum per annum on the amount unpaid may be demanded and collected (Annual Report 1868).

During these years of flux, between 1862 and 1868, African American public education was supplemented by northern relief societies. These organizations established many day schools as well as night schools for older African Americans who desperately wanted education. These organizations were predominately White, such as the Philadelphia Friend's Freedmen's Relief Association and the American Missionary Association of New York. Some, however, were African American owned and operated such as the African Civilization Society of New York and the local Contraband Relief Association, spearheaded by Elizabeth Keckly and fellow members of the Fifteenth Street Presbyterian Church (Asch and Musgrove 2018, Dabney 1949). These societies organized quickly in response to the rapid influx of fugitive African Americans or "contraband" (as they were called), pouring into the city seeking freedom and refuge; addressing their many needs including education (Asch and Musgrove 2018). Despite the efforts of the aid societies, many African American children did not have access to education. In 1867, D.C. only had five schoolhouses for Black students between the ages of six and seventeen (Annual Report 1868). These schoolhouses were able to educate roughly 2,769 students of the 9,285 in need of education; the aid societies educated roughly 500 students in total (Wormley 1932).

In the 1868 annual report, then superintendent of colored schools, A.E. Newton made many recommendations for the colored schools including an increase in school buildings and staff, among other requests, in order to have the city's public school system "be made models, worthy of a great Republic—a

credit to the nation at large, and a standard of excellence for imitation in all quarters” (Annual Report 1868). While, the colored school system continuously struggled to stretch its disproportionately low funding to accommodate the ever-increasing population of African American children in need of education, by 1870, some of D.C. Black public schools indeed were places of education that attracted national attention, such as Dunbar Senior High School

In the basement of the Fifteenth Street Presbyterian Church, church members opened a high school with only four students: Rosetta Cookley, John Nalle, Mary Nalle, and Caroline Parke in 1870. The Preparatory High School for Negro Youth became the first Black high school in America. Beginning as hardly more than an advanced grammar school, the school developed through vigorous leadership and improved curriculum (Robinson 1989).

The Preparatory High School moved around to several locations in Washington, D.C. before finding a permanent location on M Street in NW Washington changing the name to the M Street School. The M Street School was one of the premier institutions in the nation for African Americans following emancipation. M Street School was a college preparatory school and, while it faced some opposition from Blacks and Whites who preferred to promote vocational education, M Street graduated some of the most well-known African American leaders. Many graduates went on to some of the most prestigious colleges and universities—Dartmouth, Harvard, Oberlin—in northeastern America (Wormley 1932). Through a rigorous four-year classics program, by 1898, M Street School students scored higher on the citywide standardized tests

than their White counterparts at Eastern High School (Moore 1999). In 1916, decaying facilities forced M Street School to move around the corner to a new building and the new school was renamed in honor of African American poet Paul Laurence Dunbar. As Dunbar, the school continued to educate Washington's Black elite and produced some of the most notable African Americans of the 20th century, such as Charles Drew, until school desegregation in 1955 (Stewart 2013).

Washington, D.C. was also a top location to educate future generations of teachers. After the Civil War, the board that was set to operate the Miner School reopened the school in conjunction with the Normal and Preparatory department of Howard University. Miner Normal School operated on the grounds of Howard University from 1871 to 1875 until it moved to a separate building on P Street, NW in 1876. From 1877 to 1879, Miner Normal School functioned privately and was placed in a new building funded by the Miner Fund. In 1879, Miner Normal School would be absorbed into the Colored School System of the District of Columbia Public Schools.

Through the efforts of one principal, Lucy E. Moten (a graduate of Howard University and former student of John F. Cook, Sr.'s school), Miner Normal School became the premier institution for educating D.C.'s next generation of teachers. She lengthened the program of study from one to three years and advocated for the school to be a four-year college program. Moten retired in 1920, but her commitment to the school resulted in the United States Congress approving accreditation of Miner Teachers College in 1929 (Cooke 1982; Null

1989; Turner 1958; Wells 1943). Miner would function as a primer teacher's college for African Americans with top students from D.C. Public Schools matriculating to Miner. Miner, following desegregations of all schools, merged with Wilson Teachers College (the White teachers' college) becoming D.C. Teachers College in 1955.⁹

Separate but not equal, 1930-1955. The Organic Act of 1878 made clear that whites and Blacks were to be educated in separate public school systems (Morton 1957). African Americans in D.C. Public Schools had separate facilities, teachers, even their own superintendent and other school officials. In 1906, Congress passed new legislation that amended the former Organic Act of 1878. This new law did not explicitly end segregation. It, however, did not sanction integration, instead creating *de facto* segregation (Morton 1957; Bernard 2012). The law did consolidate power, creating one superintendent for all D.C. Public Schools with two assistant superintendents: one for white schools and one for Black schools; ending autonomous control over educational decisions for Black children (Long 1938; Moore 1999; Morton 1957, 325).

Though Black schools seemed to thrive during this period of segregation, Black schools struggled continuously against overcrowding and underfunding. In 1947 the Board of Education spent approximately \$161 on each White student and approximately \$120 on each Black student (Cooke 1949). The disparity in funding was felt most when it came to school overcrowding.

⁹ D.C. Teachers College would be merged with the new Federal City College in 1972. Federal City College eventually becomes the University of the District of Columbia (Miller 1970).

During the 1930's similarly to many parts of the country, Washington, D.C. once again saw an influx of African American migrants coming to the city from the South in search of better social and economic opportunities (Wilkerson 2010). According to the 1940 census, nearly thirty-five percent of Washington, D.C.'s overall population was African American, an increase of eight percent. In terms of student population, between 1937 and 1947, Black student enrollment increased by eighteen percent (Roe 2004). Since money was allocated according to the decennial census, the increase in student population was not accounted for and put a strain on the already underfunded Black school system. In discussing the overcrowded high schools, Cooke states that the Board of Education provided,

eight high schools with a capacity of 11,970 pupil stations for only 9,101 white high school pupils. On a theoretical "separate but equal" basis the Board provides only three high schools with a capacity of 2,855 pupil stations for 4,625 Negro high school pupils. The Board has "overbuilt" five new white high schools since the last high school was constructed for Negroes." (Cooke 1949, 96).

Schools were so overcrowded during this time period that most schools functioned on a double or even triple shift schedule; meaning half the school population would come in the morning and the other half would come in the afternoon (Cooke 1949).

While the Black schools in D.C. were overcrowded, White schools in the city were at the extreme opposite. In some schools' entire floors were closed off because the student population was so low. During the same ten-year period, between 1937 and 1947, White student population declined by over thirteen percent due to Whites leaving the area to live in the surrounding suburbs of

Maryland and Virginia (Roe 2004). In 1949, Congress in the Appropriations Act for the District of Columbia commissioned a survey of the public schools conducted by Dr. George Strayer, Professor Emeritus of Columbia University (Cooke 1949). At the end of the study, Strayer recommended that of the 38 million dollars earmarked for education in the District, 30million should go to the Black school system (Cooke 1949). But many Black Washingtonians were skeptical that Congress would take up the recommendation; since 1930, they had been waiting for Spingarn High School to be constructed, which didn't happen until 1952. Though Black Washingtonians enjoyed the autonomy granted by the dual school system, by the late 1940's Black Washingtonians began to push for desegregation in order to gain access to much needed funds and other resources (Long 1938).

Issues regarding the unequal treatment of Washington's Black students came to a head in several court cases in 1947. In *Carr v. Corning*, a lawyer for the African American Browne Junior High School filed a lawsuit on behalf of James Carr's daughter, Marguerite Carr. Carr's daughter attended overcrowded Browne Junior High School, which was functioning on a double shift schedule that still was overcrowded even with the split of the population. Located near the Carr's home was White Eliot Junior High School, which was underutilized due to a drop in White student population. The plaintiff argued that according to law, D.C. students were supposed to attend the school closest to them in which they could receive a full day of education, but this was not taking place at Browne due to overcrowding, thus the excess students should be allowed to attend Eliot. In

essence, the *Carr* case was arguing for integration. Before the District Court for the District of Columbia could hear the case however, the Board of Education reported that they had found a vacant building near the plaintiff's home to accommodate the overflow from Browne and the case was dismissed (Roe 2004).

The following day, the court was set to hear another case from Browne Junior High School's parents. This lawsuit began when the Board of Education insisted on using vacant White Blow and Webb elementary schools to reduce the overcrowding at Browne (Roe 2004). Parents were adamantly against this option. First, these schools were not near the residences of Browne students. Second, and more importantly, as elementary schools, the facilities did not have the amenities necessary for junior high school education and the space to accommodate the number of students, thus still having a crowded Browne that would result in some students having a full day of education and some not (Roe 2004). In this case, the PTA did not attempt to integrate schools; they simply desired an injunction to stop the transfer of Blow and Webb to the Colored School Division. The court declared that the Board of Education had the authority to use whatever methods necessary to eliminate overcrowding (Roe 2004).

Debates continued over how to address the overcrowded schools for the Colored School Division. The dual school system was costly. The Colored School Division required more funding to deal with the rapidly increasing Black student population. School buildings were woefully overcrowded and dilapidated. Building new school facilities was costly. At the same time, White and Black

Washingtonians were opposed to simply transferring some of the underutilized school buildings to the Colored Divisions. For Whites, their White schools had become part of their identity and they bristled at the idea that their former schools would become Black. For Black people, transferring the school buildings was only a temporary fix. Schools would still become overcrowded and would eventually fall into disrepair. For most Black Washingtonians, desegregation was vital to their educational needs.

When mentioning school desegregation, most recall the seminal *Brown v Board of Education* case, but the ruling in that case did not extend to Washington, D.C. as it is not a state. Schools were desegregated in a little nationally discussed, but locally celebrated case *Bolling v. Sharpe*. In 1950, several Black students including Spottswood Bolling, Jr. toured the newly built and very modern John Philip Sousa Junior High School in Southeast Washington. The school was for White students only but like many of the schools for White students, it was several hundred students below capacity. Parents asked the principal if she would allow Black students to enroll but she refused (Rubin 2006). The parents then filed a lawsuit in the District Court; upholding the legality of segregation based on the *Carr v. Corning* case, the court dismissed the suit (Gauerke 1953; Rubin 2006). After filing appeals and winding through the judicial system, the case landed before the Supreme Court the same day as the *Brown v. Board of Education* case (which was a collection of several similar suits originating in Topeka, Kansas; Wilmington, Delaware; Summerton, South Carolina; and Prince Edward's County, Virginia) (Asch and Musgrove 2017, Roe

2004). In 1954, the Supreme Court unanimously declared segregation was unconstitutional and reversed the infamous *Plessy v. Ferguson* case that set the legal precedent for “separate but equal.” Washington schools were officially desegregated (Crooms 2005).

Desegregated Schools 1956-1968. Many White Southern Democrats in Congress attempted to stymie desegregation efforts. A 1959 pamphlet compiled of several news articles related to desegregation from 1957-1958, documents some of the Congressional resistance to desegregation in the District. In March 1956, “Rep. James C. Davis (D-Ga), a member of the House District Committee, declared that desegregation in the Capital was “not only a scholastic failure, but—as an experiment in human relations—a nightmare,” (Knoll 1959).

Continuing, the article states,

Several months later Davis launched a full-scale congressional investigation to bear out his conclusion. Three other southern Congressmen joined him as signers of a report which declared: “We are of the opinion that the act of integrating the former Division I (white) and Division II (Negro) schools has seriously damaged the public school system in the District of Columbia. The evidence, taken as a whole, points to a definite impairment of educational opportunities for members of both white and Negro races as a result of integration, with little prospect of remedy in the future,” (Knoll 1959).

Discomfort with desegregation presented interesting changes in the management of education in the District in the early part of this period (Frederick and View 2009).

While school desegregation contributed to “White flight” in the District, White Washingtonians had been leaving the city since the end of World War II. “The movement of White families to the suburbs began as the depression ended

and was accelerated as war and post war prosperity put auto ownership and home ownership within the reach of many who could not afford the move before” (Knoll, 1959, 13). With desegregation, Whites had more reason to leave. In 1950, just a few years before desegregation, African Americans represented forty-five percent of the population of the city, yet African American children represented roughly seventy-four percent of the total school population. This demonstrates that White parents were already finding other locations for their children to be educated outside of the public school system, and this percentage would increase as more Whites left the city following school desegregation (Knoll 1959, 13).

The early years of desegregation were hopeful ones, and many declared that it had been successful (Knoll 1958), yet D.C. Public Schools were far from the national model that many hoped. Washington, D.C. didn't have a busing system so Whites often moved to different parts of the city that had been designed to be exclusive to White people or moved out of the city all together (Jayapal 1987); this left middle-class Blacks, often barred from the suburbs and exclusive Washington neighborhoods, to bear the burden of uplifting the neighborhoods and maintaining the school system. In an effort to discourage Whites of all class backgrounds from leaving the city, superintendent Carl F. Hansen instituted a tracking system in public schools in 1956¹⁰ (Roe 2004).

¹⁰ Hansen also implemented the “Amidon Plan” an educational plan for direct teaching for dynamic learning. When redevelopment in Southwest began with the Federal Redevelopment Plan in the mid-1950's, the local school, Amidon, was demolished in 1957. In 1960 the school was rebuilt, desegregated, and featured an intense curriculum. The hallmarks of the program focused on teaching phonetic reading in kindergarten and focused on teaching the whole class. The goal of the program was teaching intelligent

The tracking system was “ a four-track program of ability...it introduced a tough honors program for gifted students; a regular college preparatory program; a general program for students not planning to go to college, and a remedial basic curriculum for slow learners” (Knolls 8). Many African American students were tracked to remedial courses while most White students were not (Roe 2004). As Frederick and View state, “the majority of students in the DC public schools, that is, African Americans from low-income families, were condemned to a curricula and school buildings that held little to no expectations for success”, (2009, 587). Once children were placed on the basic track, it was extremely difficult for them to move upward. Thus in 1967, Black educators, parents, and community members sued the superintendent of schools (Lucas 1999). The court found that grouping students was a denial of equal opportunity to the poor and the majority of Black students attending the schools and ordered the tracking system to be terminated (Frederick and View 2009).

The tracking system did little to pique White interest in attending desegregated schools. The general notion was that White children’s education would be hindered by going to school with Black students and being taught by Black teachers, who were perceived as being second rate and under qualified (Sansing 1976). The division of the schools became less of an issue as more and

behavior. Amidon had students from all over the city. By 1965, Amidon’s new kindergarten class was at capacity and Black residents, predominately from the local housing project within the bounds of Amidon, were told they would not be allowed to enroll and to go to the Black elementary school, Bowen. Later that month, Superintendent Hansen announced that the Black children living in Southwest public housing would be allowed to enroll in kindergarten at Amidon with plans of limiting out of neighborhood enrollment. The solution was splitting an Amidon kindergarten teacher between Bowen and Amidon. Amidon would eventually merge with Bowen to become Amidon-Bowen and was still a premier elementary school in DCPS for many years.

more DC public schools became predominately Black. In 1960, six years after the ruling, nearly fifty-four percent of the total city population was African American and, as noted, by 1970, the city was over seventy percent African American with the school system educating ninety percent of African Americans in the city (Frederick and View 2009).

Similarly, to the era of the dual school system, schools that had predominately Black students suffered from overcrowding, ill-equipped facilities, and underfunding, causing a judge in 1960 to force the school system to bus children in overcrowded Black schools into the few under-enrolled predominately White schools. Desegregation in short had not succeeded in the ways that many had hoped. Moreover, by the mid-1960's students in D.C. Public Schools faced many of the same problems of urban schools nation-wide—a growing achievement gap between students of color and White students. These issues would only compound in the decades following the riots of 1968.

Following the riots, those Whites who remained in the city fled to the Maryland and Virginia suburbs or nestled deeper in neighborhoods west of Rock Creek Park that had historically barred Black residents and sent their children to private schools. As D.C. was still a neighborhood school system, the dreams of a fully integrated school system were over, and D.C. public schools began to grow to nearly ninety-nine percent African American towards the beginning of the 1970's.

The rise and fall of Chocolate City, 1968-1995. For nearly 100 years, Washington, D.C. was without a mayor following the election of Sayles J. Bowen

in 1867. In 1867, overriding a presidential veto, Congress passed a suffrage bill that immediately granted African Americans, newly freed, the right to vote. Despite being only thirty percent of the population at this time Black voters represented nearly fifty percent of all registered voters. Moreover, Black Washingtonians presented as a unified political block, despite class. Black voters elected Radical Republican Sayles J. Bowen who was supportive of the Black public schools, Black men's suffrage, and relief for former slaves. Along with the city's first Black elected official: Black majority First Ward aldermen, John F. Cook, Jr. and Carter A. Stewart for Common Council, the new mayor appointed Black people to key city positions in an effort to create a biracial democracy in the city. As stated, the political power and educational advancement available during this time drew many Black people from all over the nation to the city, much to the chagrin of the city's top White people (Asch and Musgrove 2017; Tindall 1915).

The Bowen administration severely mismanaged the city's funds. Bowen's administration was considered a failure mainly due to his relationship with the Black electorate and in 1871 Congress approved legislation to consolidate Georgetown, Washington City, and Washington County into a single territory with a presidentially appointed governor, upper Legislative Council, and Board of Public Works. Later, after continued mismanagement of funds exacerbated by the Panic of 1873, Congress in 1874 ended the territorial government and reverted to a presidentially appointed board of three commissioners to manage the city. By law one of the commissioners had to be a member of the U.S. Army

Corp of Engineers and by custom the other two seats were split between a Democrat and a Republican. A law in 1878, made the new system permanent. All people in D.C., both Black and White lost their right to vote (Richardson 2010).

Tired of the inefficiency of the commission for D.C., President Johnson created a presidentially appointed mayor/commissioner and a nine-member presidentially appointed city council. In 1967, President Johnson appointed African American Walter E. Washington as mayor and appointed a predominately African American city council. In 1968, Congress voted to allow District residents to elect school board members. In 1970, Congress allowed for election of a symbolic non-voting delegate in Congress. By 1973, with the help of Black congressman Charles Diggs from Michigan, Congress passed the D.C. Home Rule Act and President Nixon signed it into law. The bill established an elected government with a mayor and a thirteen-member council empowered to levy taxes, determine spending, and pass legislation (Asch and Musgrove 2017; Wells 2004). Congress still had review and veto power over all legislation passed by the council but after nearly 100 years, D.C. residents regained suffrage.

In the period before the Home Rule Act, Black D.C. residents were only able to express self-determination via education. As the only elected body in the city, the school board became the “focal point of political energy” (Asch and Musgrove 2018, 377). It is this context in which future beloved and controversial mayor Marion Barry officially entered D.C. politics, when he ousted Anita Allen in 1971 for head of the school board.

After D.C. was granted home rule in 1973, the city was economically prosperous until the late 1980's when, like many of cities nationwide, D.C. was devastated by the spread of crack cocaine. With economic stagnation intersecting with a profitable drug market, Washington, D.C. in the early 1990's was labeled as the "Murder Capital" of the United States (Castaneda 2014). With suburbs in Maryland opening up to Black residents in the late 1980s and into the 1990's, the Black middle-class that had begun to flourish in the mid 1970's left the city. For centuries, the Black middle-class had been viewed as the cornerstone for upholding the Black community and particularly the standard of education for Black Washingtonians (Moore 1999).

The decades of White flight, coupled with Black middle-class flight, drugs coinciding with an economic recession in the early 1990's, inadequate federal support, and federally imposed budget constraints coupled with local mismanagement created a city in economic crisis by 1994. As a federal jurisdiction, D.C. could not borrow money to pay its debts. And as it happened a hundred years earlier, Congress decided to take control of the city's affairs. Two options were on the table, the first was placing the city under receivership, meaning that once again D.C. residents would have their right to vote stripped away; the second option was establishing a control board. In 1995, African American elected non-voting delegate to Congress, Eleanor Holmes Norton, convinced Congress to pass the District of Columbia Financial Responsibility and Management Assistance Act, establishing a control board and helping the city to maintain some autonomy (*The Black Washingtonians 2005*). The Control Board

had the broad powers traditionally reserved for the city government including control over balancing the city's budget. Included in balancing the city budget was taking control of the public-school system and the school board.

D.C. education and the nation, 1995-2008. D.C. education, under the control of the Congress for the second time, became enmeshed in a larger national debate about what were the best tactics to improve the quality of education that pitted federal control of education against conservative led school choice initiatives. In the 1980's during the Regan administration, then Secretary of Education, Ted Bell, engaged his department in an eighteen-month study to produce a report that has been the cornerstone for educational reform for decades, *A Nation at Risk* (Goldstein 2015). The report was a battle cry and an admonishment for letting other nations such as Germany, South Korea, and Japan supersede America in education—educational advancements that have made these countries leaders in technology and manufacturing (*A Nation at Risk* 1983). But the report was hopeful, presenting several recommendations that were considered remedies to once again place America in the lead as an educational superpower. Some of the recommendations included,

School districts and State legislatures should strongly consider 7-hour school days, as well as a 200- to 220-day school year. The time available for learning should be expanded through better classroom management and organization of the school day. If necessary, additional time should be found to meet the special needs of slow learners, the gifted, and others who need more instructional diversity than can be accommodated during a conventional school day or school year.

The Federal Government has the primary responsibility to identify the national interest in education. It should also help fund and support efforts to protect and promote that interest. It must provide

the national leadership to ensure that the Nation's public and private resources are marshaled to address the issues discussed in this report.

Salaries for the teaching profession should be increased and should be professionally competitive, market-sensitive, and performance-based. Salary, promotion, tenure, and retention decisions should be tied to an effective evaluation system that includes peer review so that superior teachers can be rewarded, average ones encouraged, and poor ones either improved or terminated.

Master teachers should be involved in designing teacher preparation programs and in supervising teachers during their probationary years.

Many supported the ideas presented in the report and many were against them.

Congress didn't support the recommendation of universal curriculum and was not interested in investing money to extend learning time (Goldstein 2015, 171).

Teachers and teacher unions were split. Many agreed changes needed to be made to American public education, but some of the free market recommendations, such as merit pay, went against the heart of teacher unions (Goldstein 2015). In all, the report irrevocably shaped education debates to this day and D.C. became the crucible to prove the various sides of the education debate.

In 2001, President Bush passed the No Child Left Behind Act (NCLB), a reformulation of former President Johnson's Elementary and Secondary Education Act (Asen 2012). No Child Left Behind encompassed some of the ideas that had been circulating widely since the publication of *A Nation at Risk*: stronger accountability, increased federal funding, and school choice. The act recommended that teachers employed in at-risk schools have majors in the

subjects they taught and be highly qualified and certified. More importantly, the act tied federal Title I funding to school test scores. Those schools that did not bring students up to proficiency would be considered failing and lose funding or get taken over by the state (Fritzberg 2003; Russom 2012). Bush attempted to enshrine school choice in NCLB by creating a federal voucher program, but this part of the law didn't pass through Congress. The law did, however, promote charter schools as a viable school choice option with the recommendation that low-performing public schools be converted to charter schools. The act also allowed states to provide means for students to leave schools that were under performing or not meeting adequate yearly progress (AYP) (*A Guide to Education and No Child Left Behind*); this included giving out school vouchers, providing money for and allowing students to attend a school out of district, and creating access for charter schools¹¹.

In Washington, when the Control Board took over, they passed the District of Columbia School Reform Act of 1995. The country was still trying to plan the best course of action for public education following *A Nation at Risk*, and charter schools were emerging as a possible solution. First established in Minnesota in 1991, charter schools were still new and untested, but like many times in the

¹¹ History of charter schools: Leading teacher unionist, Al Shanker, initially encouraged the charter school concept. Shanker feeling stymied by school boards envisioned schools that were lead by unionized teachers who made the decisions necessary for the school to encourage educational progress for those students at highest risk of drop out (Ravitch 2013). Following the name, a charter school would have "a charter for a set period of time, would work with the students who were at high risk for failure, and at some point its work would be done," (Ravitch 2013, 157). The first charter school opened in Minnesota in 1992. Soon more charters opened, often funded by for-profit corporate education reformers (Ravitch 2013).

city's history, it became the proving ground for Congressional policy experiments (Ravitch 2013). The School Reform Act focused heavily on public education but also made provisions for establishing charter schools¹², including establishing a school board for public charter schools and making provisions to give charters first preference for selecting unused public school buildings for their use.

In 1996, the city council, with prompting from the Control Board approved the establishment of D.C.'s first charter school. Congress presented two options for the city council, they could introduce charter schools or have the school system run by an outside private management firm; the city council preferred not to have outside management and decided to approve charters.

During the period of the Control Board, the school board and the charter school board were both under partial control of the mayor. The Control Board was a temporary measure and toward the end of the 1990's, the body began the process of transferring power back to city officials, including the control of the school system. Chairman of the city council's education committee began an effort to reform the school board but faced opposition from mayor elect, Anthony Williams. After much debate the city council approved of reducing the Board from eleven to seven members, with some of those spots decided by mayoral appointment while the rest were based on election. The Control Board officially gave up authority over the school board in 1999 when Anthony Williams was inaugurated as mayor. Voters approved of this hybrid school board in 2000 (Asch and Musgrove 2017; Henig 2009).

¹² D.C. Code, Title 38

Anthony Williams came into power as mayor when President Bush's No Child Left Behind Act was signed into law. Williams, a supporter of charter schools, fully funded charters where in previous years the city council had consistently underfunded them. Williams was also a proponent of mayoral control of schools. He proposed this idea to the city council only to be rejected and with the support of only one council member. Later this same council member presented another plan for school board restructuring that was approved and voted on by the city council. The 2004 bill undid the 2000 bill; the school board would be composed of nine members, eight to be elected from each ward and one member at large (Asch and Musgrove 2017). A short two years later, city council would approve of full mayoral control of the school board and school system with the election of Adrian Fenty giving four main reasons for the choice: the school system was in a "State of Emergency;" previous progress initiatives were too slow; the current school system structure was complex and lacked clear accountability; and Fenty's proposed system would offer quick improvement to student achievement (Abamu 2018; Hyra 2017).

The Rhee Era and the Beginning of Mayoral Control, 2008-Present.

Though Adrian Fenty only served one term as mayor, changes that he implemented in the public school system reverberate today. In 2007, the city council accepted Fenty's proposal and elected to strip the school board of all its power (Sherwood 2009).

The District of Columbia Public Education Reform Act of 2007 did several things. It brought the management of the public schools under the mayor's

control. Under mayoral control, the mayor could freely decide on curriculum, appointments of superintendents, closing or opening of schools, the hiring and firing of principal, and more (www.dcpsb.org). Since 1996, the D.C. Board of Education retained oversight of charter approval; the act transferred all oversight responsibility for charter schools to the charter school board. The act also created new departments, such as the Office of the State Superintendent of Education (OSSE) who the school board and the public charter school board are under, and the position of chancellor of public schools, which replaced the title of superintendent (www.osse.gov).

Though he had promised not to remove the current superintendent Clifford B. Janey, only hours after congressional approval of the new school reform act, Mayor Fenty fired Janey and proposed for the new chancellor be a woman named Michelle Rhee (Nakamura 2007).

Rhee's tenure was rancorous and to this day in some circles the mere mention of her name is akin to a curse (Chait 2016; Field Notes 2014-2016). In a predominately Black city notoriously suspicious of outsiders, Rhee was a young, Asian American from Ohio. But she represented the radical change that Mayor Fenty desired. Rhee's main focus was to establish a culture of accountability (Whitemire 2011). Schools were failing, as Rhee and Fenty saw it, because employees were not being held accountable. Because of her stance on accountability for school reform, Rhee's tenure became known for three things: closing schools, mass firing of employees, and weakening the teacher's union; all

measures that she thought ensured success, all measures that fit into a larger neoliberal educational reform context.

Outside of White flight and middle-class Black flight, charter schools consistently drained the student population from D.C. public schools. As of 2018, almost half of the D.C. school aged population was enrolled in charter schools (Koehler 2017). Many schools such as Lucy D. Slowe Elementary School in Brookland had only a population of ninety students while it had a capacity for at least three hundred (Whitemire 2011). Yet, despite low populations, these schools remained open, costing the system millions in facility costs. In November 2007, only four months in office, it was announced that twenty-three schools would be closed, saving the district an estimated \$23.6 million dollars (Whitemire 2011, 97). The list of schools to be closed was leaked to the Washington Post. Council members, principals, and parents were hearing about these school closures from the press and not from Rhee herself. This first round of school closures began the process of Rhee alienating herself from parents and community. Before she stepped down in 2010, Rhee's administration had successfully closed nearly twenty schools.

Rhee also attempted to cut spending in central office. Many positions were deemed redundant but more importantly, misfiling of paperwork and general incompetence was costing the system money. Whitemire writes,

The worst central office disaster was the special education operation, which was so incompetently run in 2007 that it sucked up \$203 million a year and comprised 20 percent of the school budget...Over the years, platoons of outside lawyers had found an easy mark in the DCPS special education system, whose paperwork deficiencies allowed lawyers to win court orders that

sent students to expensive private schools. In some instances, parents from other states set up shell addresses in D.C. just to take advantage of the chaos to win private placements for their children (2011, 82).

Whitemire, continues that in only a few weeks, Rhee began firing central office employees who were rarely fired, even if they were proven incompetent (2011). In January 2008, D.C. Council passed a law that made the already non-union employees of central office, “at-will” employees. This meant that Rhee could fire people whenever she wished (Whitemire 2011).

Following her changes to central office, Rhee continued her push for accountability by focusing on teacher quality. As if reading from *A Nation at Risk*, Rhee focused on what she saw as the roadblocks to quality teachers: too lenient evaluation systems and teacher unions. Building a team of Teach For America alum and others, Rhee developed the much contentious teacher evaluation system called IMPACT. The rigorous system was data driven, connecting teacher evaluation directly to student success, or “value added” (Turque 2009). Thus, if a teacher did not raise test scores, then that teacher’s job was on the line. While merit pay was recommended in *A Nation at Risk*, D.C. public schools would be the first in the nation to directly connect job security to student success. The evaluation system also called for five 30-minute observations. The “elaborate new teaching and learning framework” scored teachers in twenty-two areas over nine categories (www.dcps.gov). Moreover, “IMPACT documents suggest that no nuance will be left unexamined in the 30-minute classroom visits. Observers are expected to check every five minutes for the fraction of students paying attention,” (www.dcps.gov). IMPACT went into effect in 2009; by the end

of the academic year in 2010, Rhee had fired 241 teachers rated ineffective and put over 700 teachers on notice that their jobs were at risk who were rated “minimally effective,” (Lewin 2010).

Rhee had been firing teachers in large numbers prior to the new rating system but IMPACT created a sure-fire system for getting rid of supposedly incompetent teachers. Rhee was in direct opposition to the Washington Teacher’s Union. Teacher unions have been central to school reform debates as most school reformers, on either side of the political fence see unions, which often protect teacher seniority and establish due process embedded in tenure, as the reason for failing schools. Nationally, more people then and now are critical of the job security that the teaching profession has enjoyed. Many advocates citing charter schools, which don’t have unionized teachers, as reason why charter schools outperform public schools (Ravitch 2013). More school system leaders were finding ways to fire supposedly incompetent teachers, crediting unions as protecting inefficient, ineffective, jaded teachers. Moreover, national leaders such as Arne Duncan and President Obama were in full support. D.C. once again became a proving ground for creating a system that set high teacher expectation (Ravitch 2013).

The first aspect of creating a new system was the promotion of teachers certified through alternative teacher certification programs, most notably Teach for America (TFA). Teach for America is a “non-profit organization designed to recruit recent college graduates to commit two years to teach in understaffed urban and rural schools across the country” (Lahann and Reagan 2011, 7). For

these two years, TFA alumni are often awarded scholarships to pursue a postgraduate degree. Some TFA alumni remain in teaching while most move onto other types of employment often in business or politics. TFA recruits from some of the top universities in the country; places that are often predominately White and wealthy (Goldstein 2014). Moreover, the charitable nature of the program also attracts people who want to give back, these people being White and middle to upper-class though this is not always the case as with Michelle Rhee.

A TFA alum herself, Rhee staffed her immediate team with former Teach for America teachers and promoted the hiring of Teach for America teachers throughout the system. Thus, when schools were closed, or school budgets or the hiring of new principals required reconstitution¹³ required faculty and staff cuts, veteran, university-trained teachers often had to compete for employment with young, usually White, inexperienced teachers. But promotion of TFA teachers was not Rhee's only strategy to dismantle the union and reform the school system.

Rhee's continued attempts to destabilize the union played out in contract negotiations between Chancellor Rhee and the Washington Teacher's Union, a part of the American Federation of Teachers (AFT). Rhee planned to offer teachers two tracks. Red track, teachers would continue professional life as

¹³ Reconstitution is the term used when a school receives a new principal. Usually for the first year of that principal's tenure, they allow the faculty and staff to remain. Before the second year of the principal's tenure the school usually becomes "reconstituted" meaning that the principal is allowed to keep fifty percent of the former faculty and staff. While a highly effective rating is supposed to ensure a teacher's employment through reconstitution, it is not guaranteed.

usual; the green track, teachers could earn higher salaries if they proved a higher level of effectiveness and if they relinquished some of their tenure protections. The tenure protections that were most bothersome were giving teachers with seniority top pick for school assignments; and the principle of “first one in, last one out”, meaning that the teacher that was the last person to be hired, whether effective or not, was the first to be let go, if budget constraints called for less staff. In 2008, Rhee hoped that teachers would vote for this new contract, and with the WTU’s support they almost did—until a news report was published advertising Rhee as attempting to eliminate tenure all together (Whitemire 2011). Negotiations came to a halt until Rhee announced in October 2009 that she had fired 266 teachers due to budget cuts. Most of these teachers were fired based on principal recommendation of performance and not seniority, which outraged the union but also spurred teachers to negotiate a contract that could possibly work in their favor.

The WTU decided to come to the table with the backing of the president of the AFT, Randi Weingarten. In the summer of 2010, D.C. public school teachers had a new contract. The contract focused on pay for performance, funded by private investors who truly believed in Rhee’s plan. The contract also ended “forced placement.”¹⁴ With the new system, “when Rhee began to reconstitute Ballou High School at the end of the 2009-2010 school year, 40 percent of the teachers were let go. Of those, only eight were rated “effective” teachers and even those eight were not guaranteed jobs in other schools,”

¹⁴ Meaning that if a teacher’s job was eliminated for whatever reason, the school system had to find them a job at another school and that school had to take the teacher, effective or ineffective rating.

(Whitmire 2011, 128). In exchange for signing the new contract, however, teachers received millions of dollars in retroactive raises.

Fenty was Rhee's main backer, even as the city council grew in opposition. Fenty, not only in his appointment of Rhee, but also in other aspects of his mayoral time, had created enemies on the council and with residents. When he ran for reelection in 2010, he lost to council adversary, Vincent Gray. Many wondered whether Gray would keep Rhee but Rhee on her own announced in October 2010 that she was stepping down as chancellor (Strauss 2014). Many teachers wondered if Gray would end mayoral control of the school system, but he did not. He then appointed, one of Rhee's inner circle members and one of the architects of the IMPACT system, Kaya Henderson who served as chancellor until she stepped down in 2017. To this day, teachers continue to be evaluated under new variations of the IMPACT system, still connecting teacher job security to high-stakes testing performance.

Part Two

Urban Development, Place, and African Americans

Development in D.C. has always affected the lives of African Americans beginning with the decision to place the capital on the Potomac River. When Maryland and Virginia ceded land to the federal government, both states combined held nearly fifty-five percent of the enslaved population of North America (Asch and Musgrove 2017, 21; Brown 1972). Development is about using land to create places that bring economic value to an area. Development is also about creating a sense of place, a place in which people want to invest in

monetarily, socially, and politically. Over the centuries, Congressional control of Washington has shaped how the city develops economically and as a place where people desire to live and call home, sometimes to the exclusion of its Black residents while using her resources (bodies and skills of enslaved builders and Federal workers) .

In this section of the chapter, I will present the historical context of development in Washington, D.C. and how that development shaped by race and the ideology of whiteness affected Black Washingtonians continued struggle for freedom and Black self-determination.

Disfranchisement leads to development. Congressional control of Washington means that D.C. has been subject to many social, political, and economic experiments, one of which was the immediate implementation of the Fifteenth Amendment that expanded suffrage to all males; thus, Black male Washingtonians were among the first African Americans to vote. Alexander Shepherd (1835-1902), a white supremacist and son of a wealthy, slave-owning lumber and coal dealer, did not believe in democracy for poor non-land-owning Whites, let alone formerly enslaved Blacks. Shepherd worked alongside well-known, wealthy, White Washingtonians—including banker George W. Riggs, and financier W.W. Corcoran (founder of the Corcoran Gallery)—to end Mayor Bowen’s biracial democracy. The key to his success was convincing local Whites to support the idea of consolidation and commission rule. Under this plan, currently separated Georgetown, Washington County, and Washington City would consolidate into one city, the District of Columbia. Moreover, consolidation

would end self-government in favor of a Board of Commissioners appointed by the president. The propaganda for consolidation centered on making D.C. run more effectively, control excessive taxation, and without saying, provide a “race neutral solution” (meaning White) to Black political power (Asch and Musgrove 2018; Maury 1971; Richardson 2010).

While the consolidation movement was widely supported by conservative Whites, Black Washingtonians who initially resisted consolidation (for the justifiable fear of being disfranchised) eventually joined in when Mayor Bowen rejected school integration and then combined the separate school boards into one White controlled entity. Additionally, Bowen had lost support of the federal government due to his exorbitant spending. As a federal city, Washington is limited on what properties can and cannot be taxed. With no manufacturing industry native to the area, as some had initially hoped, the main industry is the federal government, which will not provide revenue for the city (Richardson 2010). Though, Bowen dreamed of creating a city, beautiful and clean, his ideas cost money that the city did not have, often resulting in unpaid workers, many of whom were Black (Lewis 2015). Following the lead of councilman and former slave George Hatton, who began to publicly disagree with Bowen’s leadership, many Black people began to support Shepherd’s consolidation idea, believing it would help the city to run smoothly and ensure salaries.

Through successful lobbying of President Grant, in February 1871, Congress created a single territorial government for a consolidated District of Columbia (Asch and Musgrove 2017; Lewis 2015). The new government

consisted of a presidentially appointed governor, upper Legislative Council, and a Board of Public Works alongside a popularly elected lower House of Delegates and nonvoting representation in the U.S. House (Lewis 2015). Shepherd ended up overseeing the public works and ran the city while the new governor functioned as more or less a figurehead.

According to Asch and Musgrove, Shepherd turned the Board of Public Works into an engine of taxpayer-funded development. They further state, “When the new government took control in June 1871, the board proposed a \$6.6 million (\$864 million in twenty-first century dollars) Comprehensive Plan of Improvements that promised to remake the city,” (2017, 161). Through his White House connections, he had become a favorite of President Grant and Shepherd was able to secure a \$4 million loan, largely approved of by Washingtonians, Black and White.

By 1873, the large public works plan was bankrupting the city, and it had stopped paying teachers, laborers, and other city employees, similarly to Bowen just a few years earlier. Still, Grant appointed Shepherd mayor later that year. Then the financial Panic of 1873 revealed just how much in debt the city was. Shepherd’s predecessor Henry Cooke used city funds to invest in his brother Jay Cooke’s enterprises. When Jay Cooke went bankrupt in 1873 so did the city and Shepherd’s government collapsed. Moreover, the Freedman’s Savings Bank folded (Du Bois 2007, 491-492). While Shepherd was in office,

white bank officials began to loan money to themselves and their friends at below-market rates, and Governor Cooke used the bank to bail out his brother’s failing Northern Pacific Railway. When the city went bankrupt in 1873, they allowed the Board of Public Works

to “repay” outstanding loans with IOUs rather than cash. Within a year, the bank had folded, and thousands of small depositors and black organizations lost their savings (Asch and Musgrove 2017, 165).

With all the accumulated debt and mismanagement of money, the public works projects Shepherd completed reached nearly \$21 million (\$3 billion today), double what Congress allowed and more than \$14 million over budget (Asch and Musgrove 2017).

In June 1874, Congress voted 216-22 to end the territorial government and revert to a presidentially appointed board of three commissioners to manage the city and pay its debts. One commissioner by law was from the U.S. Army Corp of Engineers, and the other two seats by practice were split between the two political parties. The bill did result in Congress pledging to cover fifty percent of the city’s annual budget, acknowledging that the federal presence in Washington added expense and curtailed revenue. Though initially temporary, Congress made the measure permanent in 1878 and Washingtonian’s Black and White population lost their right to vote for nearly a century. Black people and their “lack” of political acumen were blamed for the reign of Shepherd and Bowen and the resultant bankruptcy and loss of voting rights. Despite this, African Americans continued to flock to the city, making it their own (Maury 1971; Richardson 2010).

The beginning of neighborhood development. During the Civil War, enslaved African Americans migrated to the city in droves, creating a very large poor and working-class Black population; between 1860 and 1870, the African

American population in D.C. represented thirty-two percent of the total city population (Oglivie 1994).

Antebellum Washington, D.C. was not only economically and racially diverse, but as Asch and Musgrove state, “ In 1860, the city’s wealthiest man, banker W.W. Corcoran, lived on the same H Street block as a low income black widow, Letha Turner, and successful black hotelier James Wormley,” (2017, 189). This was due to the fact that most people lived in the developed city center; and there simply was not enough space to move further. But towards the late nineteenth century as the city made improvements and a population increase resulting in a housing shortage, people began to move outward, beyond Boundary Street (now Florida Avenue) developing formally rural land and segregating that land along the way.

Much of the development in D.C. was based on the marriage of politics and business. Many wealthy businessmen during the late nineteenth century used their profits in other industries such as banking or mining to purchase senate seats. Once in Congress, they used their political power and the general control Congress had over Washington, D.C. to expand their business interests and those of their friends. William Stewart, for example, came to Washington to serve as the first Senator from the new state of Nevada. He made his money in mining and when he arrived in the city turned to real estate. Speculating on expansion into the northwest of the city, Stewart purchased nearly \$10 million dollars (by today’s standards) and built a mansion in what is now Dupont Circle. Aided by his friend and then public works administrator Alexander Shepard, the

area went from a place inhabited by low-income people, both Black and White, to a neighborhood where international delegates and other upper-income people built mansions even larger than Stewart's. Some African Americans who lived there immediately sold their property. Others kept their land but as property taxes increased, many low and middle-income people could no longer afford to stay. Extremely poor people, however, continued to occupy the alleys of the neighborhood (Asch and Musgrove 2017; Logan 2017).

While Stewart may have used his money to make his mark on the city through real estate other politicians/businessmen used their access to craft particular ideologies on the cityscape. A fellow senator and friend of Stewart, mining millionaire Francis Newlands, wanted to build an ideal community that he named Chevy Chase. In the 1880's, Newlands purchased 1700 acres of land within D.C. and in neighboring Montgomery County. He spent three decades developing a community "that featured large country homes and luxurious amenities" including a streetcar he financed (French 1973). The central concept of Newlands' ideal community was white exclusivity. He firmly believed that the United States was a country that should be a white man's country. He promoted Black disfranchisement and barring Asian immigrants. The Chevy Chase Land Company, which he created, protected the racial exclusivity of the neighborhood. Asch and Musgrove state,

In 1909, the company sued a developer who had sold homes to black families in a subdivision called Belmont near the intersection of Western and Wisconsin Avenues. It reacquired the land and chose to let it remain undeveloped for decades rather than allow black residents to live there...The area that would have become

Belmont now houses Saks Fifth Avenue and other luxury stores (2017, 191).

To this day, the Chevy Chase area is predominately occupied by upper-middle-class and upper-class White people. Those White Washingtonians not located in new racially segregated housing developments created restrictive covenants and neighborhood citizens' associations to keep Black people from moving into the neighborhood.

Neighborhood associations emerged after 1874 disfranchisement. These associations were able to collectively petition commissioners to voice their concerns. These associations excluded Black residents. The purpose was to defend property values, and this encompassed beautification, making sure city services reached the neighborhood, and of course policing potential new neighbors. These various neighborhood associations eventually formulated into one group, the Committee of One Hundred. This group eventually became the Board of Trade in 1889 (www.bot.org).

Ideological based development. The Board of Trade emerged as a unit that “spoke for the local market businessmen and investors in areas ranging from economic development to government and public services (Abbott 1989, 10). The Board of Trade became the most important political organization in the city, according to Abbott, functioning as a sort of shadow government into the 1950s. The group portrayed themselves as a non-partisan, civic-minded group whose focus was to publicly represent the interest of the city in relation to economic development, planning (city beautification), and public service needs (Abbott 1989, 11). The board had four hundred members: most were from the northeast

or Ohio, few native Washingtonians or even Southern men dominated the board and only four of the four hundred were Black: hotelier James T. Wormley, leading physician Dr. Charles Purvis, Superintendent of Colored Schools George F. Cook, and lawyer and educator Robert Terrell (Green 1962, 107)¹⁵. The Board of Trade would be instrumental in creating the city that most people recognize today (Asch and Musgrove 2017)¹⁶.

Development in D.C. was shaped with the ideology of Progressivism. Politicians working within this framework believed that improvement of the human condition comes from advancements in science, technology, social organization, and economic development (Du Bois 1975). By the 1880's cities had become known for disease, dirt, poverty, and crime. Progressive politicians saw reform of cities as part of a large progressive agenda and thought that if the look and function of a city could be improved then the behavior of residents living in the city would be improved (Asch and Musgrove 2017). Planners promoted the idea of having "beautiful buildings, parks, and common areas" to encourage people to show "moral and civic virtue" (Asch and Musgrove 2017). Planners, landscapers, architects, and developers created designs that emphasized civic buildings and dominated the landscape to evoke pride and awe in the residents (Bordewich 2008). Many of the ideas of this period can be seen today.

¹⁵ Robert Terrell was husband to Mary Church Terrell, first Black woman appointed to sit on the new reconfigured school board in 1900.

¹⁶ The Board of Trade still exists and in 1979 the name changed to the Greater Washington Board of Trade. According to the website, the purpose of the Greater Washington Board of Trade is to work "collaboratively to advance policies, practices, and actions that benefit its members and improve the business environment across the region."

In D.C., these Progressive city designs took form in the McMillan Plan, named after the wealthy Detroit businessman turned Senator. Senator McMillan became the chair of the Senate Committee of the District of Columbia in 1891. With the depression that followed the Panic of 1893, Washington neighborhoods wilted as wealthy and middle-class people moved to newly developed areas in the suburbs and alley communities spread (Platt 2014, chapter 2). Additionally, an interracial group of skilled workers marched to the Capitol and demanded a public works program to employ people.

The desire for public works employment coincided with wealthy Washingtonians' agenda to have the government build the city in their image. Working closely with the Board of Trade, Charles Moore, employee of Senator McMillan and committee clerk for the Senate Committee of the District of Columbia, encouraged the senator to become an advocate of city beautification. At Senator McMillan's suggestion, the Senate created the Senate Park Improvement Commission in 1901, with McMillan as chairman and Moore as secretary. McMillan employed some of the premier architects of the time, who used European architectural design to reimagine the city. By January 1902, the commissioners produced what would be known as the McMillan Plan (Asch and Musgrove 2017).

The McMillan Plan was in effect from 1902 to the mid-1960s and created much of the city that is appreciated today (Gillette 1995). The members of the McMillan Commission were enamored with Pierre L'Enfant's original designs of the city, designs that never came to full fruition. The Commission desired to

return to the original idea of the city and create a town that was a “work of civic art”. The Commission’s remodeling included the building of the Lincoln Memorial in the 1920’s, Federal Triangle in the 1930’s, turning the Washington Mall into the park that many enjoy today, and a unified system of parks along Rock Creek, and the Potomac and Anacostia Rivers connected by bridges and tree-lined parkways (Asch and Musgrove 2018, 200).

All this effort to create civic beauty in the city came at the sacrifice of the city’s poor, and often African American communities (Gillette 1995). In quoting the 1904 edition of *Washington Life*, Asch and Musgrove write, “The greatest drawback to the civic beauty of Washington is its negro population, whose poor dwellings are found on every hand, and constitute the greatest menace to real estate values in the city,” (Asch and Musgrove 2017, 201).

Like many major cities in the United States prior to the turn of the 20th century, alley life constituted the domestic dwellings of Washington, D.C.’s poor African American population. Following emancipation in the city formerly enslaved African Americans rapidly poured into D.C., quickly outnumbering the resources available for them. These poor folks alongside poor Whites, lived in “excruciating conditions in often the least desirable locations, erecting shanties along the city canal, crowding into alleys, piling into leaky hovels, and boarding in stable lofts,” (Asch and Musgrove 2017, 127). Following citywide disfranchisement, alley construction boomed, as health officials no longer had the power to condemn buildings; by 1880 there were 231 named alleys in the

city, housing over 10,000 people, eighty-seven percent of that number were Black. According to Borchert, alley housing consisted of

The construction of small houses located on alleys at the rear of large lots. Initially these houses were no more than shacks or sheds rented to the laboring classes of the city. Very soon, however, more substantial dwellings were constructed, either frame or brick two-story row houses. These later structures became the predominate form of alley house (245).

Alley living stood in direct opposition to the plans of the McMillian Commission and other Progressive politicians. Alleys were endlessly scrutinized and reported because of the crime, disease, and poverty associated with living in such close proximity. Alley reform was a topic that many White political leaders could universally back.

The first attempt to address alleys came with the construction of Union Station, the large train station that originally housed a morgue, but now is the location of not only the train station, but also many upscale shops. Union Station, one of the first projects of the McMillian Commission and its construction between 1903 and 1907, uprooted a neighborhood of predominately Irish residents alongside African Americans called Swampdoodle. Those who owned homes were paid for their property, allowing them to move to other quarters on Capitol Hill. The 1500 poor alley residents, both Irish and African American, were forced to pack into other alleys nearby that were already crowded.

The first legal attempt to reform alley housing was the Alley Dwellings Act (ADA) of 1918 but the law did little to end alley housing. The onset of World War I intervened with the process and alley living continued. Migrants to the city during this time were predominately White. They were able to get jobs in the new

bureaucracy that President Wilson implemented, jobs such as clerks, bookkeepers, and stenographers, jobs from which Black people were largely excluded (Green 1967). The war also displayed a sharp housing shortage in the city that allowed the alleys to remain and for the most part thrive as the federal government built temporary dormitories for new migrants. Housing became increasingly more of a struggle as new White migrants refused to live in what were increasingly becoming Black neighborhoods.

Thus, what kept alley dwelling thriving in Washington, D.C. was racism. In 1934, Congress passed another Alley Dwelling Act. The goal was to “authorize a small body of housing experts to raze the worst of the alley tenements and relocate their occupants in new or remolded buildings in better neighborhoods,” the small body being the Alley Dwelling Authority (ADA) (Green 1967, 233). By 1934, however, there was a housing boom and developers were not interested in building projects with minimum profit. Moreover, properties became more expensive, too expensive for the government to purchase for public housing. In fact, the ADA spent most of its time in litigation as people opposed to public housing, particularly for African Americans who were the majority of alley dwellers, sued to stop acquisition of suitable sites. Alley dwelling continued into the 1960’s when the final alleys were razed for the urban renewal of Southwest (Gillette 1995; “A Right to the City” Anacostia Museum 2018).

Housing discrimination and neighborhood associations. Racial housing discrimination continued into the early 20th century, even for wealthier African Americans. Restrictive covenants became a practice in the 1920’s as another

way to keep African Americans from purchasing homes on certain streets. When the idea began is uncertain but by the mid 1930's thoroughly ensconced in White Washingtonian psyche was that Black neighbors were a detriment to the safety, security, and property value of a neighborhood. To protect property values and in hopes of limiting Black movement, White residents created restrictive covenants within housing deeds. In these covenants, White property owners agreed to restrict the sale, rental, or transfer of their property to racial and religious minorities; this included Jewish people, Arabs, Greek Orthodox, and others (Asch and Musgrove 2017). A Supreme Court case, *Corrigan v. Buckely* (1926), made restrictive covenants legal, as they were seen as private contracts and thus were court enforced ("Ordinance Segregating Whites and Blacks into Separate "Communities" within City Upheld" 1926). Restrictive covenants in combination with zealous neighborhood associations were able to threaten Black homebuyers with lawsuits. As the twentieth century continued on (this is the height of the Eugenics movement in America), African Americans saw increasingly more discriminatory housing practices from independent developers and in federal initiatives.

No solution for African American housing needs. Alley clearance was a controversial issue. The solution, public housing, meant that the government would need to spend money on the needs of poor and low-income African Americans, many in Congress refused to do this on account of the desires of their constituents; though an early attempt was made in 1938. The first public housing project for African Americans in D.C. was the Langston Terrace

Dwellings (Szylyan 2015, chapter 1). Later in the twentieth century it would be nicknamed “Little Vietnam” for high drug related violence, but in 1938 it was a boon for housing reform to the benefit of the Black community. Named after John Mercer Langston and designed by native Black Washingtonian, Hilyard Robinson, the facility had 274 units, selecting the best of the 2,700 inquiries from working, modest income applicants (Asch and Musgrove 2017, 250). At the time of its construction, it was only the second public housing development constructed solely with federal funds (Green 1967). But federal public housing initiatives still faced opposition from Whites in the District.

Another solution was to have private companies build subsidized housing, but most did not want to build public housing for the very poor due to the financial risk of doing such. Beyond that, White neighbors did not want the possibility of permanent African American residents, which an apartment structure would cause. The ADA allowed private companies such as the Washington Sanitary Housing Company and the Washington Sanitary Improvement Company to build two public housing structures between 1934 and 1939. These buildings total had 1,034 units for low-income (not poor or poverty-stricken) residents, however, the building rented predominately to White residents; a few were left for “color tenants of the better class” (Asch and Musgrove 2017, 256).

Housing was necessary as the city population increased during the Depression. Because of the high demand, landlords were able to charge higher rents. African Americans were at a particular disadvantage. They were limited to

certain neighborhoods, no matter the income bracket, causing more crowding; and even in those Black neighborhoods they still paid higher rents.

While simultaneously attempting to reform housing for the poor, the federal government continued to exacerbate the situation. The government, often using eminent domain, built government buildings in various parts of the city, continuously displacing poor African Americans who were limited in where they could live. Where the federal government did not create displacement, private developers pushed African Americans from their homes. One case of this during the 1930's was Georgetown.

Georgetown today is known for its high-end luxury shops and is known as being one of the wealthiest and whitest neighborhoods in Washington, D.C. But before the 1930's nearly two-thirds of Georgetown's population was African American. Many Black schools were located in Georgetown before emancipation and many Black people were already located in this part of the city when Georgetown still belonged to Maryland. Due to the failure of the C&O Canal, promised economic prosperity coupled with the Great Depression left nearly forty percent of Georgetown's population in poverty (Dickey 2014).

Despite the state of disrepair most houses were in, the neighborhood was still attractive, particularly; the various federal style houses that harkened back to the earlier days of the republic as well as being located so near to downtown. Young Whites, who recently moved to the city as they took up government positions in Franklin D. Roosevelt's new administration, began to renovate various properties, inputting plumbing and electricity. They created a historical

society that focused on revitalizing the old homes in the neighborhood. Real estate agents in this neighborhood downplayed the presence of Black residents. Thus, Whites continued to move in and rehabilitate homes in Georgetown despite the large African American presence. Land values increased and those African Americans who could not afford to renovate their homes (usually because they could not receive a loan), and those who could not afford the rising rents began to leave Georgetown. By the 1940's Georgetown was the White neighborhood it is today (Green 1967; Lesko, Babb, and Gibbs 1991).

Continued struggle for housing. The 1940's brought World War II and once again a housing shortage as new migrants of various races came into the city, adversely affecting poor Black Washingtonians who lived in deteriorating conditions with rising rents. Black property was also lost through eminent domain as the wartime caused government expansion. Low income Black residents in D.C. and Virginia were uprooted to make way for the new Social Security, Railroad Retirement, and Census buildings; and the expansion of Arlington National Cemetery. The war effort caused another spike in the city's population, of both Black and White people, in need of housing (Szylvian 2015). Alley demolition was once again put on hold. Local and federal authorities maintained segregation in housing and the National Capital Housing Authority, formerly the Alley Dwelling Association, decided to only build segregated housing projects in areas already occupied by that particular race (Ammon 2009; Green 1967). Still, the majority of the public housing built in D.C. during World War II was for

Whites. Black people continued to live in alleys and rooms in homes of friends in crowded Black neighborhoods.

The war brought several changes to housing in Washington.

Suburbanization started the steady exodus of White residents in the District. After the war, to encourage home homeownership for the many Whites living in public housing, the federal government issued the GI Bill, which granted returning veterans many benefits including low cost mortgage loans. Additionally, the new Federal Housing Administration (FHA) produced maps that categorized mortgage loan risk level. Most Black neighborhoods were encircled in red and classified as high risk, "Type D". Those neighborhoods classified as low risk "Type A" were mostly in the suburbs. To avoid having their FHA score decline, neighborhoods kept Black homebuyers out, even if a Black person could secure a loan.

Ironically, most Black people lived in the suburbs and rural parts of the city and surrounding areas of Maryland and Virginia during the early 1900s, when they were roughly thirty-four percent of the city's surrounding population. By 1960, only six percent of the suburban population was African American. Thus, White post-war newcomers settled into the suburbs and southern Blacks migrating to the area settled in the city (Asch and Musgrove 2017).

Changes in court backing of restrictive covenants also shaped the course of White flight from the city. As more Black people migrated to the city and more Whites moved to the suburbs, restrictive covenants were ever popular following the end of World War II and arose in areas such as Bloomingdale, Brookland, and Columbia Heights, neighborhoods that already had a number of middle-class

Black residents but also bordered overflowing Black neighborhoods. Despite severe housing discrimination, Black Washingtonians who could afford it, purchased homes in a variety of neighborhoods, mostly because real estate agents knew that Black people would have to buy homes at a higher price from which they would profit (Asch and Musgrove 2017; Mintz 1989).

The official end to court sanctioned restrictive covenants came in 1948. Black couple James and Mary Hurd purchased a home in NW, a few blocks east of Howard University from Italian rogue real estate agent Raphael Urciolo (who was kicked out of the Washington Real Estate Board for repeatedly selling homes to Black people). The neighbors, following the restrictive covenant sued the Hurds and won. But Urciolo, and Black lawyers Charles Hamilton Houston (of *Bolling v. Sharpe*), Spottswood Robinson, III (who would become D.C. first Black circuit court judge), and a White attorney, took the case to the Supreme Court. In *Hurd v. Hodge*, the Court declared that race-based restrictive covenants were in violation of the Civil Rights Act of 1866, and the Hurds kept their home (Asch and Musgrove 2017; “Developers of Private Homes Approved for FHAVA Financing May Not Refuse to Sell to Qualified Negro Buyer” 1958). The ruling encouraged the Housing Act of 1949, which ended legal discrimination in public housing.

Though there was no backing from the court, restrictive covenants continued through developers and general peer pressure, but the ruling encouraged the decline of White residents in the city. In 1940, seventy-two percent of the city’s population was White, by 1950, sixty-four percent, and this number would continue to drop following desegregation of schools. With fear of

FHA decreditization, increased construction of highways (highways that destroyed poor and working class communities) that allowed people to live in the suburbs but commute to the city for work, and more Black middle-class residents able to purchase homes in former White only neighborhoods, White Washingtonians would continue to move to the suburbs. This movement encouraged, enforced, and legitimized continued *de facto* racial segregation and created room to use the argument of neighborhood economic advancement to cloak racial housing discrimination.

The roots of modern gentrification. The National Housing Act of 1949 not only ended public housing segregation but also gave funding for city lead renewal projects in an effort to stem the flow of people from cities to the suburbs. In Washington, D.C. the first region to be the focus of urban renewal (and a continued focus of renewal) was the Southwest area of the city. Known for its proximity to the Potomac River (for fishing and other water related subsistence activities), by 1950 residents of Southwest were seventy percent Black and ninety percent poor (Ammon 2009). Though initially created in 1945 to buy up unsightly city lots, the Redevelopment Land Agency (RLA), made a development plan in 1951 for 550-acres of Southwest, nearly all of the quadrant. The RLA commissioned architectural team Louis Justement and Cholethiel Woodward Smith to design a which included razing the entire area and “replacing it with luxury apartments and townhomes, a massive shopping center, a renovated waterfront with high-rise commercial buildings, and an elegant promenade connecting the neighborhood to downtown,” (Asch and Musgrove 2017, 322).

Though the National Capital Parks and Planning Commission in a 1950 comprehensive plan initially insisted that the plan included housing for those displaced by construction, the Commission ended up offering the RLA a compromise and allowed the inclusion of a provision requiring at least one-third of the new units be set aside for low-income housing (Ammon 2009; Asch and Musgrove 2018, 323).

Construction came to a halt when two business owners sued, claiming their business property which was neither housing nor dilapidated, was being taken unjustly for private development for which they had not received just compensation. They also claimed that their Fifth Amendment rights were violated. The Supreme Court ruled unanimously in favor of city officials in *Berman v. Parker* in December 1954. The vote devastated low-income residents of the area who were removed, including the Dixon Court alley that became luxury Capital Park apartments. By 1970, Southwest, which was seventy percent Black in 1950, became seventy percent White and middle to upper middle-class (Ammon 2009; Asch and Musgrove 2017). During the 1960's, civil rights activists organized in opposition of "urban renewal" (referred to by Black Washingtonians as "a Negro removal" (Swope 2018) insisting that Black residents taking control before development projects could push them out. The Southwest project encouraged local leaders such as Julius Hobson and future mayor Marion Barry to focus on equity in economic opportunities, housing, and education.

The 1970's saw the rise of a politically powerful Black majority in Washington, D.C. In the years leading up to the 1974 Home Rule Act, crime

continued to affect the city. Middle-class Black residents began moving across the city line to suburbs they were once barred from in Prince George's County and Montgomery County, MD and, in some cases, the suburbs in northern Virginia such as Arlington or Alexandria. Whites, who once lived in these counties, moved further out within boundaries of the above-mentioned counties and to further counties in Virginia such as Loudoun, Prince William, and Fairfax; and Howard and Anne Arundel counties in Maryland.

Between 1970 and 1980, the city saw a decline of its middle-class tax base as the nation and the city were hit with the effects of the economic recessions of the early 1970's and 1980's. The riots, increased crime as a result of economic stagnation, and abandonment left a city with streets upon streets of boarded up buildings. Additionally, changes in mental health law catered to more community-based care centers that discouraged inpatient care. Mental care hospitals such as historic St. Elizabeth's with a decrease in inpatient population were forced to close some hospital facilities, transferring some and releasing many patients into neighborhoods that could not care for them, resulting in an increasing number of people in the city who were homeless and jobless during the 1970's and 1980's (Kanhouva 2010). Those who were not homeless lived in slums run by landlords refusing to attend to building upkeep as the city began to decline economically. It is during this time period that the term and concept of "gentrification" affected the city.

With property values at rock bottom, land speculators, new government employees and other young professionals, developers, and amateur house

flippers began buying up properties in the city's oldest neighborhoods. As rents rose, the low-income residents in the neighborhood were forced out. Many residents began forming tenant associations to block and fight displacement. Many of these groups and other tenant's rights groups and activists were able to slow down the tide of gentrification and displacement but not for long (Asch and Musgrove 2017; Hyra 2017; Schaeffer 2003).

When Marion Barry was elected to office in 1978, his mission was to resolve homelessness in the city, create opportunities for the city's poor Black residents, resolve inefficient local government, and boost economic activities in the city (Hyra 2017). Barry benefited from the development in the city and added his own input including the construction of a convention center, what is now known as the Capital One Arena (formerly Verizon center) in D.C.'s Chinatown area, blocks from the MLK Public Library. Barry accelerated revitalization by cutting red tape for builders and working with the federal government to choreograph development. Barry then took that revenue and expanded and improved city services for the Black community. Though he initially faced budget constraints in his first years in office, following two years of austerity, he began creating government positions and hiring many of the D.C.'s low and middle skilled Black residents without college degrees training them on the job. He created a still praised summer youth work program. He also created the Minority Business Opportunity Commission, which ensured, if not pressured, city agency directors to award at least twenty-five percent of their contracts to minorities. Furthermore, the commission encouraged Black entrepreneurs to create

businesses specifically for city contracts. According to Asch and Musgrove, by 1985, thirty-five percent of city contracts were going to minority businesses (2017, 395). While Barry was initially elected by biracial support of young Black professionals and White business owners when he was reelected in 1978, he won the support of the majority of Blacks in the city across class lines because of his efforts to grow and maintain a Black middle-class, and stabilized the Black working class.

But development that was surging during the mid to late 70's halted as the city began dealing with the rapid spread of cocaine and crack. Open-air drug markets in neighborhoods still reeling from the physical and economic destruction of the riots continued to deteriorate as drug related violence raged; and by 1989 Washington, D.C. had surpassed Detroit as being the "murder capital" of the nation (Castaneda 2014), becoming an undesirable place to live.

When Anthony Williams ran and won the mayor-ship in 1998 the city was in the midst of several crises—drug related violence, a poor performing school system, failing public services, and congressional control of the government that threatened newly gained home rule. But unlike Barry, Williams wasn't concerned with aligning his politics for Black economic growth. He worked closely with the Control Board and helped to pull the city from the brink of bankruptcy. The Control Board released the city back to the citizens and the mayor in 2001, and by 2002, Williams was implementing his plan for boosting the city's economy and that plan was centered around development much to the discontent of the city's low-income Black residents (Asch and Musgrove 2017; Hyra 2017).

Williams' administration commissioned a report on how to stimulate revenue in the city in 2002. The report found that the city needed to attract a new middle-class residential base to increase revenue, particularly since sixty percent of D.C. residents were renters and not paying the same type and amount of tax necessary for the city to thrive. The Williams administration created a plan that focused on development near public transportation and revitalizing commercial corridors (Rivlin 2003). His development plans fit into a general increase in migration resulting from new federal jobs when the federal government created the Department of Homeland Security following the 9/11 attacks. With new jobs in technology, defense, and other opportunities for federal contracting, new migrants to the city, who would have once moved directly to the suburbs, were seeking to come back to the city, rejecting suburban ideals that their parents and grandparents had sought before. These newcomers were predominately White and had the income to afford the rising cost of housing, shifting the population and dynamic of the former "Chocolate City". Mayor Adrian Fenty, Vincent Gray, and current mayor Muriel Bowser (all of whom are African American) have continued the plans that Williams put in place. This has resulted in resentment of urban planning across racial and class lines. Today D.C.'s Black population stands at roughly fifty percent but is declining as lower income Black residents continue to leave the city looking for affordable housing options.

Summary

The current protest against gentrification is rooted as far back as 1790, as Black people continue to claim ownership of the land in order to claim ownership

of their citizenship. This chapter gave the historical context of education, gentrification, and a history of Black Washingtonians. In the first part of this chapter I presented the role that education played in establishing D.C. as a city with a strong Black middle-class. Moreover, the chapter explained the historical context that created a Black majority in the city and its connection to education. As more Black Americans migrated to the city, more White Americans migrated out; school desegregation was the final straw that led to White flight and the rise of D.C. as a Black mecca.

Another factor connected to the rise of D.C. as a Black majority city is related to housing and development, explored in the second part of this chapter. This section discussed the historical connection between racism and rights to property in the city, as the Black population increased, White efforts to keep Black people out of their neighborhoods and, generally out of sight, also increased. Using methods of exclusion including developer lead creation of all-White neighborhoods, building of fences, creation of restrictive covenants, or outright demolition for federal purposes, White Washingtonians were able to curtail movement of Black people in the city for some time. When these methods were no longer effective, Whites simply moved from the city to suburbs that would enforce racial segregation and discrimination.

Most importantly, this part of the chapter presented how the fear of a Black political majority lead to widespread disfranchisement. That disfranchisement allowed for the federal government to use the city as they saw fit, often purposefully to the disadvantage of Black residents of all classes.

Moreover, this chapter showed that through land development, racist White Americans were able to continually subjugate Black Washingtonians politically, economically through corrupt land deals, manipulation of federal and city laws, outright demolition, and purposeful divestment.

In conclusion, the displacement of Black people, particularly poor Black people is not new to the city of Washington and, in fact, is core to its development. In multiple points in the city's development history, the city has sided with wealthy Whites over the needs and desires of its Black population when it comes to land development and land use. While seemingly unconnected, education is a large part of the land development narrative. First, Black people came to the city for education, creating the large Black educated base that made White Washingtonians uneasy. Second, new schools built for White people displayed racial injustices, highlighting the locations and city amenities that were not open to Blacks. Suburban re-segregation of schools marked the transfer of privilege, White resources, and refusal to co-habitat with Black people, all of which undermined the urban school system.

Furthermore, city planning, Black political power, and White racism are connected. First, the administration of Mayor Bowen, his election won by a large Black voter base worried wealthy White Washingtonians, which lead to disfranchisement. While the purpose of Bowen's city development was no different in cost or goal from Shepherd's or the McMilian Commission, the key difference was for whom the development was intended. Congressional control of the school board in the 1990's leading to mayoral control in the 2000's, was

once again a loss of Black political control spurred by a perception of Black led “mismanagement” of city planning and development. But overall, what combined urban planning and the school system together was the growth of the city connected to the growth of its school system. In both city planning initiatives and in school reform, there is an overarching concept that the needs and desires of the White middle-class are what is necessary to benefit each system: neighborhoods and, therefore the city, will be better if it can attract a solid White middle-class. On the other hand, the presence of Black people, regardless of class, are debilitating to value and progress (as is evidence in White flight of the schools and neighborhoods, restrictive covenants, and overall corrupt land deals that attempted to price Black people out of neighborhoods and limit their access to clean, affordable housing). In the next chapter, I will analyze the meaning of race, space, gentrification, and education in D.C, making the connections presented in this chapter more explicit and exploring them in detail.

Chapter 6

Analysis and Discussion: Application of Du Boisian Theory

In chapters four and five, I presented the ethnographic and historical context of gentrification and education. The purpose of these chapters was to connect current sentiments about race, gentrification, space, and identity to the past. In this chapter, I will analyze the concepts mentioned through the lens of the Du Boisian social theory outlined in chapter three. Furthermore, I will round out the discussion using the framework of Low's *spatializing culture*. Through this combination I will be able to show that the school system is a site of gentrification. In proving that schools and school systems can be sites of gentrification, I will also make an argument for the importance of understanding race, as a cultural institution in America, for understanding both the materiality and public perception of gentrified education.

Understanding the definition of gentrification

For the stakeholders interviewed for this project, and for many Americans nationwide, gentrification has become language for discussing the process of White people taking over areas regarded as Black space, regardless of class. At the same time, for participants, gentrification is also seen as a process of capitalist take-over of the spaces of the middle and working classes. Stakeholders held both of these definitions next to each other and found it difficult to define gentrification without recognition of each aspect: race and capitalism.

White stakeholders overwhelmingly shied away from defining gentrification as White take-over of Black space. Participants 17 and 18 did not like the term gentrification because of the connotation that gentrification meant White take-over. As White people and long-term residents of a fairly diverse neighborhood, they did not see themselves as taking over or pushing anyone out. Whites were not comfortable associating their individual home choices with “pushing out” racial minorities. Yet, they were acutely aware that gentrification connotes a racial divide, a divide in which Whites are the perpetrators and Blacks the victims in the struggle for housing. Most White stakeholders, teachers and Brooklanders, identified a gentrifier as a developer/capitalist/politician.

For most Black stakeholders, gentrification was centrally a racial issue. Still, they recognized gentrification simultaneously as an economic process. While White stakeholders still preferred to define gentrification economically, paying service to racial discrepancies in the process, Black stakeholders held race and economics in tandem: gentrification was about Whites pushing out Blacks, regardless of class, but if examined as an economic process, gentrification was designed to benefit Whites and not Black people of any class, but instead particularly lower and working class Black people. Moreover, Black teachers predominately held to this definition of gentrification.

At the root of the definitions of gentrification for White stakeholders and Black stakeholders, teachers, and Brooklanders, is the materiality of the process. Materially, one aspect of gentrification that seems to be a theme among most White stakeholders, is the ubiquitous presence of multi-unit, multi-level,

mix-use buildings that seemed to be erected at the expense of green space, public parks, and single-family homes. These buildings are seen as expensive monstrosities¹⁷; out-of-place structures that become a physical symbol of rapid neighborhood change that is developer and politician led. These structures, as Participant 24 states, represent bad capitalism and gentrification is the result of bad capitalism. Bad capitalism affected everyone on the bottom, regardless of race because it was inherently exploitative. White stakeholders acknowledged that disproportionately, poor and working class Black Washingtonians were adversely affected by development trends, however, they seemed to feel that any development that priced out the majority of people, raised prices in formerly affordable neighborhoods, and privatized public services (results from the new type of urban development) could and would affect anyone who lacked capital and political power. The large multi-story, multi-use developments that represented capitalism at its worse for White stakeholders represented the epitome of expanding whiteness for Black stakeholders, largely but not exclusively, Black teachers.

Though many of the Black teachers interviewed did not live in D.C. they referred to development as not being “for us”. Black people and blackness are implied in the usage of *us*. Materiality of gentrification was framed as us versus them. “Them,” meaning White people, were represented by luxury housing, bike

¹⁷ In 1910, Congress passed the Height of Buildings Act, limiting buildings in residential areas to 90 feet and businesses to 130 feet or the width of the right of ways, whichever was shorter. Today, many residents appreciate the lack of skyscrapers in D.C. giving D.C. a unique skyline different from other major American cities. Others believe the height restrictions limit economic growth (National Capital Planning Commission Report 2012)

lanes, dog parks, and commercial shopping areas. Moreover, most White teachers also recognized that the material culture of gentrification did not seem directed at Black people. What differentiated their view from Black teachers is that they were viewing blackness through the lives of their impoverished students. In discussing the changes to the school he works in, in another gentrifying neighborhood of Ward 5, Participant 10 states, "I don't think it has that much, [this neighborhood is gentrifying too] but we don't see any of that here. There are some middle-class African American kids who go here but the majority are lower-class or in poverty." The new stores and luxury condominiums were not for them because they were poor Black people, but implied in Participant 10's statement, is that the materiality of gentrification could be for middle-class Blacks. Black teachers, who occupy the middle-class, still didn't see the material products of gentrification as for them though they took part in them. Some even identified their participation in the new gentrified commodities as marking them as gentrifiers. As Participant 7 stated, she regularly reported on her Black and poor neighbors because she wanted the neighborhood she lived in to be peaceful, and, she was happy that the public housing near her home was closed down. Implied within her statements is the belief that there are not only material cultural items that code for White but also certain social actions that are seen as exclusive to the racial category of White. Yet, despite her actions, she still recognized her material surroundings as meant for White people, though she had the class status to participate.

Whiteness is at the core of participants' definition of gentrification. When saying that whiteness is at the core of participants' definition of gentrification, I am including the way that whiteness as an ideology shapes multiple cultural institutions including the American economic system and the associated cultural practices. Analyzing the materiality of gentrification through a Du Boisian understanding of whiteness elucidates the intersection of race and class.

Before the analysis of the definition of gentrification it must be stated that participants did not shun development. The overarching theme was that there should be responsible development, development that catered to the community. Brooklanders, both Black and White, fought developers for ample green space and more single-family homes to continue the quiet family-feel of their neighborhood. They welcomed more restaurants, more entertainment, but not at the expense of the environment already crafted over the years. For Black teachers, there is the same overarching concept; development was not the enemy and in fact was welcomed. It created diversity¹⁸ particularly in certain restaurants and shops that, as Participant 7 states, Black American people would not go out of their way to patronize. But despite enjoying these amenities, for Black educators, gentrification had a look beyond "luxury" living accommodations. Those luxury accommodations and the associated neighborhood amenities: dog parks, fitness studios, chain restaurants, and high-end coffee shops, all represented the overwhelming presence of White people in a changing neighborhood.

¹⁸ The diversity spoken of by some Black teachers is diversity from Blackness. Some expressed that as a predominately Black city, gentrification brought diversity by bringing in more White people.

Black teachers code fitness studios, dog parks, high-end coffee shops, and bike stations as the amenities of White people. According to Low, the spaces in which our bodies participate in certain activities structure the social production and construction of that space (2011). Therefore, activities located in spaces that attract White people, become activities for White people and spaces *meant* for White people. This conceptualization can be understood when asking White participants (i.e., teachers and Brooklanders), specifically those who moved to the city in the past five years, if they identified as gentrifiers. White participants recognized that they could be and are possibly seen as gentrifiers, though they may not personally identify themselves as such. When White participants state that they do not personally identify as gentrifiers they are saying they do not identify with people who have capital and power. Yet, they recognize that while they may not identify themselves as gentrifiers, they understand what their presence as a White person in particular spaces mean within the larger context of development (Low 2011). They are recognizing the meaning of whiteness in social interactions and cultural practice.

Whiteness as Du Bois presents it, is an ideology creating rules of exclusivity, dissemination of power, access to wealth and legal justice, and certain concepts of manners and presentation, all of which help to define what is White and therefore socially acceptable and what is not. In the context of gentrification and education, whiteness ideology is an understanding that in America, White people have crafted unspoken materiality that helps to distinguish them from those who are non-White and mark their presence on the

landscape. Whiteness ideology promotes the idea, as Du Bois states, that that which is better, that which is right is Whites' (1975). Thus betterment, of a neighborhood or a school system occurs with the presence of White people and White people alone.

The materiality of gentrification becomes associated with whiteness because it aligns with the tenets of the ideology. In poorer neighborhoods, each of these items: luxury apartments, dog parks, bike lanes, coffee shops, and yoga studios, imply a certain level of class privilege and private money. A dog park means that you have an abundance of people in a neighborhood who own dogs or that a developer is attempting to attract people who own a dog. The cost of dog ownership can range from \$6,000 to \$25,000 per year (Guzman 2017). Other amenities such as coffee shops or fitness/ yoga studios once again are markers of a particular economic bracket; there are multiple reports on the cost of a cup of coffee on a person's budget as well as the high cost of gym memberships (Dellaverson 2008; Hernandez 2017).

These neighborhood amenities are physical embodiments of whiteness in that they are ways to establish economic exclusivity. According to Du Bois, embedded in the ideology of whiteness is the creation and maintenance of a *gentleman's* lifestyle. In Du Bois' explanation of whiteness, a gentleman's lifestyle becomes a term for the ways in which middle-class White people imitate the lifestyles of the wealthy, landed gentry. This imitation is accomplished through consumption and leisure activities (Fernandes 2006, chapter two; Webb 2012). Leisure activities not only reflect the fact that one has time for leisure but

must also display the expendable income one has to use on leisure.

Furthermore, leisure activities display an adherence to upper class values and taste (i.e. cuisine seen in organic fair-trade coffee for example, or overall daily values such as health and wellness evident in private gyms and yoga studios) (Reissman 1954).

Leisure is neither White nor Black. But what is explained within the Du Boisian theory is the relationship between class, race, and practices of exclusivity framed by the ideology of whiteness. As Du Bois states, as exclusivity (embedded in whiteness) informs and frames the intersection of race and class, one understands that those who should occupy the upper economic classes should be White (1975; 2010). This means that central to the ideology of whiteness is that White as a race *should* not occupy the lower economic classes. Thus, capitalists should also be White. This can be seen in the history of American imperialism and in national exclusionary economic practices that maintain this cultural way. Thus, through consistent cultural practices, middle-class as an economic category becomes conflated with White as a racial category and in that same vein Black becomes associated with the economic category of slave, servant, and poor working class. Furthermore, these analogies are assumed as natural (Blake 1994).

Within the context of gentrification in D.C., culturally, yoga studios, fancy coffee shops, and luxury accommodations become associated as the material culture of White people because they are essentially the leisure activities of this era's middle-class. By saying that modern leisure and modern middle-class

status is associated with whiteness, I am situating gentrification within Du Bois' philosophies and arguing that, (1) there is an implicit understanding that in cultural practice, Whites tend to occupy the category of middle-class more often than Black people; (2) central to whiteness is a concept of exclusivity based on race and class, in that White as a racial category should be the only race that occupies the middle-class category because middle-class is a category that allows for participation in capitalism, as capitalism according to Du Bois is for the benefit of White people (on a smaller scale); (3) capitalism defined as private ownership and monopoly over wealth production and distribution, becomes simplified among the middle-class into practices of private ownership through consumption. Private ownership implies exclusivity, which as Du Bois explained is a central component in developing whiteness. These practices include purchase of private property, participating in the supply and demand economy, and spending money in other private establishments; (4) exclusivity is maintained via tastes, of the commodities and activities middle-class/White people are willing to pay for. Thus, the coffee shop and yoga shop are private businesses where the extra income most middle-class people have can be used. They reflect the concept of privatization as middle-class people move into a neighborhood and begin to own private property in the form of homes, these businesses become an extension of their private ownership, reflecting their middle-class tastes and values. As an extension of their private ownership, these places can feel exclusionary in their appeal to lower class neighbors in terms of tastes and because they cannot afford to participate. When coupled with the overall concept

that class is associated with race, yoga studios, organic coffee shops, dog parks and the like, become items of whiteness because they are in essence the material culture of the middle-class mimicking the lifeway of the upper class as consumer, all of who are assumed to be White. And as these gentrifying middle-class people, who most often are White, continue to participate in their chosen leisure amenities they in essence continually exclude not just lower classes, but Black people of the same class who understand these middle-class signifiers as coding for a type of middle-class identity that is rooted in whiteness.

Furthermore, when Black interviewees claim that particular material culture items are not for them, it is a purposeful discourse that illuminates that there is a Black aesthetic that is not being taken into account in the city's redevelopment. Additionally, when Black participants claim that they can be a gentrifier, it is language that recognizes the rules of engagement that Black Americans must navigate, particularly the Black middle-class. Specifically, the control that whiteness has over space and the ways in which Black people have had to historically yield to this. When Black participants state that the development is not "for them" as Black people they are speaking to the idea that when cities decide to attract the middle-class what they are really doing is attempting to attract White people who are, based on the ideology of whiteness, culturally assumed to occupy a middle-class status. Black residents are not considered to be middle-class and therefore not considered to be consumers in the ways that are necessary for the modern market, leaving their consumer desires out of redevelopment designs.

Moreover, not only do these leisure activities code for “white” in that they are the activities of this era’s middle-class as that class category becomes conflated with the racial category of White; the actual visual representation of change is White. For example, as seen on page 107, the advertisement for The Shay apartment stood strikingly among a section of the city that is roughly two blocks from the historically Black, Howard University. The White woman in her very European attire looks out among the city, with a satisfied grin and the words, “She Has Arrived” boldly typed across the top. There are various advertisements of new living spread throughout the city, most of these images depict White faces. If the activities alone do not speak to the leisure that the Black middle-class could and would enjoy, these images certainly tell Black Washingtonians of all classes that they are not the image of a new D.C.

Ownership and associated whiteness. Consumerism is key to capitalism. Today’s capitalism is more dependent on the consumption power of the middle-class, and the middle-class depends on the process of consumption to maintain and establish their identity (Webb 2012). As stated, in this analysis of the materiality of gentrification, race, class, and space, I am arguing that as Du Bois explains, capitalism is as central to maintaining the ideology of whiteness as much as it is informed by it. Furthermore, the private ownership of resources and wealth production is key to capitalism. In the context of gentrification, consumption is used to have a sense of private ownership of neighborhoods. This is why Brookland residents closely monitor development in their neighborhood. Their homeownership creates ownership of the neighborhood and

as owners gives them the right to dictate development. That ownership is maintained not just in home-ownership but also in participation in the neighborhood economy. However, if Brookland residents feel excluded from the consumption process because their tastes and aesthetics as a community of one not being appealed to, then ownership is at stake. This is particularly the case as apartments and condominiums become the entry point to neighborhood ownership; which represents a competing form of ownership comparatively.

Residences labeled “luxury,” for example, attract the middle-classes as they once again attempt to live scaled down versions of upper-class life. These accommodations offer amenities that replicate the personalized service and access that an upper-class person would have, such as concierge service, laundry service, recreation rooms, and gyms, all located within the living quarters. The shops that emerge with these rentals and townhomes not only reflect an older idea of middle-class leisure that is exclusionary in terms of concept, these places are simply expensive for those who are poor and working class. They are also exclusive because the people who are renting these properties, or do not own the land on which they reside, buy into the concept of a community, literally and metaphorically. The amenities and luxury accommodations imply a temporary ownership of the space, this includes the shops located underneath the apartment or nearby. Exclusion happens as this concept of ownership, race, and class intersect with consumption. As consumption is the way in which middle-class people are currently defining their status, setting prices that are difficult for the working class to participate in

becomes a way to exclude. Thus, continuous consumption becomes the key to ownership of space and neighborhood, whether that is in the form of monthly rent, condominium fees, or a yoga studio membership. Developers are attempting to attract the middle-class that is assumed to not only be White, but young, single, and transient, thus development is aimed at this group of people. This further asks the question if you cannot consume within that space, do you have ownership of it?

Black Middle-class and Gentrification

Black people represent nearly fifty percent of overall spending in various consumer categories and have historically been the nation's top consumer ("Black Impact: Consumer Categories Where African Americans Move Markets"; Collins 1985; Du Bois 1975). Using their role as consumer, Black Americans have been able to use capitalism in some small form to further social aims of the overall community. Consumption, particularly for the Black middle-class, has been a way to express a complete American identity through class status (Mullins, 1999; Winsett 2012).

In the context of gentrification, whiteness, middle-class status, and consumption are being bounded together. Thus, whereas the Black middle-class could craft an identity through consumption, consumption and ownership are both being relegated to that which is White, as consumer products (materiality of gentrification) are formulated within a whiteness informed aesthetic; effectively leaving the Black middle-class out. For example, Participant 7, states that in the neighborhood she teaches in they built a soccer field but most of the Black

children in the neighborhood play football. Participant 7 also mentioned the construction of an Ulta (a cosmetics store) near her home as being another example of stores that are not necessarily for Black people though she can participate in it as a middle-class person. Ulta, as a cosmetics store, sells higher end and drug store brands of make up; brands that until the past year didn't make cosmetics that fit the wide range of darker skin tones for African Americans. Additionally, in terms of beauty, Black hair care is fundamental to Black culture, Ulta doesn't specialize in selling a wide range of Black hair care products in the way a local, non-chain beauty supply store would (a store that also gets lost in gentrification).

In speaking of the different shops, Participant 22 states that gentrification has brought many themed places and lot of nice bars, but the city is missing small specialty boutiques, similar to one she used to own that sold African inspired jewelry and cloth. Another instance, of Black aesthetics and concepts of ownership embedded in said aesthetics (particularly that of the middle-class), being in opposition of a White aesthetic or White cultural practices are in neighborhood home and garden tours.

In the 1990's Brookland residents formed the Brookland Garden Club and organized a yearly garden and house tour. I went on these tours twice, in 2015 and 2016. On the 2015 tour was a house located next to a particularly eclectically decorated and disheveled house. The owner of the house, an equally eclectically Black man stood out on the porch eating a chicken wing glaring disapprovingly, mainly at the Black visitors on the tour. In fact, other Black residents stood on

their porches to watch quizzically as Whites and Blacks poured in and out of their new neighbors' new home (the new neighbors are White). When asked what he thought of the tour, the eclectic man asked why would anyone born in D.C. would want to tour houses in D.C. He further stated that he had a lot of pots and plants in his house, plants that his mother had planted when she lived in the house, what was important about looking at plants (Field notes C54). Implied in his statements was that you know what the houses look like if you are born in the city, if you are an outsider you will not. Additionally, plants and flowers were common, some of his were ornamental and some not, as he stated some were plants his mother planted that grew food, gardens were not something you go on a tour of.

Exclusion from participation in the consumption process is where the Black middle-class feels gentrification, in consumption products of gentrification not being geared for them, the Black middle-class, as embodied by the teacher participants, is feeling a loss not in neighborhood (because most of the participants interviewed did not live in the city) but a loss in the city itself. Low's concepts of social construction and social production help to further explicate this feeling of loss.

According to Low social production situates the development of urban space historically and within a political economic framework. The term takes into account all the factors of society that craft the physical. Social construction focuses on the symbolic and psychological meanings of space and one's understanding of the various social exchanges that take place within that space

(2011, 392). Thus, when put into this framework of social production and social construction, the loss that the Black middle-class feels stem from what the city means and has meant to the development of the Black middle-class.

As discussed in chapter five, as a federal city, D.C. became a place where African Americans could seek a better way of life. Washington, D.C. was a place where Black people could be educated, could vote, could own successful businesses, and could be in a sense, full American citizens. As D.C. became a Black majority, the city became the embodiment of not only economic and political advancement but a place to socially exist as Black (however that was defined) unapologetically (Sansing 1976). The government promoted a city aesthetic geared towards an overwhelming sense of blackness. However, it could be argued that the exodus of the Black middle-class was the nail in the proverbial coffin of the city falling to gentrification.

The sense of loss is rooted in history. Washington, D.C. may have technically been in the south, but it offered a middle ground for freed or escaped slaves coming from the slave states that had the highest population of enslaved people: Maryland and Virginia. The location allowed for Black Americans to remain in the south and near to other family members who were not free. For the free coming from further South, D.C. was a literal midpoint between the slave holding south and the free north. Many simply decided to stay in the city instead of heading to Pennsylvania, New York, or even Canada. And after emancipation, D.C. was a way for refugees to escape Jim Crow simply by crossing the Potomac River.

Politically, as discussed in chapter five, Washington, D.C. had less restrictive slave codes, allowing for Black people to have more freedom, particularly economic freedom. Many were able to purchase their freedom, but beyond that, those who were free were able to open very successful businesses, during a time when that was not possible for most Black Americans. These early entrepreneurial efforts built a solid Black middle-class in the city. Moreover, reduced educational restrictions strengthened the growing Black middle-class in the city, as students of D.C. schools would go on to the most prestigious schools in the country and begin to create a professional class in the city (Moore 1999). The educational opportunities in the city attracted more Black people to make D.C. their home during the antebellum period, incrementally increasing the population.

With its proximity to two slave-holding states and as a city under the jurisdiction of Congress, following the Civil War, the city became a proving ground for incorporating the newly free into society, increasing the population dramatically. The Civil War and Reconstruction period was an exciting time in D.C. in which newly elected Black leaders moved to the city to have seats in Congress, Black Washingtonians voted, academic institutions such as Howard University were erected, and no longer did Black schools have to scavenge for funding but were now a part of the larger public school network. And while the promises of Reconstruction failed nationally, D.C. still was a city whose laws allowed Black people to express themselves, predominately through economics

and having a public education system that continued to be one of the best in the nation.

The District of Columbia's Black majority (during the late 1960's and through the 1990's) was not only a majority of numbers but also a majority in the leadership. As Participant 16 states, in describing her initial experience moving to the District, "coming from Texas, this is the first time I saw Black people in charge of hiring people." In short, African Americans were in charge of leadership positions at all levels, in both federal and local government positions and professional positions in law, education, banking, and entrepreneurial business. The rise of the District as "Chocolate City" was a wish fulfilled, locally and nationally, for African Americans.

Historically, development of the city has been structured following the ideology of whiteness, crafting city landscapes and neighborhoods that appealed to the values and desires of the White middle and upper classes. Moreover, development in D.C. has occurred at the expense or to the exclusion of Black people. Conversations about gentrification including phrases such as "pushing out" or "taking over" are historically rooted. The feeling of loss is historically rooted. While the Black middle-class left the city to express their middle-class identity in the suburbs, they are realizing that they are not being marketed to for a return to urban life; they are being denied ownership of a place integral to their identity. And as history has demonstrated, the likelihood of regaining that ownership is slim. As ownership is key to capitalism, and capitalism is key to American culture, in a sense, through gentrification, Black people, specifically the

Black middle-class are not only losing ownership of neighborhood or city, they are losing ownership of their right to stake claim in an American identity: political, social, and economic¹⁹.

Statistically, the percentage of Black people in the city is steadily decreasing compared to the percentage of White residents. As stated, in 2000 of the total city population, 60% of residents were Black, 30% White. As the total population of the city increased from 572,059 in 2000 to 601,723, the percentage of White residents increased as well from 30% to 38%, while the percentage of Black residents decreased to roughly 50%. As of 2019, the total city population is 710, 893. Of that population 41% are White and 45% are Black.

Looking at the numbers closely, between 2010 and 2019, the population increased by 109,170 residents. Between 2010 and 2019, the total number of White residents increased by 63,791. From these numbers, it is clear to see that of all the increased residents to the city between 2010 and 2019, roughly 58% of that 109,170 identified as White. While the total number of Black residents decreased between 2000 (343,312) and 2010 (305, 125) and increased between 2010 and 2019 to 321,349; of the total number of increased population in D.C., however, between 2010 and 2019, roughly 15% were Black. So while today, the percentages of Black and White residents are roughly even, it is a result of an increase of White people moving into the city in high numbers (<http://www.dchealthmatters.org/demographicdata>). Moreover, when examining median household income, in D.C. the median household income for White

¹⁹ Also because to this day, African Americans do not have the same capital accumulation and do not have access to capital in the same ways White people do (i.e. Glantz 2018)

people is \$132,640 and for Black people it is \$42,478. Comparing these data to Prince George's County, Maryland (where many middle-class Black Washingtonians have moved), the median household income for Whites is \$89,879 and for Blacks it is \$55,302. While lower, the difference between median incomes is not as drastically large as in D.C. From these statistics, it is seeming that development in D.C. is pushing aside Black residents of lower income and excluding middle-class Black people to create a city that is wealthier and more white. When Black people of the city call the city pejoratively "Chocolate Chip City" and say that they feel pushed out of the city, that feeling has true statistical evidence.

In summary, when a White stakeholder, teacher or Brooklander, chooses to preference the economic aspect of gentrification over race, that stakeholder is rejecting role of being 1) a person who is pushing out and taking over, and 2) rejecting their whiteness as whiteness is connected to ideologies of exclusivity through capitalists dictated consumption. In their understanding the entity that takes over are capitalists who have access to the means to carve up and design a city for their economic and political goals. Of course, part of the system that keeps the capitalists in business is to have continuous consumption in order to make profit. In this portion of the analysis, I understand gentrification to be a display of White supremacy through capitalistic development of the landscape. When a White stakeholder is rejecting the title of gentrifier, that person is rejecting the cultural implication that they have used capitalism and capitalism's bolstering of whiteness to maintain his place and role in society. He is not a

capitalist in the form of blind consumer (such as Participant 25, who did not want to be labeled as a corporate entity, or Participant 5 who stated she tries to be conscientious of her consumer choices, “even as a person who does yoga”), and he is not capitalist in the form of private owner and having access to politics. His idea of home space is being violated and “taken over” by corporations who value profit over community coherence. The White stakeholder is rejecting that monetary investment alone creates community without personal investment in the long-term survival of the neighborhood. In a sense, the White stakeholder is living partly up to the principals suggested by Du Bois to African Americans: own your consumption and free yourself.

When the Black stakeholder calls other Black people gentrifiers or identifies as one, they are attempting to lay claim to an American identity through not only consumption but adhering to some of the tenants of whiteness by practicing what are viewed as particular White middle-class consumption behaviors. Black stakeholders understand gentrification as an economic issue that eventually benefits only Whites but can have benefits for Black people if those people accept the rules of engagement—accepting that the image of economic and social progress should be White and that a city should be crafted in such a way that attracts White people. This is not to say that Black people cannot participate, but the consumption products are not geared or “meant” for them and this should be understood and accepted. This adherence to the rules of engagement is a way to claim ownership of a city that once felt that it belonged to them not just in population numbers but also in ideology. White stakeholders

choose to underplay the importance of race in gentrification, focusing on the issue of class. Black people can be hurt during the process of gentrification through social, and economic exclusion that results in many African Americans being pushed out of neighborhoods; thus, they focus on race. But both agree that the true outsider and gentrifier are the capitalists/developers who are building the city with all whiteness ideology of place.

Education and Gentrification

The main research question of this dissertation is how does gentrification shape the institution of education and in what ways? I argue that gentrification shapes the education system in multiply ways and the first is in the fact that the school system represents a site of gentrification. We can apply definitions of gentrification to the public school system based on the understanding of what gentrification means in neighborhoods, paying attention teachers' definition of gentrification.

Can public school be gentrified? As far as the student population is concerned, the District of Columbia Public Schools still have a predominantly Black student population. There are more White students enrolled in elementary grade levels, from Pre-K to second grade; those students start to leave around third and fourth grade (Brown and Clement 2014). Yet, as has been discussed, gentrification cannot be wholly defined as the increased presence of White people.

Teachers who had been in the school system for more than ten years, most of them Black, saw a direct connection between the changes in the

neighborhoods of the city and their jobs as educators. Heard in conversations in meetings and subtly alluded to (and sometimes openly stated) in the interviews was that though DCPS had a predominately Black student base, as the neighborhoods began to gentrify so did the school system in terms of education policy and the system in general that seemed to be geared to attract White employees and current or soon-to-be parents of White students.

One major issue that veteran Black teachers mention was the increase in White teachers and professional leaders into the school system. Though many agreed that it was simply a matter of people moving to the area and needing work, the majority of Black teachers felt that White teachers were being hired to replace Black teachers simply because officials were trying to make the school system more palatable for new White residents. Black teachers felt pushed out. Changes in the school system came with the hiring of Michelle Rhee. Rhee fired teachers who were classified as ineffective. Statistically, the majority of those teachers were Black. The issues with Rhee's tenure arose when those who were being hired to replace the former employees were predominately people from alternative teaching training programs such as Teach for America. Because of the nature of programs like Teach for America, many of those hired were young, middle-class White people with little training (Goldstein 2014; Participant 11). Race became an issue during Rhee's tenure that reverberates today. Black teachers felt like they were being replaced for inexperienced teachers simply because they were young and most of all White. Though, according to most recent DCPS statistics discussed in chapter four, the District of Columbia Public

Schools still have a majority Black teacher base; their complaints were not out of context and is not just based in perceived threats. The policies that emerged in D.C. with Rhee's tenure were a part of a larger push for neoliberal policies in education which are rooted in whiteness.

Neoliberalism is a political and economic ideology that favors dismantling welfare states, privatizing public services, and promoting class ascension (Aronowitz 2003). Within education, neoliberal policies manifests in the form of policies that characterize the public school system as being in a state of crisis with the best remedy of reform coming from private sector funds. Furthermore, neoliberal policies favor the dismantling of teachers' unions and entrepreneurial approaches that center on "testing to make judgments about teacher and school leader compensation, student retention and graduation, school closures, and the awarding of funding" (Scott 2011, 583).

In the context of neoliberal policy, as Au states,

high-stakes, standardized tests provide the data on which student, teacher, and school value are measured, establish the basis for viewing education as a market where consumers can make choices about where to send their children to school, afford a framework for the construction of an achievement gap that organizes racial discourse and contributes to the racial imaginary, and offer a basic paradigm for public education to be reformed through profit-making interventions (2016, 40).

Moreover, Au states that high-stakes testing becomes a way of reproducing racial inequality in that neoliberal policies that formulate the context of high-stakes testing, creates a mythology that testing is about individual merit on the side of the teacher and student. Racism is ignored and in fact, speaking about

race and racism becomes racism, particularly in a “post-racial” society²⁰ (2016, 40). The fast paced, test based, data driven policies that followed Rhee’s appointment were examples of neoliberal based gentrification for teachers. First, if teachers failed to raise test scores, for example, a teacher could face harsh consequences leading to separation from the school system. These new rules seemed to favor new teachers, particularly White teachers, but mainly for the teachers interviewed here, it seemed to disadvantage their Black students. Focusing on testing to make a controversial school system more acceptable to White residents (who did not have students in the school system but could), ignored the needs of the Black students who were predominately coming from poor and working class (and sometimes food and home insecure) families. As Participant 16 states, it is difficult to focus on an exam when you’re hungry or have other home issues. In fact, while high stakes testing remains the standard, many DCPS students still deal with homelessness and food insecurity, particularly in the wake of a lack of affordable housing options due to gentrification (Austermuhle 2016). And while DCPS does make efforts to feed its students, the stability of home life does not seem to be overtly addressed, and according to teachers’ efforts are not made to provide these students with the tools necessary to succeed.

School closures were part of the larger picture of gentrification as once these schools were closed; they were open for private investment predominately in the form of charter schools. Charter schools represented another insult to

²⁰ Michael Blakey also writes about this phenomenon of mentioning race as racism, which is cited in this dissertation.

many Black educators in D.C. Charter schools were a form of divestment. Charter schools are a part of this larger neoliberal push to privatize public goods such as education. Through framing education in capitalistic market terms such as “choice”, similar to the leisure activities of neighborhoods, education becomes something to consume. Schools are labeled as “good” or “bad” based on test scores. Moreover, in this dichotomy of good and bad within the context of consumer choice, the charter school is labeled as a good option compared to public schools, which are a poor consumer choice. And as that which is dilapidated is labeled as Black and that which is not labeled as White, charter schools become these options to escape the poor, dilapidated, Black public-school system.

Charter schools, however, are overwhelming Black; representing 75% of the total students enrolled (www.dcps.org). Moreover, in the predominately White wards of D.C., Wards 2 and 3, there are no charter schools at all. According to D.C. Public Charter Schools (DCPCS) website, from the school year 2013-2014 to school year 2017-2018, the total percentage of White students enrolled went from 3.64% to 5.9%, an increase of 2.26% over the course of five years. In D.C. Public Schools, enrollment of White students has steadily increased by one percent since school year 2013-2014. In that school year, White students represented 12% of the total student population (www.dcps.gov). In total there are more Black students enrolled in public charter schools in D.C. than in public schools.

These data speak to the issue of divestment teachers discussed. Charter schools, even public charter schools, are still managed and funded by “private, nonprofit, or for profit organizations” that are headed by people outside the field of education (meaning no experiences in education at all) who tend to be White males with paternalistic approaches to school reform (Scott 2011). In neoliberal parlance, charter schools are seen as enabling students to score better on tests (which is an essential marker of a “good” school in the neoliberal market). Yet, statistics show nationally and in chapter four of this dissertation that differences in test scores are nominal. As Participant 12 stated in chapter four, teachers see charter schools as a way for Whites to make profit or to use Black children for some measure of gain; while Black children receive no real tangible benefit, i.e. significantly better test scores. Charter schools are not subject to the same level of public input as a public school; thus they do not have to follow the same rules. Many teacher unions, including the Washington Teachers Union see public education as a democratic, but because charters and public charters do not have to follow as many of the state sanction rules as regular public schools, Black children are sometimes denied education. For example, charter schools do not have to keep students that they find to be a behavioral nuisance and can expel students. These students usually enroll into D.C. public schools while the funding allocated for that students stays within the charter school the student was removed from. Thus, public schools are often forced to provide for students on an insufficient budget.

Furthermore, charters also seemed to give White Washingtonians educational options that Black residents did not have, as it appeared that an increased push for charter schools from the city government coincided with the rise of gentrification and the appointment of Michelle Rhee. Money was invested, in the form of selling off property or closing down public school buildings, for increased charter presence instead of investing that money or finding money to invest in the public schools themselves. A dichotomy is created when White children's options and their access to better educational is compared to Black children who were stuck with what was considered subpar public education. Within the neoliberal discourse, charter schools with outside funding are labeled as better options. Perhaps, this idea is what attracts Black Washingtonian parents, particularly lower income parents, to enroll their children in charter schools instead of advocating on a large scale for the improve of the public schools (Du Bois 1935).

While, Black and predominately, lower income Black children are enrolled in public charters in D.C., White parents seem to push for their children to be enrolled in respectable public schools. In a DCPS meeting in 2014 regarding redrawing of school boundaries and new educational programs, many White adults attended who didn't have children of age to enroll in a D.C. Public Schools, yet they wanted to have a say in how these schools were going to be run as they were thinking about the their future child's education. Some White meeting participants expressed a desire not to attend a charter school at all for fear that the charter schools were not "tested", and they were not sure of the

efficacy of children's education. Yet, some were still planning to move in order to enroll in the public schools in the suburbs of Virginia (Field notes 2014).

Charter schools represent gentrification, not because the charter schools are overwhelming White, but because charters, as stated, represent the neoliberal ideals of "individual choice within markets" (Hursh 2007). Thus, charter schools are divestments in Black children because they are placed within a neoliberal capitalistic context of market benefits and trends that as Du Bois' discussed is not meant to benefit the social or economic progress of poor and working-class people of color. Capitalism is about ownership and, coupled with neoliberal tenants, the government which could be used for democratizing business and industry steps away from social care and reform and lets the social titans of industry, or people who have capital, dictate what reforms are necessary and what reforms are not. Within neoliberalism, morality and costs-benefits analysis become one (Hursh 2007), which ultimately leads to those most in need being left behind.

Thus, the public school system does in fact become gentrified as the definition that has been examined in chapter three is applied. Gentrification on the whole is seen as a top-down economic practice that disproportionately and negatively affects lower-income people of color; in the case of Washington, D.C. it affects lower-income Black people. Neoliberal education policies which result in a market-based, corporate framework for educational improvement are examples of the implementation of top-down policies as seen in the high-stakes testing, incentive-based teacher ratings, and the push for charter schools. When also

looking at gentrification as the increase in people who aren't invested in the long-term success in a community. As teachers discussed, the implementation of these policies show that Black children are seen as the community of DCPS and their long-term needs are not taken into account when money goes to a charter school instead of a public school or when tests are implemented for students whose sub-standard living conditions and home life do not help them to focus on that test.

Schools are not necessarily included in analysis of gentrification but like Chatman's (2017) study of Black churches, gentrification of neighborhoods that were once predominately Black also affects Black social institutions such as schools. Placed within the context of social production and social construction as presented by Low (2011), the public school can be viewed as material space in that it is a collection of multiple spaces, various school buildings, that all come together to form a meaningful metaphorical space—the school system.

The public education system has historically been the one public institution of which Black Washingtonians had some semblance of control, though that control was often constrained. Before official home rule, it was the elected school board where Black Washingtonians were able to enact their political rights. Overall, education enabled Black Americans to explore the world, travel, and move upward economically. Schools that were erected in the city during the antebellum period were physical representations of resistance and hope; Black students faced physical and verbal violence on their way to school, but, went regardless. These buildings were often vandalized as a way of

thwarting Black advancement; by burning down a school, Whites hoped to stop the education of the Black people and prevent future endeavors. These school buildings were also named after important people to Black Americans or specifically Black Washingtonians, such as Lucy D. Slowe Elementary or Paul Lawrence Dunbar Senior High School. Closing down these schools, is seen as erasing the names and therefore the contribution of the Black leaders from the pages of history. Finally, on the local and national stage it was school desegregation that pushed civil rights' aims further, leading to national desegregation of all institutions. Education facilities are more than just school buildings; education is a central institution to African American life.

Beyond statistics, Black teachers' statements of feeling pushed out within the school system are rooted in a larger history of Black teachers being fired from schools that were desegregated or "mixed" (Du Bois 1935). These ideas are rooted in a long cultural framework shaped within the context of whiteness in which the intellectual capabilities of Black teachers are questioned. Moreover, when Black veteran teachers criticize the presence of White teachers in the school system, it is as Du Bois's states that, "American Negroes have, because of their history, group experiences and memories, a distinct entity, whose spirit and reactions demand a certain type of education for its development," (1935, 333). In short, Black D.C. Public Schools teachers understand that their still predominately Black student body, a student body that is predominately lower-income require attention and care that, in their opinion and in Du Bois, can only

be understood by another Black person. A teacher, who is only planning to stay briefly, is from a different part of the country, and White, most likely will not.

Low's framework helps to conceptualize the public school system as a place of meaning to Black Washingtonians but this connection through Low could not have been made without Du Boisian theory. Du Bois' theory assumes the important role of education for Black Americans as a potential space of liberation and as a liberating institution. Moreover, while whiteness ideology is pervasive, influencing and shaping almost all American institutions (political, economic, even kinship), education for Du Bois is seen as a potential neutral space in which whiteness can be dismantled. Viewing education in this manner, allows for the explanation of loss as explained by Low. Furthermore, the answer to the research question of whether the public school system can be gentrified is, yes, it can be.

Du Bois, Low, and Double Consciousness. Based on the combination of Du Bois and Low, first, the education system in D.C. is considered a Black space; in the same way those areas frequented by White people become White spaces. By having a predominately Black population, the public school system is seen as the material culture of Black Washingtonians. Coupling this view with the historical and political economic importance of education in D.C., the school system can be seen in the same way a gentrifying neighborhood is viewed. Black education stakeholders view the attempts at upgrading the "dilapidated" school system as a way of "pushing out" Black students and Black educators in an effort to create a system for White people. The feelings of resentment toward the

process of gentrification are rooted in the framing of erasure. Du Bois' contributing concept of double consciousness helps to understand further the resentment to gentrification by Black middle-class teachers. For Du Bois, the ultimate goal of any Black American was to synthesize Black/African identity with American identity. The education system, even more so than the city itself was a place to do this because, as Du Bois states of all American institutions it is the most liberal, allowing for blackness as an ideology to exist. The school system was a place where Black people could own their blackness, in the form of naming school buildings after Black leaders or crafting curriculum for the needs of the student body; or own their American identity in the form of voting on the school board. In a sense, the public education system represents the last bastion of blackness: Black contribution, Black history, and Black people—a place where Black Washingtonians feel they are able to exist as both Black and American. If the public school system is lost to whiteness in the form of school closures, stringent testing policies, non-Black leaders, influx of non-Black teachers, then where do Black people go? What happens to blackness?

Conclusion

The answer to the research question of how gentrification affects education is that education, as an institution becomes a battle ground for furthering or stopping the process of gentrification. Ultimately, gentrification shapes education because, according to the Black middle-class, as exemplified by teachers, the public school system is considered a Black site that is being taken over by capitalism in the form of school closures, outside funded teacher

rating systems, and in a gentrification ideology that the White middle-class will positively change dilapidated Black spaces.

When the Black middle-class feels taken over and pushed out in the same ways that poor and working-class Black people are being pushed out of the city they are speaking to discourse affected by the ideology of whiteness. That discourse assumes that Black bodies, their presence in any given space, leads to criminality, poverty, dysfunction, and immorality, in spite of class; thus, a neighborhood can only become better with the presence of middle-class White people, not necessarily middle-class African Americans. That discourse also ignores the efforts middle-class Black Washingtonians made in crafting a thriving city in the face of white oppression, including creating a school system that was an educational powerhouse at the height of racial segregation. But this is not new to gentrification today; it is a historical consequence of race in America and how historical land development has always played out in this country and in the city of Washington in which poor Blacks are pushed out for development and middle-class Blacks are barred from moving further up (i.e. restrictive covenants discussed in chapter five). This is not to say that economic advancement on an individual level is of utmost importance, but as presented in Drake's analysis of Black Chicago, the Black middle-class is believed to provide a certain level of social and racial cohesion. If the Black middle-class is welcomed to the advancement of the city, as Drake presents in *Black Metropolis*, it is believed that all Black people, specifically working class and poor Black people will be welcomed as well. The urban renewal plan of this time period which is based in

neoliberalism, excludes middle-class African Americans and economically isolates poor and working class African Americans as a reminder that the haven of a city once called “Chocolate City” is no more and that America refuses to believe and include Black people in its efforts of progress.

Gentrification is happening in D.C. under majority Black leadership. Washington D.C.’s council is majority Black, the mayor is Black, and following Rhee, the chancellor of the public schools is Black. Since race is a cultural institution run by whiteness, whiteness becomes an ideology in which everyone within the culture participates. Washington D.C.’s gentrification demonstrates that though we may all resist the idea, our concepts of what race means as it intersects with economics is centered on whiteness. Though Black interviewees feel alienated from the larger city plan, they hesitantly admit that White presence has brought needed economic change to the city. This is not because White people are more moral, less criminal, but because race as a cultural institution intersecting with economics and politics, still allows Whites social and economic access not allowed for Black Americans.

Black interviewees do blame those in power whether of the city or the school system for gentrification. Though the mayor of the city and the chancellor of the school system are Black, interviewees, particularly Black teachers, ultimately frame gentrification as White take-over of Black spaces. Black people understand that while catering to the perceived consumer desires of the White middle-class ignores all Black people, the Black middle-class also celebrates some of the positive changes to the city as a whole; still desiring the restructuring

to include its visions but understanding that it most likely will not. As Du Bois helps to illuminate the practice of capitalism and whiteness as inextricably linked. This is why White interviewees attempt to redefine gentrification separate from race, as they are attempting to separate themselves from racism, oppression, and whiteness. Gentrification, therefore, is a take-over of Black space and is occurring in multiple places beyond the neighborhood, as capitalism becomes the panacea for urban ills. As Participant 19 states, “you gentrify the neighborhoods, you gentrify the schools—you gentrify the people.”

Chapter 7

Conclusion

This dissertation is a study of identity, race, place, and space; exploring how one's identity can be defined and shaped by one's location, where a person chooses to live and socialize. Furthermore, this dissertation is a presentation in the use of non-canonical theoretical frameworks to understand these themes. In this chapter I will synthesize the previous chapters, and, speculate as to future research that could be done in relationship to gentrification and education.

This project stems from two calls within the field of anthropology. The first is rooted within urban anthropology, a call that first encourages anthropologists to examine the process of gentrification, as it appears to be a growing facilitator of urban change. Moreover, this call asks for an examination of the underlying cultural processes affected by or at work within the process of gentrification, moving beyond the data points collected in traditional sociological and urban planning studies. The second call is from predominately anthropologists of color, while recognizing the social and cultural significance of race and, also pushing the discipline to reckon with its racist and Eurocentric past, encourage creating scholarship that can be viewed as an anthropology of race. Moreover, an anthropology of race calls for the use of works of non-canonical, non-White scholarship to theorize on race, racism, and the realities of race in the social landscape. A summary of the relevant literatures associated with these academic stances is presented in chapter 2 of this dissertation.

In chapter three, I presented the layout of what I termed a Du Boisian social theory. This theory is constructed from three of Du Bois' most notable works *The Souls of Black Folks*, *Darkwater: Voices from within the Veil*, and *Dusk of Dawn: An Essay towards the Autobiography of a Race Concept*. The Du Boisian social theory is a social and economic philosophy that recognizes race as a cultural institution that intersects with other social institutions including economics, politics, and education. This theory is a way of examining the day-to-day lived experiences of racialized identities and the race ideologies that people subscribe to. Moreover, this theory looks at the ways capitalism is used to express and shape identity and the ways education can be used as a tool of liberation. Finally, the Du Boisian social theory examines race, not just as an ascribed category that facilitates oppression, but the self-ascribed meaning non-White people put into their racial identities. In short, this theory is a way of explicating what it means to be a raced citizen.

I began this project with the following research question: how does gentrification shape the institution of education and what can this intersection illuminate about race, class, space, and identity? Furthermore, one of my sub-questions was can the public school system be gentrified? I posed these questions as a way of complicating the narrative of gentrification that often focuses on neighborhood change via housing and displacement; schools, despite being part of neighborhoods, are often not thought about in constructing analyses of gentrification. Because I was attempting to complicate anthropological understandings of gentrification, I needed to define gentrification in a more

encompassing way. Thus, secondary questions included how gentrification is defined by people on the ground and with that question what the materiality of gentrification is. In essence, how do people know they are being gentrified? Chapters four and five explored these secondary questions.

Chapter four is an ethnographic exploration into how two different groups of people define gentrification: D.C. Public Schools teachers and members of the Brookland Neighborhood Civic Association. The reasoning in using two different sets of informants was to get a varied yet detailed picture of gentrification; first, in the “traditional” scope of the word as neighborhood change, then defining gentrification within the context of education. Both sets of informants were asked the same set of questions. What I discovered is that much of the definition of gentrification is bound to the materiality of the process. Both sets of informants, who I termed in the chapter as stakeholders, defined gentrification based on the visual changes, including changes in housing type and public versus private space for leisure, but also in terms of perceived access to housing and social spaces.

Gentrification has become part of everyday parlance and that understanding of gentrification on the ground is defined as White takeover of places and spaces traditionally occupied by non-Whites. In defining gentrification, both neighborhood residents and teachers defined gentrification in uneasy racial dichotomy. Most Black participants, teacher or resident, framed gentrification economically, and recognized it as a process of pushing out people who could no longer afford to live in neighborhoods that were changing. Some even decided to

frame other Black people as gentrifiers if they were involved or benefited from these neighborhood changes. Still, Black participants framed gentrification as a takeover primarily by White people and Black people who sought to court White favor. Most White participants shied away from framing gentrification as a racial process, though they did recognize the fact that those who are “pushed out” in gentrified neighborhoods most often are non-White people. White participants tended to frame gentrifiers as capitalist outsiders who only seek profit at the detriment of everyone. Black participants recognized capitalists as outsiders and therefore gentrifiers but ultimately understood the nature of capitalism as being for the comfort and benefit of White people. No matter what changes happened, for Black Washingtonians, capitalism would make sure that White Washingtonians thrived.

When asked questions about the effect of gentrification on schools and the local education system most neighborhood participants had little to say but there were a vocal few that very clearly made a connection between changes in the neighborhood and the changes in the school system since 2007. The ways that these participants and the teacher participants viewed gentrification’s effect on the school system aligned with the ways participants defined neighborhood gentrification. As a predominately Black school system, teachers saw gentrification shaping the school system in terms of the ideology that opens space for policy to rework the system. These policies are capitalistic in nature and are seen as being for the benefit of outsiders and their money, not so much for the benefit of Black students and Black teachers. Black teachers, however,

viewed these changes in policy to be for the purpose of attracting White students, White teachers, and changing the school system overall from predominately Black to predominately White. Thus, for Black teachers, gentrification was equally a racial process as it was an economic process, whereas for White teachers and White residents, gentrification was about capitalism and class, with some intersection with race. Nonetheless, both sets of participants felt that they were seeing gentrification happening and that as occupants or commuters, they were being gentrified despite occupying the middle-class.

Chapter five places the current changes in the city of Washington, the public school system, and these feelings of being gentrified in historical context in order to establish meaning for the analysis in chapter six. In this chapter I showed that Washington, as a city has had a long history of disadvantaging Black Americans' living spaces for the economic and social advancement of White capitalists and White residents. I also take time in this chapter to historically understand the association of land and identity as it specifically relates to Black Washingtonians in opposition to whiteness ideology. The other half of chapter five explores the historical context of Black education in the city. This portion of the chapter explains how political and social freedom is inextricably linked to education (as is the city itself) for Black identity formation in Washington.

In connecting the present feelings of loss and resentment to gentrification, chapter six brings the Du Boisian social theory and Low's framework of spatializing culture to show that the Black middle-class feels gentrified because

an ideology that is exclusive of them is alienating them from the present economy, an economy that once enabled an expression of a unified African American identity. Furthermore, in chapter six I give evidence to my argument that public education can be gentrified when the definition of gentrification is at once racial and economic. Turning to Du Bois, who urges for social analysis to always pair economics and race together, gentrification must be defined as both a racial process and a capitalistic process, that is governed by the ideology of whiteness and therefore predominately benefitting White people. Due to the history and the cultural place of race in this country, those who would be damaged by uncontrolled capitalist endeavors are the lower poor and working classes who also disproportionately tend to be non-White and Black. Thus, if capitalism is a process and policy, the school system which has decidedly taken on a data driven, economic approach to school change, is a site for capitalistic endeavors and thus can be gentrified, particularly since those endeavors are viewed by Black teachers as benefitting singularly White people.

Du Bois' writings also encourage focus on the cultural significance of race. Teachers view the school system as being gentrified also because Black teachers are being displaced (similarly to neighborhoods) by White teachers and education values that focus on testing over the overall wellbeing of Black students. Du Boisian social theory demonstrates that because capitalism and whiteness is inextricably linked, changes in the school system are more than just policy variation but ideological redefinition of educational spaces; so positive changes to a trouble school system can only happen with the presence of the

White middle-class; creating a narrative of failure only White people can fix. Moreover, from Du Bois it is understood that this narrative of failure is a continuation of the underdevelopment of Black schools and Black neighborhoods which historically consisted of purposefully withholding revenue, attacking teacher pedagogy, and redlining neighborhoods to name a few. Hence, gentrification of the school system is not just about pushing Black people out but erasing the social significance of sites of Black community growth, shaping the definition of what it meant to be Black and American, and of Black liberation.

Future Study

This dissertation was a starting point to exploring anthropologically the role of education and education spaces in constructions of identity. Initially, I intended to perform fieldwork within the schools but was not granted access, nor was I given information from the school system itself. Instead my ethnographic data comes from attending Washington Teachers Union meetings and gatherings and interviewing teachers I met at these gatherings. Brookland was the closest neighborhood to my home where I could observe gentrification on the ground. I observed the local civic association meetings in order to understand what gentrification was and what it was not. I was able to interview people from these meetings. Access was always the major barrier in this research project, particularly as it related to the public school system. D.C. Public Schools does not give demographic information related to hiring of faculty and staff, but future work can hopefully probe further to acquire this information and truly examine the

meaning of gentrified public education, particularly as schools form the basis of enculturation for most American children.

Furthermore, an examination into the meaning of gentrification for students, those dealing with displacement, is also something to be examined in the future. The sample size is small in this dissertation and future work would benefit from examining further middle-class responses to gentrification in D.C. regardless of race. Additionally, gentrification is presented in this dissertation dichotomously as Black and White, what is left out of this presentation is the intersection of identity in this city as it relates to the increasing Latinx population. Also not included is the small but important Asian population that in the past crafted Washington, D.C.'s Chinatown area, which was an early victim to gentrification.

Finally, many gentrification studies, as well as this study, do not include the growing alienation that older people feel in gentrifying neighborhoods. The dichotomy between old and young, including age as it intersects with race, was a thread in some of the interviews. Participants cite that development is not only developer lead but tends to focus on the needs of a youthful and transient group of people, leaving older residents desires to the side. The question of whether D.C. can become a city for residents to "age in place" seemed to be a thread in a few interviews. Furthermore, Black veteran D.C. teachers also saw a preference for not only White teachers in the system but also young White teachers. Once again, the school system does not share this data, but hopefully the intersection of age, race, and gentrification or urban living in general can be explored.

This dissertation also does not explore in depth the large segment of middle-class Blacks who celebrate a Black aesthetic in their homes and in their lifestyles; looking down completely on whiteness. Black aesthetic home spaces in addition to looking down on whiteness embedded in such ideas as “buying Black,” is something I would like to explore in future work.

A Comment on Theory

I entered the field with the assumption that gentrification was completely racial but through field work I found that views of gentrification are representations of the general uneasiness we have as a nation with the category of socialization we use the most: race.

This dissertation is thus an anthropological exploration of race through the intersection of gentrification, education, and space. With race being such a fundamental analytical category for the dissertation I chose to create a theory that I thought would best help frame and dissect race in a dynamic way. Since this dissertation took a departure in using Du Bois, the theory needs to be applied in other scholarship to test the efficacy of this theory of race, and moreover, of framing race as a cultural institution.

Even if in future years the theory as I have presented it is proved useless, what I think can be agreed upon is the need to understand the “souls” of racialized people, which incidentally includes anyone who sets foot on American soil. At the time of writing this chapter, the new president of the United States is a man who won using rhetoric that appealed to lower and working-class White people, both men and women. The election of Donald Trump has taken the

nation by surprise. But would we be surprised if scholars, particularly those outside of communities of color, chose to study race as scientifically as other topics of interest. If race and racism was seen not just as individual choices and actions but also as cultural practices of a society where race is an institution, one might see race's effects in all our lives? The Du Boisian social theory creates the intellectual space necessary to ask what does it mean to be not only Black in this country but also what does it mean to be White, personally and institutionally.

The era of studying discrete, distant cultures should be over. While the location may have changed, there are cultures (albeit micro cultures) that exist in this country that we do not understand. We have assumed familiarity with them because of location, but their lives and voices need to be heard and understood. As the proclaimed seekers of knowledge of culture, "that complex whole," American anthropologists have a duty to attempt to understand that complex whole of American culture as it relates to race. No longer can we continue to intellectualize along the lines of *othering* our subjects. We are the "Other" as nations look upon us in our current sociopolitical climate. Stating that race is not biological is no longer enough. It is not biological, and it is more than a social reality. It is a cultural institution and if we are to advance as a society and critically position ourselves globally, we need to study race anthropologically. In this dissertation I attempted to do this through an analysis of gentrification, space, and education, using a theory crafted from the writings of W.E.B. Du Bois, but the possibilities and analytical frameworks are endless.

Appendix A

Stakeholders Interviewed

Participant	Age	Occupation	Race/Ethnicity	Sex/ Gender	Native D.C.
1	-	Real estate agent	White	M	No
2	35	Director of operations in charter school	Hispanic/Latino	M	No
3	30	Computer scientist	South Asian	F	Yes/No*
4	72	Retired Insurance agent	Black American	M	No
5	25	Teacher in DCPS	White	F	Yes/No*
6	51	Teacher in DCPS	African American	F	Yes
7	34	Teacher in DCPS	African American	F	Yes
8	58	Executive director of foundation	African American	M	Yes
9	39	Teacher in DCPS	African American	F	No*
10	29	Assistant principal in DCPS	White	M	No
11	34	Teacher in DCPS	White	F	No
12	72	Teacher in DCPS	Black	F	No
13	53	Data Analyst	White Middle Eastern	F	Yes/No*
14		Software developer	Multi-Racial	M	Yes/No*
15	68	Pastor	Irish/Austrian/ American	M	Yes
16	50's	Librarian Media specialist in DCPS	African American	F	No
17	72	Anthropologist	White	M	No*
18	72	Landscape architect	White Irish	F	No

19	50	Real Estate	Afro-American	M	Yes
20	-	School psychologist	African American	F	No
21	-	Special education teacher in DCPS	African American	M	No
22	63	Special education teacher in DCPS	African American	F	No
23	74	Retired (worked for DC gov't)	White	F	No
24	60's	Retired (Corporate America)	Black American	M	Yes
25	34	Attorney for EPA	White German	M	No
26	30's	Teacher for DCPS	African American	F	Yes

*These participants grew up in the northern Virginia suburbs of D.C., or specifically for participant 17 grew up in Baltimore with frequent visits to D.C.

Interview Questions

1. Name
2. Age
3. Ethnicity or Race
4. Gender Identity
5. Occupation
6. Are you a native of Washington, D.C.?
7. If not when did you move and what drew you to D.C.?
8. Do you see yourself living in another place? If not, what makes you stay in D.C. How has D.C. changed since you first moved here?
9. D.C. is seeing an upswing of development or urban renewal that some are labeling as gentrification. How do you define gentrification? Is what is happening in the city gentrification?
10. Do you see yourself as a gentrifier? If not why, and if so how?
11. How did your neighbors receive you?
12. Some conversations about the development say that developers are pushing out predominately African Americans in favor of more, White middle-class residents. On the other hand, some say that development will increase diversity of race and class. What do you think?
13. Why is gentrification seen as an unfair process? Why are some reacting very negatively to the development?
14. What could be the benefits of gentrification? What are the drawbacks?
15. How do you think gentrification affects the school system in D.C. both public and public charter schools?
16. Has it affected the schools in your neighborhood?
17. How has the school system changed since you entered or attended (for teachers or native Washingtonians)?
18. Lastly, how do you define neighborhood and community?

Appendix B

Various Flyers of the Housing Market in Brookland

<p>First Half 2015 Brookland REAL ESTATE REPORT</p>		
<p>\$539,340 Average sales price For homes and condos</p>		<p>102 Homes Sold</p>
<p> SELLERS Buyers or Sellers Market?</p>	<p>101% Average Sold Price to List Price Ratio</p>	<p>SOLD</p> 
<p>Highest priced sale of 2015: 1523 Monroe St NE, \$998,000</p>  <p>1247 Girard St NE, \$875,000 <i>Sold by The Menkiti Group</i></p>	<p> Average Days on Market 32</p>	<p>CALL US TODAY!</p>
<p> 16% Increase in average sales price over 2014 first half</p>	<p>Get your free home value report! The Menkiti Group Keller Williams Capital Properties</p> <p>202-243-7777 info@menkitigroup.com www.menkitigroup.com</p>	
<p>*Sales Data from MRIS</p>	<p> </p>	

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