

FIGHTING FOR THE FARMS: STRUCTURAL VIOLENCE, RACE AND
RESISTANCE IN WASHINGTON, D.C.

By

Kalfani Nyerere Turè

Submitted to the

Faculty of the College of Arts and Sciences

of American University

in Partial Fulfillment of

the Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

In

Anthropology

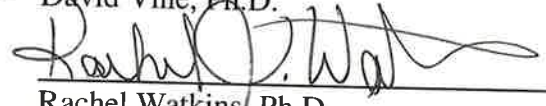
Chair:



Brett Williams, Ph.D.



David Vine, Ph.D.



Rachel Watkins, Ph.D.



Tracy Rone, Ph.D.



Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences

March 20, 2017

Date

2017
American University
Washington, D.C. 2016

© COPYRIGHT

by

Kalfani Nyerere Turè

2016

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

FIGHTING FOR THE FARMS: STRUCTURAL VIOLENCE, RACE AND RESISTANCE IN
WASHINGTON, D.C.

BY

Kalfani Nyerere Turè

ABSTRACT

The goal of this dissertation research is to understand structural violence in the Barry Farm Public Dwellings, a public housing community in the District of Columbia (Washington, DC). The dissertation argues that a local urban renewal program called the New Communities Initiative (NCI), which is intended to end racialized urban ghettos in the District of Columbia, is a form of structural violence that instead continues inequality.

The dissertation proposes an original explanatory framework based on a sociospatial binary of Western Superior Culture (WSC) and Non-Western Inferior Others/Truly “Truly” Disadvantaged Others (NWIO/TTDO). Poor African Americans represent the NWIO and the TTDO, its subset of increasingly vulnerable public housing residents. The dissertation argues that the elite WSC group dispenses structural violence to manufacture the NWIO/TTDO as an inferior status group and their environment as an African American urban ghetto (AAUG) and to maintain the NWIO/TTDO’s function as an antithetical reference group. I examine the Farms community both historically and in the contemporary moment to (1) discover structural violence’s real but hidden perpetrators; (2) to demystify structural violence by making sense of its perpetrators’ motivations; and (3) to understand the nature of its victims’ agency.

Between 2007 and 2013, I utilized windshield tours, participant observation, interviews, archival research, and oral histories to collect ethnographic data. This dissertation’s analysis suggests that continuous structural violence has produced a fragmented community where history and cultural heritage are being lost and collective agency is difficult to form.

The dissertation focuses on the lived experiences and mobilization efforts of Farms Public Dwellings community residents that distort and threaten the binary relationship between the WSC and the NWIO/TTDO. I argue that the NCI program is intended to maintain the WSC–NWIO/TTDO binary by relocating the NWIO/TTDO spatially. This spatial reformation represents the expansion of privilege space and the ritualization of White supremacy. By ritualization, I mean White Supremacy on the one hand manufactures AAUG as problem communities and then assume the sole responsibility to reform and displace these problem sites to confirm their own superior status. To counterbalance the hegemonic narratives that accompany and justify the Farms Public Dwellings community residents’ displacement, the dissertation documents residents’ pain, adaptive and agentive struggles. As the Farms residents struggle to survive, this dissertation intends to amplify their cries for justice and their demands for a quality of life befitting citizens of the District of Columbia and America.

PREFACE

The United States is truly a nation of extremes: on the one hand, there are those who enjoy an abundance of material wealth, while on the other, there are those who suffer an abject experience of smothering scarcity—a scarcity of some of the most basic life-sustaining resources. Affordable, adequate housing is one of those basic resources. This dissertation attends to those who are precariously tied to or denied decent housing, namely public housing residents. I focus on the impact of structural violence on the lived experiences of people residing in the District of Columbia’s eighth ward (Ward 8) in a community east of the Anacostia River called Barry Farm Public Dwellings (hereafter referred to by the local appellation “Farms Public Dwellings”). I examine the effects of the accumulated application of structural violence over time on the residents who live in this community.

I understand structural violence as subtle or flagrant forms of violence dispensed by privileged society members via myths, public policies, and social practices that intend to diminish the life opportunities of its targeted victims.¹ Structural violence is historically, materially, and spatially manifest. In other words, privileged people dispense structural violence against defenseless victims and the places these victims occupy. This dissertation, however, does more than describe the perpetration of structural violence on Farms Public Dwellings residents, which produces their inferior and ghettoized status. It also seeks to understand how it is dispensed over time and space and who dispenses it and for what reasons, and how their victims respond strategically to mitigate structural violence’s impact. Additionally, it explores promising, consciousness-raising exercises that might lead to the residents’ collective

1. Cultural myths and rituals are understood by anthropologists as routinized patterns of behaviors that confer intergroup distinction, intragroup cohesion, and social identity to constituent members against nonbelonging others (Hendry and Hendry 2008).

empowerment. Mere documentation of structural violence and victims' responses, while important for supporting social justice strategies intended to restore victims' human dignity, obscures the impact of structural violence unless it also examines who it benefits and why. To assume that structural violence is in play, as I argue is the case in this research, one also assumes that it is dispensed according to rational intentionality, meaning that there are sociocultural explanations that should bring to light the perpetrators' goals and reasoning.

This dissertation demystifies structural violence by addressing the questions of "who benefits and why" and by examining the Farms residents' experiences through an original theoretical framework of a sociocultural binary between Western Superior Culture (WSC) and the Non-Western Inferior Other (NWIO) and its subset, the Truly "Truly" Disadvantaged Other (TTDO). This framework should not be interpreted as a denial of salient racism. In fact, the WSC–NWIO/TTDO binary better accounts for the increasingly diverse group of WSC participants in the District of Columbia and the multiethnic/multiracial defenders of the TTDOs, particularly those that are Farms Public Dwellings residents, than does a simple racial binary.

In this so-called postracial moment, the dominant, privileged elite uses categories of culture to draw contradistinctions between the WSC group (themselves) and the NWIO/TTDO groups (others). While African American residents in the Farms Public Dwellings are certainly Western in their experiences and outlooks, they are nevertheless construed and fashioned culturally as non-Western interlopers. Furthermore, structural violence is deployed consistently to maintain an optimal spatial boundary between the two constituent groups in the WSC–NWIO/TTDO binary. When social practices, public policies, and/or laws distort the WSC–NWIO/TTDO binary, structural violence is then amplified to restore the binary to optimal

functioning to benefit the WSC.² This dissertation thus attempts to keep pace with the dynamic and protean nature of White supremacy that reserves value for the White Western majority, while excluding non-Western others and categorizing them as dangerous trespassers.³

I conducted my research in the Farms Public Dwellings community over a period of five years. From the summer of 2007 to the summer of 2012, I interacted with government officials, police officers, social justice activists, developers, artists, historians/historical preservationists, nonprofit service sector providers, recreational staff, and Farms Public Dwellings community residents. Through these interactions, and along with a genuine desire to give a full account of structural violence, I came to understand how the federal and local governments in the District of Columbia caused many manifestations of structural violence to accumulate in the larger Barry Farms community. (Barry Farms designates a larger neighborhood than that of the footprint of the Farms Public Dwellings and is hereafter referred to as “the Farms” or “the Farms neighborhood”) The Farms neighborhood and the Farms Public Dwellings community are currently being subjected to a local urban redevelopment program called the New Communities Initiative (NCI).⁴

2. I attend to the concepts of structural violence and the social binary that exists between WSC groups and NWIO/TTDO groups in detail in chapter 1. By structural violence I am referring to policy(s) and practice(s) that create environments where the life chances of a people are truncated to such a degree that it is a struggle for them to survive at the most basic level. In addition, I lay out an original theoretical perspective that transmutes a racial binary into a sociocultural one that operates in the current moment. At times the reader may desire immediate evidence to support the theoretical claims. I ask for patience, as I will provide detailed data to support my theoretical framework in subsequent chapters.

3. Even though the term does not describe a nation, I capitalize the word “White” when referring to the demographic group to emphasize that the collective interest of White people carries as much power as that of traditional or Western nations.

4. Susan Greenbaum, who investigated urban redevelopment in Tampa, Florida’s public housing communities, first called attention to the operation of structural violence in a new era of urban redevelopment initiated by the HOPE VI antipoverty policy of the 1990s. She concluded that urban restructuring of this type willfully destroys residents’ social capital, such that “slum clearance, urban renewal and, most recently, HOPE VI have been frontal assaults on the property as well as the social structures and cultural assets of mostly black people” (Greenbaum 2008, 44). NCI is very similar to this type of urban renewal program, except for the fact that it was conceived at the District of Columbia’s local and municipal levels.

The NCI is just the latest in a series of transformative moments that provide windows into the operation of structural violence in this area over time. First, English colonists applied structural violence against the Anacostian Natives, who originally settled on the land where Barry Farms was later built. The colonists exterminated the Natives, commodified their natural resources, and appropriated their land. Second, Africans and their descendants suffered under the structural violence of slavery for more than two hundred fifty years in America. Third, the structural violence known as “Jim Crow”—filled with lynching, body mutilation, rape, and massive incarceration—heaped continuous injuries onto African Americans from the end of the Civil War in 1867 until the mid-twentieth century. In the Farms neighborhood (originally referred to as Freedmen’s Village and later as the Village of Hillside), the federal government sold land and house-building materials to African Americans as part of an experiment to create a post-Civil War African American neighborhood in the District of Columbia. These pioneering families built homes within a stable, vibrant, mixed-income, and mixed-use homestead. The homestead contained 375 homes, each built on a one-acre lot. Finally, the fourth moment, overlapping with the end of the third, involved the usurpation of property and land, imposition and concentration of public housing, neglect and continued denial of adequate municipal services, the controversial importation of drugs and guns, massive incarceration, and finally the eviction and massive displacement of residents in the form of late-twentieth-century urban renewal.

In the 1940s, the federal government seized a significant portion of Farms real estate via eminent domain. The government justified the razing of the Farms community as a slum clearance project, rebuilding it with highways and a concentration of public housing developments. The result was its transformation into one of the first housing options for African

American war veterans in the District of Columbia and others employed in nearby wartime industries. African American migration from the South, the displacement of African Americans from other District of Columbia areas, and natural growth caused the few African American communities in the District of Columbia to swell. Eventually, the civil rights movement's *de jure* victories inspired hope, with the overturning of racially restrictive covenants in 1948 and the reversing of the *Plessy v. Ferguson* Supreme Court decision of "separate but equal" with the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision in 1954. Yet White flight and an African American middle-class exodus, along with the revanchist importation of more public housing complexes in the predominantly African American communities, increased the Farms neighborhood residents' despair and was crystallized in the District of Columbia's geography as an intentional and racially indelible binary. The 1968 Kerner Commission concluded that the United States had moved toward the creation of two societies: one black and one white, separate, hostile, and unequal (Hacker 2010; Turé 2015).

This study of the Farms Public Dwellings community reveals that the District of Columbia's federal and local governments have been engaged in a patterned practice of structural violence through ideological and coercive apparatuses in order to present the Farms community as an African American urban ghetto (AAUG) and as antithetical *Others*.⁵ What amounts to state-led subject formation and place-making in the Farms neighborhood is a routinized system of myths, public policies, and social practices that determine who belongs as Washingtonians and who does not. In analyzing the impact of myths and rituals, public policies, and social practices of structural violence against the lives of TTDOs, this research aligns with

5. Please see Althusser 1971 for a more detailed discussion on ideological and coercive mechanisms deployed by, and in the interest of, the elite.

Carol Stack’s call for anthropologists to engage in a critical ethnography of society and public policy that takes us beyond what are given as givens (1997). The conditions of most public housing and its residents within the United States are dire. This dissertation, following a long anthropological tradition of uncovering the structural components of oppression, attempts to capture the agonizing screams of residents fighting for a quality of life that will allow them to live to their full potential and recognizes their right to live and belong as full citizens of the District of Columbia. The stories, voices, and aspirations of Farms residents captured in this dissertation explain why most residents “are fighting for the Farms Public Dwellings” from this accumulation of systematic oppression.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The process of writing and successfully defending a doctoral dissertation often imparts the idea that a lone scholar, motivated to understand social phenomena to solve pressing social problems or perhaps, to simply document social reality for posterity and future reflection, undertakes his/her craft rigorously and with the assistance of only a hypothetical question(s), relevant theories, and methods. Many believe doctoral candidates labor on without the assistance of others in accordance with some hazing ritual of solitary practice set forth by their academic department. This imaginative myth belies the true nature and process that culminates in the dissertation and its successful defense. In my case, it should be known that if not for the support of Barry Farms residents and related community activists, who shared their front porch humor; moments of pain, loss, and tears; struggles and joys; and their impressive stories of triumph, this dissertation—its central argument—could not have been achieved. I only hope this work meets their high expectations, gives voice to their desperate cries, and enables them/me/us to realize the fulfillment of social justice sooner rather than later.

In addition, I want to acknowledge the teachers, mentors, family, and friends who have quietly supported me on this journey and who, at times, encouragingly screamed, “Are you done yet? Don’t surrender, you can do it!” This dissertation is as much theirs as it is mine. First and foremost, I would like to thank my dissertation committee members, Brett Williams, Rachel Watkins, Tracy Rone and David Vine. In addition, I received tremendous support and guidance from some informal committee members, namely Tony L. Whitehead (University of Maryland, College Park, Maryland) and Sabiyha Prince (my former doctoral advisor at American University, Washington, DC). These committee members offered careful editing and meaningful critique of my dissertation. Even more, they granted me counsel that was critical to my general development as an activist and scholar. Brett deserves special mention as I often promised the

completion of deadlines I no doubt missed, yet still received her continued and overwhelming encouragement.

I enjoyed additional and significant support from friends and colleagues from the American University Anthropology Department, namely Chap Kusimba, Arvenita Washington-Cherry, Jaqueline Reid, Calenthia Dowdy, Michelle Marzullo, Dylan Kerrigan, Christie Johnson, Delores Koenig, Sara Artes, Ashante Reece, Michel Tinguiri, Ryan Mahon, and Anthony Gualtieri. Of particular note is the support that I received from the University of South Florida's Brett Mervis, Alisha Winn, Kevin Yelvington, and Susan Greenbaum; Georgia State University's Susan McCombie, Kathryn Kozaitis, Jamae Morris, Patricia Dixon, Robert Belcher, and Jonathan Gayles; Coppin State University's Elgin Klugh; Towson University's Samuel Collins, Harjant Gill, and Mathew Durlington; Morgan State University's Natasha Pratt-Harris and Angela Howell; Temple University's Zain Abdullah; Yale University's Elijah Anderson; University of Massachusetts' Enoch Pratt; University of North Carolina's Orisanmi Burton; and Rutgers University's Clement Alexander Price.

I cannot imagine the American Anthropological Association without their essential subsection the Association of Black Anthropologists (ABA). ABA members assisted me greatly and for this, I acknowledge all who affiliate with the ABA. I am especially thankful for the support and guidance I received from Jafari Sinclair Allen, Faye V. Harrison, Ira Harrison, David and Kimberly Simmons, Marla Fredericks, Aimee Cox, A. Lynn Bolles, Bertin Louis and Riche Barnes.

Finally, there is the support of my family: Olivia, Amiel, Kelly and Stacy Brown; and Senaida, Rashid, and Asiyah Turé. Senaida has been a steadfast partner and the greatest antidote to the impostor complex as she has discouraged me from quitting. She has listened to my rants

and raves, read multiple drafts, and relentlessly pushed me forward when I wanted to quit. My family provided the final and essential components of love and support I needed to get to this finale, for which I am grateful and indebted.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

| | |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------|
| ABSTRACT..... | ii |
| PREFACE..... | iv |
| ACKNOWLEDGMENTS | x |
| LIST OF TABLES..... | xvi |
| LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS | xvii |
| LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS..... | xviii |
| CHAPTER 1 ALL CRIED OUT HERE IN THE FARMS: STRUCTURAL VIOLENCE, TRULY “TRULY” DISADVANTAGED OTHER, AND PLACE..... | 1 |
| The Social Science of the Truly “Truly” Disadvantaged Other | 12 |
| Structural Violence and the Truly “Truly” Disadvantaged Other | 28 |
| The Significance of Place for the Truly “Truly” Disadvantaged Other..... | 33 |
| Sociospatial Distance and Distortions of the WSC–NWIO/TTDO Binary: An Analytic Framework | 39 |
| Dissertation Outline | 48 |
| CHAPTER 2 ALL CRIED OUT HERE IN THE FARMS: ENCOUNTERING THE TRULY “TRULY” DISADVANTAGED | 53 |
| The Beginning..... | 53 |
| Positioning the Farms Public Dwellings within District of Columbia’s Urban Redevelopment Plans..... | 59 |
| Stating my Position(ality) and Framing the Research Approach..... | 77 |
| Studying Structural Violence: An Activist Research Methodology | 83 |
| Research Competency and Phases of Data Collection | 86 |
| Data Collection Methods | 89 |
| Recruiting and Protecting Research Participants: Witnesses of Violence, Traumatically Stressed-Out Offenders, and Perpetrators of Redevelopment and Structural Violence..... | 90 |
| Participant Observation..... | 98 |
| Community Meetings and Focus Groups | 100 |
| Semi-Structured Interviews | 102 |
| Archival Research..... | 103 |
| Oral History Interviews..... | 104 |
| CHAPTER 3 HISTORY MATTERS: AS IT IS BEST SUITED TO REVEAL THE NATURE, CONTINUITY, AND ACCUMULATIVE EFFECTS OF STRUCTURAL VIOLENCE IN THE FARMS..... | 112 |

| | |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------|
| The Anacostians: Erasing the Anacostians and Spoiling the Land..... | 115 |
| The District of Columbia’s Enslavement, Emancipation, and Betrayal of African Americans | 122 |
| The Rise, Twilight, and Fall of Jim Crow: Dialectics of Social Progress and Breached Freedoms | 138 |
| Touring the Farms | 140 |
| Superimposing an African American Urban Ghetto onto the Farms Neighborhood | 153 |
| Conclusion | 161 |
| CHAPTER 4 THE FARMS’ SOCIAL STRUCTURE AND THE STRUCTURE OF FEAR | 1699 |
| Sammy was a White Outsider Despite his Good Intentions | 1271 |
| Don’t Believe the Hype: We Got Real Reasons to Distrust Them | 173 |
| Get Yours, Son, But Respect the Code | 180 |
| We Just Want to be Left the Hell Alone: Account of Two Types of Retreaters | 39 |
| I Like It Over Here Because I am Free From Their Stares | 196 |
| CHAPTER 5 CALL THE MEETING TO ORDER BUT IN WHOSE INTEREST AND TOWARD WHAT ENDS? | 2219 |
| Resident Council Meetings | 221 |
| NCI Meetings | 234 |
| Activist (Rebel)-Based Meetings: It’s Time for Inclusion | 244244 |
| Conclusion | 250 |
| CHAPTER 6 BUPPIES, THE AFRICAN AMERICAN MIDDLE CLASS, AND STRUCTURAL VIOLENCE IN THE FARMS..... | 253 |
| PRISE Board Member Ashley Fagan | 258 |
| Creative Capital and Community Revitalization | 267 |
| Framing the Message: Naomi Glenn and PRISE’s End of the Year Awards Party | 269 |
| PRISE Gentrification and Displacement Myth-Busting Forums..... | 279 |
| Chase Hamilton, Founder and President of PRISE | 283 |
| The Ideological Climate of Middle-Income African American Agents of the Social Binary..... | 289 |
| CHAPTER 7 OUR EXPERIENCES, OUR VOICES: COMPETING PERSPECTIVES ON THE NEED FOR FARMS HISTORICAL PRESERVATION..... | 295 |
| Coach Carter’s Perspective | 297 |
| Thelma’s Perspective | 302 |
| Brian’s Perspective | 308 |
| Perspectives of Two More Propagators of Structural Violence..... | 314 |

| | |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------|
| Dianne Dale’s Perspective | 318 |
| Conclusion | 326 |
| CHAPTER 8 HEAR THEIR SCREAMS LOUD AND CLEAR: WHAT DOES THE FARMS COMMUNITY REDEVELOPMENT TELL US ABOUT STRUCTURAL VIOLENCE AND THE SOCIOSPATIAL BINARY? | 3328 |
| Summary and Analysis | 3328 |
| Implications of Theory and Methodology | 340 |
| Limitations, Future Lines of Research, and Recommendations | 341 |
| Closing | 346 |
| APPENDIX A FOCUS GROUP INFORMED CONSENT FORM SE WASHINGTON, DC | 348 |
| Investigator Statement | 349 |
| Institutional Approval of Study and Informed Consent..... | 349 |
| APPENDIX B IN-PERSON INTERVIEW INFORMED CONSENT FORM SE WASHINGTON, DC | 350 |
| Investigator Statement | 352 |
| Institutional Approval of Study and Informed Consent..... | 352 |
| APPENDIX C PRISE GENTRIFICATION AND DISPLACEMENT DISCUSSION FORUM FLYERS | 353 |
| APPENDIX D BARRY FARM DEVELOPMENT: THROUGH NEW COMMUNITIES INITIATIVE & NEIGHBORHOOD CHOICE PLANNING GRANTS COMMUNITY BENEFITS AGREEMENT | 357 |
| APPENDIX E COMMITTEE ON ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OVERSIGHT AND PERFORMANCE HEARING FY13: DCHA RESPONSE TO PREHEARING QUESTIONS | 367 |
| APPENDIX F BARRY FARM HILLSDALE CULTURAL AND HISTORIC PRESERVATION PROJECT DRAFT | 373 |
| REFERENCES | 382 |

LIST OF TABLES

| | |
|--------------------------------------------|-----|
| Table 1. Participant Characteristics | 107 |
|--------------------------------------------|-----|

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

| | |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------|
| Figure 1. WSC–NWIO/TTDO Binary Structure. | 40 |
| Figure 2. Street Grid Map of Barry Farm. | 64 |
| Figure 3. Farms Public Dwellings Structures with Hazardous Sites Depicted..... | 65 |
| Figure 4. Street Grid Map of the Barry Farm Public Dwellings and Greater Area. | 66 |
| Figure 5. Barry Farm Public Dwellings Structures | 67 |
| Figure 6. Native American Village of Pomeiooc by John White | 118 |
| Figure 7. Abolitionist Literature from the District of Columbia. | 132 |
| Figure 8. Map Showing Historical District of Columbia (Washington, DC) Slave Markets. | 133 |
| Figure 9. Farms Resident Council’s <i>Community History</i> Pamphlet: Page 1 of 4..... | 1650 |
| Figure 10. Farms Resident Council’s <i>Community History</i> Pamphlet: Page 2 of 4..... | 1661 |
| Figure 11. Farms Resident Council’s <i>Community History</i> Pamphlet: Page 3 of 4..... | 1672 |
| Figure 12. Farms Resident Council’s <i>Community History</i> Pamphlet: Page 4 of 4..... | 1683 |

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|---------|-------------------------------------------------|
| AAUG | African American Urban Ghetto |
| ABA | Association of Black Anthropology |
| BFHPP | Barry Farms Historical Preservation Project |
| BFNCAB | Barry Farms New Communities Advisory Board |
| BFPDR | Barry Farms Public Dwellings Resident |
| Buppies | Black Urban Professionals |
| CBA | Community Benefits Agreement |
| DCHA | District of Columbia Housing Authority |
| DCPL | District of Columbia Preservation League |
| DCPR | District of Columbia Parks and Recreation |
| CHASE | Congress Heights, Anacostia, and St. Elizabeths |
| CIA | Central Intelligence Agency |
| CPG | Consolidated Parent Group |
| CPV | Central Park Village |
| CuSAG | Cultural Systems Analysis Group |
| DHS | Department of Homeland Security |
| DMPED | Deputy Mayor of Economic Development |
| EfB | Ethnography from Below |
| EPA | Environmental Protection Agency |
| FDMB | Frederick Douglass Memorial Bridge |
| FHA | Federal Housing Administration |
| GSA | General Service Administration |
| HCA | Hillsdale Civic Association |
| HCMRG | Humanities Council Major Research Grant |

| | |
|--------------------|----------------------------------------------|
| HOPE VI | Housing Opportunity for People Everywhere VI |
| HU | Howard University |
| HUD | Housing and Urban Development |
| KOI | Kressley Organizing Institute |
| MLK Ave | Martin Luther King Avenue |
| MTO | Moving to Opportunity |
| NCI | New Communities Initiative |
| NCPC | National Capital Planning Commission |
| NPP | National Park Police |
| NRS | Navy Receiving Station |
| NSF | National Science Foundation |
| NWIO | Non-Western Inferior Other |
| OSP | Optimal Spatial Proximity |
| OTB | Operation Take Back |
| PEPCO | Potomac Energy Power Company |
| Perpetrator/PerpSV | Perpetrator of Structural Violence |
| REC | Barry Farms Recreation Center |
| Regs | Regular men who hang out in the Farms |
| RFQs | Request for Qualifications |
| RUG | Racialized Urban Ghetto |
| SIRD | Summer Intensive Research Design |
| St. Es | St. Elizabeths Hospital Campuses |
| TANF | Temporary Assistance for Needy Families |
| TSO | Traumatically Stressed-Out Offender |
| TTDO | Truly “Truly” Disadvantage Other |

| | |
|-----------|----------------------------------------------------|
| TW | Turf Wars |
| ULA | Uniontown Land Association |
| UNCF | United Negro College Fund |
| Union | Uniontown |
| W8FFGSI | Ward 8 Family First Government Second Incorporated |
| WitnessSV | Witness of Structural Violence |
| WSC | Western Superior Culture |
| WWII | World War II |

CHAPTER 1

FRAMING THE TRULY “TRULY” DISADVANTAGED OTHER

*Out by a shanty where the dust hangs high
Far from a river where things grow green
The flowers weep and they lean away
From the blood stained soil beneath my feet*

*The thorns outnumber the petals on the rose
And the darkness amplifies the sound
Of printer's ink on propaganda page
That will rule your life and fuel my rage*

*I tried to bend my knees but my knees were already bent
I haven't stood like a [wo]man for such a long time now
I called on my God but He was sleeping on that day
I guess I'll just have to depend on me, oh*

*Shall I tell my children if they ask of me
Did I surrender forth my right to be?
Y'see, my daddy died to leave this haunting ground
And this same ground still haunts me . . .*

—from “Not As Yet Untitled” by Terrence Trent D’Arby

We assembled at midday in the multipurpose room of the resident council office for the inaugural class of the introductory anthropology course that I planned to teach at the Farms that summer of 2009. I observed a somber atmosphere among my course participants, punctuated at times with brief bursts of commentary and celebratory laughter. The atmosphere reminded me of a home-going ceremony, in which the family and friends of a deceased person gather to reflect on the meaning and character of their transitioned loved one. These mortuary gatherings filled with sorrow are often marked with momentary outpourings of heartfelt recollections that draw cheers, brighten moods, and induce laughter. However, the micro-outbursts that punctuated the deafening silence this afternoon involved the retelling of past community meetings where residents verbally out-jousted the Farms Public Dwellings management staff, the District of

Columbia Housing Authority (DCHA), and the District of Columbia's Office of the Deputy Mayor for Economic Planning and Development (DMPED). Encounters between Farms residents and the officials are often uneven, as the lion's share of power is concentrated in the government's hands. Hence, these victories, whether pyrrhic or not, serve to redeem the residents' bruised dignity, so I enjoyed each victorious account I heard that day. However, I pressed further to understand the source of their funereal mood.

I discovered that, prior to my arrival, the resident council leaders had discussed with those already assembled the news that the local service provider, Ward 8 Family First Government Second Incorporated (W8FFGSI), had decided to organize a community festival and back-to-school-supplies giveaway. Disturbing for the resident council was W8FFGSI's decision to hold this festival on the same day as the Farms Historical Day festival, an event organized by the Farms resident council each year to honor the heritage and history of the neighborhood. The Farms Historical Day is a community tradition where residents celebrate the community's ancestral connections and the convivial atmosphere among community residents. Residents had expressed increasing interest in the festival as the years passed, as community conflict worsened and redevelopment plans continued to threaten the community's very existence. At the festival, residents indulged in the sounds of Peaches and Herb and the Junkyard Band (two local music bands that reached national fame), congregated for dominoes, grilled food, caught up on recent community happenings and the current events at the Farms Rec (Farms Public Dwellings' recreation center). They had fun, danced, gossiped, and more. Most importantly, they used the occasion to orient new residents and children to the community's history. Men and women told stories, recited poems, performed raps, and together weaved a tapestry of culture so rich in art, sound, and aesthetics that it befitted a Broadway performance.

John Brooks, who I discuss in chapter 3, stood regularly before those gathered and gleefully outlined the neighborhood's historical significance. The Historical Day festival was one of the most sacrosanct of all days in the Farms community calendar. It was set aside as a day of peace, in which there was absolutely no toleration of violence or community rivalries; the community leaders quashed internal and external tensions and cautioned against any disruptive behavior.

Farms resident council leaders had lobbied W8FFGSI to cosponsor or at least to consider giving their full support to the Farms Historical Day tradition as a community partner. The New Communities Initiative (NCI) program officials W8FFGSI to provide capacity building, drug counseling, family support, case management, and life course training for residents east of the Anacostia River, particularly in the NCI-targeted Farms Public Dwellings community.⁶ Equally frustrating was the fact that the DCHA's Human Services division never provided the resident council with an adequate budget as guaranteed by their office mandate, but, along with DMPED, financed W8FFGSI sufficiently. So, given their sizable resources, W8FFGSI's decision to hold a different festival on the same day as the Farms Historical Day meant the resident council would continue to appear incapable of serving the community's needs or being a custodian of the community's traditions.⁷

The first day of class, I had planned to cover anthropology's central concept—culture. It now occurred to me to take advantage of their reflective mood and break the pensive silence that had colonized the otherwise loquacious bunch by discussing the importance of sound, whether musical or otherwise. Related to music, I understood that no matter what the original composer's

6. Farms Public Dwelling community represents a small subsection of the larger and historical Farms neighborhood. When I use the term "Farms" alone, or "Farms neighborhood," I am referring to the larger and historical area. I use "Farms Public Dwellings community" when I am referring to my immediate research site.

7. I discuss the resident council, the anthropology course and its participants, and Farms Historical Day in detail in later chapters.

intentions, individuals could dramatically modify a song's meaning through its appropriation and delivery (as with other dominant cultural appropriations). I hoped by switching to a participatory exercise on music, I could affect a mood change and discover something of the community's structure. I challenged them to select, share, and sing a song that best reflected their community spirit.

The president of the Farms Public Dwellings resident council, Thelma Jenson (pseudonym), initially suggested various titles of the rhythm and blues and go-go music genre, but resisted singing any lyrics. Another participant, Jelissa Bryant, then audaciously bellowed Terrence Trent D'Arby's "Not As Yet Untitled" (partially quoted in the epigraph to this chapter). Her raspy intonation, painful to the ear, accentuated the harrowing subject matter of the song to reveal the agony confronted by those that live day to day in the Farms Public Dwellings. Struck by the appropriateness of Jelissa's song choice and her fearless singing, I pressed this otherwise enigmatic Farms resident to unpack the relevance of the song to those of us gathered in the resident council office. Fortunately, she obliged:

What I know of this community's history in my really short time here . . . the original Farms residents, they built their homes or rather shanty houses smothered by dust under limited light from lanterns that sprinkled the night sky; the highways cut them off from the Anacostia [River] like where things grow green. There sure ain't no flowers growing here and . . . (unintelligible) plants need water too. By the way, the dust in the air from St. Es redevelopment, where I live, is so thick almost everyone in my courtyard is having coughing trouble . . . yeah. Blood stained soil, yeah . . . didn't the Indians die here? Didn't the slaves die here; weren't black people hung down there at Poplar Point? Aren't our young men shot down here regularly? But the coughing, right they [General Service Administration] working on St. Es just dismiss our complaints. . . . Yeah right? In terms of the second verse, what makes this existence rough is the second verse—that verse is most important to me.

I asked why this verse was so very important to her, given that all the stanzas in the song would have been equally and collectively suitable for depicting life in the Farms. Jelissa responded:

The reality of residents today like those of yesterday is painful because those who harm us put out these false ideas about who we are. I am not ghetto; everyone here isn't the same—these myths, that's right like I said, huh that's what I call them, myths. They determine how people treat you and what you can and cannot do; and these myths come from people that don't even know anything about us. . . . Like the song says, rules the topics of the day and this is so damn frustrating. Ummm, there are a lot of churches, but there ain't no rest coming here for us weary folk. You got to do things for yourself! So, I teach my children don't surrender; don't surrender! I want my [sons] to become responsible men in America. What I don't want is for my boys to die on these killing fields [a common reference used by outsiders to describe the Farms community]. Too many people here; that's right, I said it, huh, here in the Farms, have given up and accepted these myths as real descriptions of who they are . . . ghetto!

While the course participants attentively listened to Jelissa, nodding their heads and uttering amens in agreement to most of her points, they were vehemently silent regarding Jelissa's final contention about them being *ghetto*. Thelma noted that, as Jelissa Bryant was new to the community, she had a lot to learn concerning who the Farms people really were. Jelissa, a short-term resident of five years with no community ties and a witness to structural violence, was very conservative in her views and at times blamed her Farms Public Dwellings neighbors for the conditions of the community.⁸ As I grew more familiar with Jelissa, I realize that she was an accommodator of structural violence, meaning that she actively sought out ways to prove her compliance to DCHA and the NCI officials with the hope that the District government would do right by her. Nevertheless, her exegesis on the structurally violent impact of the myths about Farms people illustrates a principal component of this dissertation's analytical framework, namely the sociospatial binary of the Western Superior Culture (WSC) group versus its "antithetical" counterpart, the Non-Western Inferior Others (NWIOs)/Truly "Truly" Disadvantaged Others (TTDO). The TTDO refers to a subset of the NWIO, such as those who

8. Jelissa lived on the same road as the resident council office, in the courtyard across the street.

reside in public housing. I describe this sociospatial binary along with its method of structural violence below, but suffice it to say here that public housing residents are increasingly vulnerable to a government that construes them as culturally pathological and antithetical to mainstream society. The Farms Public Dwellings residents here are defined as members of the subgroup of the NWIO that I label the Truly “Truly” Disadvantaged Other (TTDO).

The myth of cultural pathology—a symbolic form of structural violence—constrains and truncates the Farms residents’ life chances, a process aptly reflected in D’Arby’s lyrics. Taking myths as a starting point, I argue here that myths represent important arsenals of structural violence that are strategically deployed by members of the WSC group against the NWIO, particularly the latter’s most vulnerable TTDOs, to service that separation within the sociospatial binary.⁹ Anthropologists are keen to examine cultural myths and their associated rituals and traditions as evidence of underlying social structures, worldviews, and cultural ideas. Elements of myths represent significant architectural structures of sociocultural systems and are entry points for anthropologists attempting to ascertain the internal workings of those social structures.

The myths that shape the public’s understandings of public housing residents are about welfare queens, urban rapists, superpredators, drug dealers, violent crackheads, and generally, the culturally pathological. These myths are coordinated to origin myths such as Thanksgiving Day stories and narratives of Christopher Columbus’s feats that articulate Western superiority. They all construct and take as reality imaginary categories that fit the social binaries operating at a historical moment to furnish the worldviews and orientation of “us versus them.” These myths provide ideas about those entitled to privilege and social advantage vis-à-vis those restricted to

9. The WSC–NWIO/TTDO social binary described here is an original theoretical feature of this ethnographic research and analysis. I attend to its nature and functioning in detail below.

disadvantage. Moreover, these myths generate the rationale that the WSC is the only capable intervener who can subdue the threatening NWIO/TTDO, lest the entire social structure fail.

The deployment of cultural pathology myths reflects a larger ritualistic project where both construction and intervention are steps in the reification of the sociospatial binary constituent groups' identity and the uneven status quo between them. In describing a Western mythology and its associated rituals, Sartore refers to Campbell's writings: "When nature is thought of as evil, you don't put yourself in accord with it, you control it, or try to, and hence the tension, the anxiety, the cutting down of the forest, annihilation of native people. And the [orientation] here separates us [Westerners] from nature" (Sartore 1993, 4). Just like Native Americans, African Americans are positioned as antithetical to Westerner identity. Reifying their social contradistinction within a dominant stratified hierarchy justifies the apprehension, subjugation, and/or deposal of NWIO/TTDOs by members of WSC.¹⁰

Joseph Campbell's writings on myths are instructive for the focus of this study (Campbell 1988; Campbell et al. 1988; Sartore 1993). Campbell notes that myths are metaphors filled with values that structure identity, orient social practices, determine individual and group relationships such as inter- and intragroup hierarchies, direct individual or group level understandings and dispositions toward nature, and clarify the metaphysics of human life. Most

10. Pattberg (2007) notes that the provenance of conquest and domination is uniquely Western, albeit widely shared around the world today. He explains that the inherent dispositions of superiority were born at the time of confluence between industrial growth and expanded capitalism, revolutionary advances in science and technological developments in maritime travel, and the waning constraints of dogmatic religion, all within the context of discovering and subsequently subjugating new geographies and peoples. These social processes came together to arm Westerners with a perceived mandate to map the world, accumulate wealth, and know and possess the constructed "Other." Regardless of cultural similarity or difference, people of color were and continue to be portrayed by Westerners as constituting an antithetical group unworthy of full citizenship (Pattberg 2007). The result has been catastrophic structural violence, both direct and indirect, against marginal African American communities along with other peripheral groups in the United States. Although categories of marginality have shifted over time within the United States, each shift has been accompanied by new articulations of White supremacy and variable forms of structural violence that reconfigure the binary between the dominant and subjugated to maintain the former's status quo (Anderson 2004a; Brodtkin 1998; Ignatiev 2009, 1995; Roediger 1993, 2006).

importantly, Campbell contends, myths are more than religious artifacts waiting to be discovered, proven, or disproven by science, but rather are cultural apparatuses that possess significant pedagogical and sociological functions for an uncritical society. US myths, including their associated rituals and traditions, are ideological apparatuses that help shape the objective and subjective formations of US “citizens,” including those who have full citizenship, the NWIOs who have provisional citizenship, and the TTDOs who have little to no citizenship at all.

I use the concept of Western Superior Culture (WSC) to describe a quality of US citizenship that matches postracial discourses on belonging. These discourses act as a pivot from the twentieth-century’s racialized citizenship (and its racially dichotomized citizenship binary) toward the contemporary articulations of belonging along cultural lines. To be certain, race is salient, but this dissertation attempts to highlight the current rhetorical strategies of White supremacy and therefore, I elevate a cultural framework.

In addition to highlighting White supremacy’s rhetorical strategy, I use an analytical framework situated in cultural terms to highlight the complicated composition and structuring of American citizenship whereby the elite are no longer exclusively White but rather a diverse set of participants that include members of the African American middle class. Stating this point differently, White supremacy remains salient, but it now coheres behind the mythic notion of Western superiority rather than White superiority, and operates within a sociospatial binary of WSC versus NWIO/TTDO rather than White versus black. Poor and working class African Americans, who are held out to constitute the non-Western inferior category as unfit for full citizenship, are indeed Western to their core; their existence, experience, and socialization are

unequivocally Western.¹¹ Yet the sociospatial binary that operates through structural violence positions the NWIO and particularly the TTDO as unworthy of full inclusion in Western culture.

To clarify, the use of WSC as an acronym for Western Superior Culture rather than White Supremacist Culture is not an attempt to avoid more direct terms of racialized oppression. There is nothing to gain from denying racism's devastating legacy in the lives of Black Americans. Rather, in my estimation, the Western Superior Culture concept is a more appropriate way to identify and account for newly incorporated and diverse agents of the social binary. Per the critical race theorist and anthropologist Helán Enoch Page, African Americans who do the work of White supremacy do not explicitly identify with White culture, even though their labor aligns them with the dominant group's culture and class interests. Page notes that the labor of African American middle- and upper-class folk does indeed extend what he calls White privileged space (Page 1995, 1997, 1999a). WSC is therefore employed in this dissertation to draw attention to the fact that members of the formerly oppressed category of the NWIO (African American middle- and upper-class persons) now actively participate in the dominant culture and as perpetrators of structural violence against the TTDOs to maintain the sociospatial binary. These newly incorporated members of WSC are fierce proponents of the culture of poverty thesis. To

11. Robert K. Merton's (1938) writing is instructive here. Merton, to explain the higher incidence of crime in inner-city communities, argues that all Americans share in the Western idea of achieving the American dream. However, the means to achieve that dream is stratified through structures of race, gender, and class whereby some will have advantage and some will be disadvantaged and unable to achieve the dream. Merton maintains that the middle-class status represents accommodators, who embrace the iconic American dream and have the means to achieve it. However, African Americans lack the institutional means to achieve the dream and so pursue other adaptive strategies. Accordingly, they either become innovative, ritualistic, retreatist, or rebellious in their adaptive strategies. Merton explains that innovators denied conventional means to attain the American dream will engage in crime to acquire it; ritualistic people acknowledge the American dream as an important goal, but cope as they normally do, recognizing that they do not have the means to achieve it; rebellious strategies involve embracing the American dream but protesting the denial of institutional means to achieve it; and retreatists reject the entire social idea of the American dream and the process of achieving it altogether. I explore all of these adaptive modes in this dissertation; however, I want to underscore that the American dream is a universal feature in all Americans' socialization processes.

recognize African American participants in systems of oppression should be interpreted not as a denial of White supremacy, but rather as a recognition of emerging ethnographic observations of cleavages in the African American community along the fault lines of culture and class (Gregory 1992, 1999; Pattillo 2008; Pattillo-McCoy 2000; Prince 2002, 2003).

The dominant society, however, has not ceased its racial hostility toward all African Americans irrespective of socioeconomic standing. The new African American purveyors of the sociospatial binary and perpetrators of structural violence are acutely aware that the so-called cosmopolitan canopy of mainstream society is far from being racially neutral (Anderson 2004a). Elijah Anderson describes the cosmopolitan canopy as “settings that offer a respite from the lingering tensions of the urban life and an opportunity for diverse peoples to come together. Canopies are in essence pluralistic spaces where people engage one another in a spirit of civility, or even comity and good will” (Anderson 2004, XIV). Sabiyha Prince notes that many black professionals (who she refers to as “Buppies”—young black urban professionals) are returning to former ghettos not just to model good citizenship, but also as a reaction to the hostility they experience in White dominant spaces. Yet some African American middle-class people deem mainstream cultural standards to be important resources for full social inclusion in American citizenship, and Prince argues that they seek to model dominant values to the lower socioeconomic rank and file (Prince 2002, 2003). This dissertation adds some nuances to Prince’s observations. In my interviews with PRISE (Professionals Rising in the Southeast; see chapter 6), such buppies articulated their desire to establish the Farms neighborhood and other larger communities east of the Anacostia River as an all African American and middle-class suburb free from racism and the signifiers of African American cultural pathology, such as the iconic ghetto’s public housing (Anderson 2012).

While public housing residents (TTDOs) are members of the NWIO, they are an extremely vulnerable socioeconomic subset of this group. It is worth explaining why I dubbed this group the Truly “Truly” Disadvantaged Other, as without the extra “Truly” and the “Other,” this is the title of William Julius Wilson’s (1987) classic book, *The Truly Disadvantaged*. In effect, I modified Wilson’s book title and a major theme of much of his writing (1978, 1987, 2011) to convey the way his and other social science writings increased the vulnerability of the African American underclass. Wilson contends that in addition to global and local economic forces, inner-city African American poor and public housing residents are disadvantaged doubly by an unproductive pathological cultural orientation that limits their advancement in society and bedevils them with social suffering. Ironically, his form of social science, which should contribute to social justice policy, instead supports the draconian and revanchist urban renewal policies that increase TTDOs’ vulnerability. While ostensibly putting forth a progressive discourse on race and inequality, Wilson’s argument that cultural pathology generates more injury than racism only provides cover to the continued operations of White supremacy in the WSC–NWIO context.

Indeed, Wilson’s writings are the basis for HOPE VI, NCI, and other federal and local urban renewal policy programs of the late twentieth and early twenty-first century. In effect, he singles out the most vulnerable of the NWIOs, the TTDOs, for urban renewal policy interventions. The next section traces the social scientific myths that became the basis for the development and transmutation of the US racial binary into the sociocultural binary featured in the theoretical framework applied here.

The Social Science of the Truly “Truly” Disadvantaged Other

For more than a century, anthropologists, criminologists, and sociologists, to name a few disciplinary professions, have dedicated themselves to ascertaining the underlying causes and conditions of poverty, urban poverty. Many have recommended various forms of intervention, including private and public charity, governmental programs, or self-help–based reform. Others have argued that poverty and inequality are natural conditions of industrial society, so no action should be taken to alleviate these conditions (Davis and Moore 1994; Gottdiener and Hutchison 2010; O’Connor 2002). Some of the conclusions drawn by such social scientists have crystallized in four structurally violent and dangerous myths used to justify increasing implementation of harmful public policies and practices against the NWIO/TTDO, particularly those who are raising children in public housing.¹²

These four pernicious myths are: (1) generalized cultural pathology, (2) welfare dependency, (3) postracialism, and (4) progress through neoliberal reform.¹³ I excavate the social science history of these four myths below. However, for now, I note that these disparaging narratives neither acknowledge the ghetto and its public housing’s spatial and functional role nor bring into view the structural violence that forms and dissolves what anthropologist Tony Whitehead calls racialized urban ghettos, or RUGs (here referred to as African American urban ghettos or AAUGs) (2000). The concept of “African American urban ghettos” borrows from and

12. To clarify, the term “NWIO” refers to African Americans forced to live in African American urban ghettos (AAUGs); however, the term “TTDO” refers to a subset of this population, who dwell in public housing communities.

13. I use the term “welfare dependency” to describe what is more commonly referred to by the pejorative term “welfare queen,” which is meant to indicate unscrupulous women who either conceive multiple children or deceitfully collect multiple forms of government assistance to increase their income.

modifies the concept of RUGs to keep consistent with the theoretical and analytical framework used in this dissertation research.

W. E. B. Du Bois is widely considered the African American father of social science and was one of the first to investigate AAUGs. In his seminal late-nineteenth-century work, *The Philadelphia Negro*, Du Bois examines the proliferation of crime, vice, and other behaviors having deleterious effects on slum neighborhoods in the burgeoning African American, lower-class quarters of the seventh ward of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania (Du Bois 1899). He conducted one of the most comprehensive and rigorous ethnographic studies of what was, at that time, one of the largest and most densely populated black urban communities in America. He utilized descriptive statistics and participant observation methods, along with census data, maps, and survey interviews, of 9,000 participants in 5,000 households. Du Bois categorized African Americans into four types: the talented tenth (the socioeconomic top ten percent), the hard working, the poor, and the submerged tenth (the bottom ten percent).

Du Bois concluded that the increase in crime and poverty conditions that proliferated in the Philadelphia slum and threatened to spill over into White spaces resulted from three main causes. These were: (1) labor market competition with White ethnic immigrants; (2) the deficient cultural and labor skills African American southern migrants honed in the peculiar environment of slavery and its subsequent sharecropping proxy—Du Bois concluded that the effects of slavery and reconstruction created a skills mismatch for southern-born African American migrants in northern cities; and (3) virulent White racism. His principal argument was that racism prohibited southern African American migrants (who constituted most of the slum dwellers) from improving their life conditions.

Du Bois encouraged a twofold solution: first, that the elite African American community (Talented Tenth) should tutor their lower class, less skilled brethren in the manners of mainstream ways of life and facilitate economic opportunities for them. Du Bois first suggested the idea of black urban professionals (now called buppies), or simply the African American middle and upper classes, role-modeling mainstream culture to the less well-off members of the AAUGs. Second, given his conclusion that increased poverty conditions resulted directly from racialized oppression, Du Bois maintained that Whites should take greater responsibility for ending racial discrimination and creating educational and training opportunities for African Americans and southern migrants.

Yet Du Bois's ethnographic depictions, derived from his own middle-income upbringing, led him to express extreme disdain toward slum dwellers and their customs. He sharply criticizes them for sexual immorality, weak familial patterns, criminality, shiftlessness, and moral deficiency. For example, contrasting the family life of the poor African American migrant to that of his more successful stock of Negroes, Du Bois observes,

Among the lower classes of recent immigrants and other unfortunates there is much sexual promiscuity and the absence of real home life. Actual prostitution for gain is not as widespread as would at first thought seem natural. On the other hand, there are two widespread systems among the lowest classes, viz., temporary cohabitation and the support of men. . . In distinctly slum districts, like that at Seventh and Lombard, from 10 to 25 per cent of the unions are of this nature. Some of them are simply common-law marriages and are practically never broken. Others are compacts, which last for two to ten years; others for some months; in most of these cases the women are not prostitutes, but rather ignorant and loose. In such cases, there is, of course little home life, centering in the alleys and on the sidewalks, where the children are educated. Of the great mass of Negroes this class forms a very small percentage and is absolutely without social standing. (Du Bois 1899, 192–193)

However, while Du Bois concluded that southern migrants were ill prepared for the drastically different social, political, and economic environments of the North, he did not assume that the maladaptive behaviors he observed were immutable cultural features of migrant culture.

That is, he did not consider them inherently “pathological” behaviors, and he argued that education would reverse all unhealthy patterns. *Philadelphia Negro* helped clarify the cumulative impact of historical and contemporary racialized oppression on lower-class African Americans (including southern migrants) and their maladjustment to the North. Unfortunately, Du Bois’s ideas were lost to the exclusionary, racist, and Western hegemony of knowledge production in the criminology, sociology, and anthropology disciplines for more than a century.

Two contesting perspectives on poverty emerged in the late 1920s and early 1930s along the disciplinary lines of sociology/criminology and anthropology.¹⁴ Ernest Burgess and Robert Ezra Parks, the founding members of the Chicago School of Sociology, determined that poverty and inequality were natural outgrowths of immigrants’ and migrants’ adaptation to urbanization (Gottdiener and Hutchison 2010). Known for their concentric zone concept and human ecology paradigm, Burgess and Parks explained that as immigrant Europeans and migrant African Americans relocated into Midwestern and northeastern cities, they occupied transitory zones with scant resources and network deficiencies. In these transitory zones, they faced significant barriers to resource access and societal acceptance from more established ethnic Europeans and White Anglo Saxon Protestants. Burgess and Parks assumed that racial and ethnic conflict would give way to accommodation and eventual assimilation despite the challenges (O’Connor 2002). They believed that social problems such as the social effects of slavery and institutionalized racism would give way to greater social equilibrium and a shared value system.¹⁵

14. Social scientists did not immediately take up studying African American life in the kind of systematic detail employed in Du Bois’s work. Most sociological studies on poverty at this time were concerned only with ethnic European immigrants (O’Connor 2002).

15. Some scholars recognized that African Americans had entered, experienced, and negotiated racialized oppression in the United States with different biographies and different results (Green 1970).

Roediger, a historian of racial formations in the United States, notes that since the closing decades of the nineteenth century and well into the mid-twentieth century, the US government was reconstituting racial categories to include many similarly situated southern, central, and eastern Europeans by designating them as White and therefore worthy of social inclusion and resource access (Roediger 1993, 2006).¹⁶ This racial project represented the absorption of all ethnic Europeans into a category of Whiteness and, despite the fact that the Fourteenth Amendment of the United States Constitution in 1868 granted full citizenship to African Americans, exclusion of the latter.¹⁷ To be certain, the US government facilitated through public policies ethnic Europeans' mobility away from and out of ethnic enclaves such as Italian slums and Jewish ghettos, and through this process inscribed race into the urban-suburban binary. By the mid-twentieth century, this historical transformation and consolidation of Whiteness was complete, and it represented the nation's most expensive, albeit unrecognized, welfare program to date.¹⁸ The US government was a principal architect of the racial binary and is now a collaborator of the emergent cultural binary, which today includes the complicity of some African American middle- and upper-class agents.

However, the idea that ethnic and racial diversity would dissolve into a single national identity group through the process of assimilation—the melting pot concept—became the

16. For further discussion on the social construction of racial identity, see Brodtkin 1998, Ignatiev 2009, and Roediger 1993. The body of literature that examines the construction of Whiteness is voluminous and exceeds the scope of this work.

17. The social engineering of Whiteness carried an expensive price tag because it was conducted through an extraordinary and precedent-setting program of affirmative action (Katznelson 2005). Affirmative action programs dispossessed wealth from those left behind to be used as subsidies for an expanding category of WSC participants.

18. Consistent with the seventeenth and eighteenth century Founding Fathers' efforts to construct a two-tiered society (McIntyre 1992), initially based on free Whites and enslaved blacks, the federal government had strategically cultivated the racial binary by the mid-twentieth century through the GI Bill and FHA funding for Whites to earn college degrees and purchase homes in suburban communities (Rothstein 2016).

guiding principle for social policy and social science research on urban poverty throughout the first half of the twentieth century (Frazier 1932; Frazier and Glazer 1966; Johnson 1996; O'Connor 2002). The melting pot idea went against the dominant ethos of racial dichotomy whose formation had been underway since as far back as the seventeenth-century colonial slavery era (McIntyre 1992). In addition, these earlier social scientists actively resisted the idea of what is now called the praxis approach; that is, the idea that social scientists should lead positive interventions with government support to improve society (Kozaitis 2000).

Burgess and Parks conceived their brand of sociology in nonreformist, noninterventionist terms.¹⁹ Their laissez-faire treatment of poverty and social disorganization and their de-emphasis of racism was an invitation to those championing cultural pathology paradigms and for the state to make only narrow provision to ameliorate conditions. However, it cleared the way for the generous provision of coercive interventions into poverty (e.g., coercive use of public safety apparatuses to maintain social order in poor communities). The refusal to take positive action as a form of intervention characterizes much of public policy and scholarly discourse well into the twenty-first century.²⁰

Meanwhile, Parks and Burgess's two prominent African American students, E. Franklin Frazier and Charles S. Johnson, mostly avoided the issue of racism in their analyses of African American poverty (Frazier 1932; Johnson 1941, 1996). After studying the origin of the Chicago race riots, however, Johnson, a strong adherent of the Chicago School's social ecology theory,

19. Louis Wirth was an exception during the formative days of the Chicago School, as he indeed called for government intervention.

20. This refusal-to-take-action posture was disingenuous because zones of transition, which are environments of domestic and foreign migrants who are loosely rooted and lack sufficient resources, are spatial zones also characterized by delinquency and crime, and social scientists of the early Chicago School did indeed call for increased public safety, which is an intervention.

decidedly turned toward the idea that racism should be a significant factor of analysis (O'Connor 2002, 78–80). On the other hand, Frazier was a forceful proponent of the black pathology notion to explain lower-class African Americans (Frazier 1932; Frazier and Glazer 1966). As a point of fact, Frazier never used the term “culture of poverty,” but his criticism of impoverished African American lifestyles fits Oscar Lewis’s (1962) later use of the term.

Frazier rejected the anthropological assertion of African cultural continuity as a way to explain some of the cultural differences and what he argued were maladaptive practices of African Americans (e.g., Herskovits 1958). Frazier argued that slavery had destroyed any lingering retention of African cultures and that instead a lower-class, African American culture—characterized by sexually deviant mores, joblessness and indolence, criminality, welfare dependency, and matriarchal family structure—had been born of the disruptive forces of slavery and Jim Crow exploitation. He acknowledged that some aspects of lower-income African Americans’ lives, such as broken families, were rooted in slavery and exacerbated by the competition and conflict they met in midwestern and northern cities. According to Frazier, lower-class culture was an adaptation to these hostile environments, but it soon became entrenched, cyclical, and self-perpetuating.

Frazier’s single departure from the views promoted in the Chicago School of Sociology was that he sought government intervention. He assumed that if the government moved lower-income African Americans to economically productive environments, the pathological culture would disappear. Frazier’s suggestion of government-sponsored intervention strategies presages a “deconcentration” of poverty experiment in the 1990s, in which low-income African Americans living in public housing were given vouchers to move to economically and socially propitious environments. For example, Housing and Urban Development’s random housing

assignment experiment during the early 1990s, the Moving to Opportunity (MTO) program, reflects Frazier's idea that if you relocate the poor to economically productive environments they will flourish. MTO also mirrors an idea of William Julius Wilson, who I will discuss further below, that the very proximity of middle-class role model citizens could improve the social capital of the poor. Problematically, he argued that once the federal government emplaced low-income African Americans into favorable environments, the men would return to the workforce and the families to "normative" patriarchal structures.

Unfortunately for the TTDO, Frazier's contribution to poverty scholarship helped bracket lower-income African American people off from the middle- and upper-income mainstream groups. Furthermore, his push for an interventionist policy was androcentric, and the implementation of policies based on such views increased the economic vulnerability of African American women. By characterizing them as deviant members of an abnormal subculture, social scientists reconceived lower-class African American female heads of households as incapable of raising responsible citizens and overly dependent on government resources. This patriarchal, misogynistic, and sexist (PMS) perspective contributed to the distorted imagery and myth of low-income, African American women as culturally pathological and dependent "welfare queens." It also situated the blame for lack of family and community progress squarely in their laps.²¹ Today, actions to correct these mythologized residents have taken the form of revanchist US public policies, such as welfare and public housing reform. For example, the federal government cut Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF) and public housing subsidies to five-year maximum limits. The notion of pathology continued to color many intellectual and

21. Like the explanations put forward by Parks and Burgess, Frazier's de-emphasis of racism and other external factors isolated this demographic group.

popular ideas about race and poverty throughout the first half of the twentieth century; it reverberates well into this twenty-first century.

While sociologists were developing theories about black pathology at the University of Chicago, anthropologists were fighting biologically deterministic perspectives on human diversity and then delinking race from poverty (Baker 1998; Harrison and Harrison 1999; Visweswaran 1998). They turned to their keystone concept of “culture” to draw attention to the spuriousness of the biological paradigm and to convey the explanatory power of culture. As O’Connor writes,

Social anthropology, in contrast [to sociology], characterized American race relations as a system of caste, rooted in a deep psychological need among whites to maintain their supremacy and imbedded in an airtight system of institutional, legal and interpersonal relationships that conspired to keep the Negro “in his place.” (2002, 77)

Accordingly, anthropologists sought to cast African American pathology as a direct product of historical and contemporary racial oppression (Davis 1941; Dollard 1988; Powdermaker and Rudwick 1968). Their ethnographic methodology and the resulting data demonstrated that cultural pathologies were in fact reasonable adaptations to marginal and racially oppressed circumstances. However, their transplanted approach from the study of spatially bounded and exotic societies proved inefficient in studying open and urban environments constantly shaped by external forces and racialized oppression.²² For example, anthropologists missed the way racist structural policies saturated the lived experiences of African Americans in their rush to explore cultural conditions of African Americans as if they were geographically distant and spatially bounded. This approach ignored the dynamic and

22. Colonial researchers, who gained opportunities to conduct research due to colonial oppression and other forms of global interconnectedness and interdependence, often employed writing strategies that isolated their subjects temporally and spatially (Fabian 2002). The isolationist writing style depicted anthropological research sites and subjects as free from the influence of dominant Western powers, and therefore the subjects as solely responsible for their life courses and experiences.

fundamental ways racial, class, and cultural domination shaped their subjects' day to day experiences across time and place (Maxwell 1988).

Anthropology's intellectual challenge to culture of pathology arguments, and what was later referred to as the culture of poverty thesis, sadly and inadvertently upheld culture of poverty ideas as legitimately capturing distinguishing features of African American communities. This misunderstanding percolated into discussions of learning difficulties (Davis, Dollard, and the American Council on Education 1964), the social structure of African American ghettos (Cayton and Drake 1993), and the cyclical nature of poverty (Myrdal, Sterner, and Rose 1969). Unlike most early sociologists, anthropologists ardently called for government intervention against caste-like racist systems. These calls for intervention were not attended to because ethnographically rich depictions of lower-income African American families—which treated ghetto culture as unique, isolated, and inherently different from the dominant White society—proved more appealing to the consuming US audiences and were interpreted as examples of cultural pathology rather than reviews of structural racism.

By the mid- to late-twentieth century, publications by Oscar Lewis (1962, 1966), Daniel P. Moynihan (1967), Charles Murray (1984), and William J. Wilson (1978, 1987, 2011) had solidified and seared the idea of a separate and distinct African American culture with degenerate customs into scholarly discourse and by extension into the popular beliefs of American society. Lewis (1966), an anthropologist, coined the term “culture of poverty.” He first developed his conception of poverty while studying a small Mexican community. He held that some seventy cultural traits such as unemployment, low wages, unemployment, a constant struggle to survive, violence, matriarchal and matrifocal household structures, marginality, orality, absent fathers, nihilism, dependency on government benefits, impulsiveness, deficient ego structures, early and

promiscuous sexuality, sex role confusion, and the inability to defer gratification indexed cultural pathology. Per Lewis, lower-income persons passed down intergenerationally the psychological and behavioral attributes of cultural pathology. He applied his cultural poverty framework next to Puerto Ricans and then to African Americans in the United States. Despite a spate of ethnographic studies and scholarly critiques published to counterbalance Lewis's conception of poverty (Hannerz 1969; Leacock 1971; H. Lewis 1964; Liebow 1967; Stack 1975; Valentine 1978; Valentine and Valentine 1968; Williams 1988), his argument became an indelible part of the American myth of black pathology, particularly as applied to those trapped in public housing.²³

Oscar Lewis and other adherents of the culture of poverty thesis called for intervention in the form of self-help programs that were intended to break the pathological dispositions of the poor and transform them according to mainstream values (Harrington 1962; Lewis 1962, 1966). Many heard and desired to take an active role in the intervention. My research site, for instance, features a cottage industry of self-help and life skills training programs. However, this concept of a culture of poverty only provided ammunition to conservative and racist policy makers who saw government intervention as both futile and an undesirable interference in the free market.

With the 1967 publication of *The Negro Family: The Case for National Action*, sociologist Daniel P. Moynihan shifted government attention from de jure civil rights' victories and reform, such as the Civil Rights Acts of 1964 and Voting Rights Act of 1965. He refocused that attention toward recognition of the broken and corrupted state of African American

23. I have listed only a few ethnographic examples. For greater coverage of the response, please see Leacock 1971 and Valentine and Valentine 1968. Some of these scholars' responses had a similar effect as responses to Frazier's work. They demonstrated with great clarity that the "maladaptive" behaviors were adaptive responses to marginality and oppression, and failed to focus enough on the external forces affecting the lived experiences of their research participants.

households (i.e., households headed by women; O'Connor 2002). Moynihan was convinced that historical and contemporary racial oppression had destroyed the natural patriarchal structure of the Negro family and denied the strutting male his natural role as the breadwinner of the family (Moynihan 1967). He argued that the matriarchal system that had emerged in the absence of viable patriarchal figures made assimilation impossible, and, more importantly, was incapable of properly rearing Negro youth per mainstream values. Moreover, the crushing unemployment rates for men, increased welfare dependency, and proliferation of households run by single women (due to absent husbands and fathers) created role confusion, delinquency and crime, and proclivities toward immediate gratification. Moynihan helped cement the notion that cultural pathology was increasingly a separate, self-perpetuating force within lower-income Negro family life. A pseudo-interventionist, Moynihan vaguely called for national action in the form of new policy interventions to address the African American male unemployment crisis, but he never really offered any concrete policy suggestions. By the late 1960s, it seemed reasonable to inundate AAUGs with coercive forces such as called for in the Kerner Commission report (Turé 2015).

As with previous iterations of the African American pathology idea, such as Lewis's and Frazier's, Moynihan's faced severe and justified criticism (Katz 2011; Rainwater and Yancey 1967). Nevertheless, the thesis has continued to be articulated by social scientists such as sociologists Charles Murray (1984) and William Julius Wilson (1978, 1987, 1991, 2009, 2011) into the twenty-first century. Murray argued that cultural pathology was not the only root cause of prolonged poverty; also at fault were liberal, race-based policies such as civil rights legislation and US President Lyndon B. Johnson's Great Society policies and programs. Murray argued that the African American poor can make rational decisions. Illustrating his claims with a fictional set

of African American characters, Murray argued that the poor desired immediate rewards without expending much effort and therefore, they strategically increased illegitimate birth rates to augment their government-provided income. He reasoned that low-income African Americans were aware that they had a permanent benefactor in the government and therefore consciously chose to be negligent in important social arenas. Thus, evidence of low educational achievement and weak aspirations for wage labor became, ipso facto, evidence of cultural pathology.

Murray (1984) argued that self-sufficiency agendas, such as delaying childbirth, pursuing higher educational achievement, and maintaining patriarchal, two-parent households, reflected respectable and responsible citizenship, but that this could never be realized so long as the government served as a permanent breadwinner and surrogate parent. Consider this point in the context of the federal government's subsidization of "White" American access to higher education and acquisition of suburban homes. Murray presupposed a US society that was free of structural obstacles that would ensure African American upward mobility if they would just assume responsibility and try. He therefore recommended no intervention in poor communities and urged the government to withdraw its already weak and insufficient safety net, like the founders of the Chicago School. Furthermore, Murray claimed that the welfare state and the moral bankruptcy of its clients were already taking the country to the precipice of destruction in the early 1980s. Murray pronounced this "underclass" a threat to American democracy that would lead to the moral bankruptcy of the entire society unless coercive intervention was deployed to protect the nation's public safety.²⁴ Note that Murray's public policy suggestions,

24. Policy makers took him seriously. Over the past several decades, TTDO communities have come under the control of what is in effect a police state that has ensnared millions of African Americans in US correctional systems (Alexander 2010).

like others described here, influenced presidential administrations from Ronald Reagan through William J. Clinton (Murray 1984).

Wilson (1978, 1987, 1991, 2009, 2011; Sampson and Wilson 1995) has also argued that lower-class inhabitants of urban ghettos are entangled in an almost inescapable pathology. Like Murray, he refers to the concentrated, isolated, urban poor as the underclass. This group, per Wilson, is isolated from mainstream society for two main reasons. First, liberal, race-based policies have done very little to advance the cause of poor African Americans. Instead, he argues, African American middle- and upper-income classes have been the actual beneficiaries of affirmative action programs because they have had the skills, knowledge, and temperament to embrace the dominant culture and take advantage of the programs originally intended to help the poor and underclass. Second, macroeconomic shifts, such as the de-industrialization and relocation of blue-collar manufacturing jobs well beyond the urban core where most low-income African Americans dwelled, increasingly disadvantaged them.²⁵ Wilson argues that these socioeconomic conditions led to the emergence of matriarchal household structures sustained by entitlement programs. Consequently, African American middle-income and blue-collar workers—the demographic groups that Wilson argues once served as social buffers staving off community disorganization and the dissolution of community cohesion—out-migrated, leaving behind a concentrated population of extremely vulnerable, underemployed, poor, and desperate African Americans. Those left behind Wilson describes as the truly disadvantaged, but when he argues that as an underclass they are perpetuating their own poverty and marginalization, he doubly betrays this group. While I agree with some of Wilson’s ideas regarding macro shifts in

25. Wilson failed to consider that these global shifts are refracted through an existing ideological structure of racism that serves the WSC–NWIO/TTDO binary status quo.

the economy, I disagree with his reiteration of the culture of poverty thesis to describe TTDOs trapped in AAUGs. Wilson's thesis woefully undertheorizes the racialized function of the ghetto and the persistence of structural violence. Wilson treats racism as if he is seeing it in the rearview mirror. He treats the etiology of oppression as if we as social scientists are dealing only with social patterns of the TTDOs, which in this postracial world have given significance to empirical evidence of cultural pathology.

While Wilson has faced rigorous criticism concerning his out-migration thesis (Pattillo 2008; Pattillo-McCoy 2000) and for his homogenizing and static depictions of the "underclass" (Anderson 1994; Bowser 1988; Jones 2010), these critiques have only further occluded those who suffer inequality and structural violence from a reasonable analysis that would have captured both racism and structural violence. In addition, the bulk of criticism all point out how Wilson's analysis continues to bracket off the underclass as something other than American.

Journalists adept at translating dense technical and theoretical material for popular consumption have taken the salacious depictions of the poor written by Frazier, Lewis, Moynihan, Murray, and Wilson and presented them to broad audiences through popular magazines such as the *Atlantic Monthly*, *The New Yorker*, and the *Washington Times* (Auletta 1981; Dash 1997; Lemann 1986a, 1986b). For example, Leon Dash (1997) wrote a graphic depiction of a *drug-crazed welfare queen* named Rosa Lee, who enjoyed a subsidized drug dependent life on the government dole in the District of Columbia. He described her as using outright deception and the reproductive expansion of her family size to exploit greater government benefits, mostly to obtain money to support her drug habit.

By the early 1990s, there was wide dissemination of depictions like Dash's (1997) of Rosa Lee, apparently intended to represent all African American TTDOs in the numerous AAUG

landscapes dotted across the country. AAUGs became infamous as breeding grounds for corrupt, culturally impoverished welfare queens—villains who fraudulently fleeced the government of millions by giving birth to illegitimate children only to augment their benefits. At best, public policy beheld them as social interlopers to be evicted lest they threaten conventional society. By this time, the onslaught of negative images and depictions based on poorly understood conditions obscured reality sufficiently to cause some civil rights advocates to embrace discourses of pathology to describe TTDOs.

Those who took this composite myth to be an accurate depiction of African American life assumed that revanchist prescriptions, such as neoliberal policy, were the best way to treat the poor. For example, Michelle Alexander (2010) notes that the Black Congressional Caucus overwhelmingly supported the draconian crack cocaine policy that led to massive incarceration of African American males. Political pundits have argued that the government should withdraw all welfare provisions, including public housing. Democrats in power have cut compensatory and other social welfare programs at rates no different from the rates encouraged by Republicans. Clinton's administration reduced or outright eliminated welfare and other safety net programs. It also increased federal punishments in pursuit of superpredators, and supported state-led zero tolerance stances against urban African American and Latino/a crime. The Clinton administration authorized public housing reform (eradication) through the HOPE VI program policy, and by the time his two-term presidency ended, the modest defense against racist public policy once offered by the Democrats had been altogether lost. During Clinton's tenure, the federal government reconceived affordable housing, once assumed a necessary measure to prevent poor and working class homelessness, as enabling complacency and benefit abuse. Its

increased restrictions represent a succumbing to the neoliberal logics of expanding the Western Superior Cultural group's privileged space.

Originally structured around racial categories, social science discourses concerning African American poverty transmuted the racial binary into a deceptively cultural binary—WSC versus NWIO/TTDO—that continues the legacy of White supremacy in the twenty-first century. To make my position clear, people classified as NWIOs/TTDOs are not inherently second-rate or pathological. Instead, TTDOs forced to live their lives in the constrained, diminished, and manufactured environments of AAUGs—environments that have projected them as antithetical to the dominant, mainstream, Western Superior Culture group, make them appear as such.²⁶ Structural violence is a mechanism for constructing and maintaining the social binary of WSC and NWIO/TTDO, just as it was with the racial binary. In the next section, I discuss structural violence as an analytic concept useful to the analysis of the government's public policy and practice regarding public housing residents; residents who continue to be cast as culturally pathological welfare queens with their dangerous male suitors, sons, brothers, fathers, daughters, nieces, and nephews.

Structural Violence and the Truly “Truly” Disadvantaged Other

The term “structural violence” dates back to the founding of peace and conflict studies by sociologist Johan Galtung and the Latin American liberation theology movement of the 1960s. Both Galtung and liberation theologians sought to explain the vast political, economic, and social suffering of the have-nots in contrast to the haves and to demonstrate that sinful systems of

26. In the black and White binary, both poor Whites who suffered economic deprivation and blacks who managed to exist outside of it were obscured. Race informed the constitution of the binary. However, this new binary is constituted around culture and class, which may signal a return to pathologizing Whiteness. This represents an interesting new line of research, but exceeds the scope of this dissertation.

inequality distress and traumatize the souls of their victims (Farmer 2003; Farmer et al. 2004; Galtung 1969). Per Galtung, structural violence prevents human beings from meeting their corporeal and psychological needs. He distinguished between personal violence, which is direct, physical, and flagrant, and structural violence, which is indirect, impersonal, well disguised, and impacts both the psychological and material conditions of its victims. The latter type of violence operates through interconnected social systems of economics and labor; criminal justice institutions; punitively structured welfare programs; and free market entities intended to provide housing, medical care, education, and many other services. This type of violence adversely affects human populations, especially those at the lower rungs of social hierarchies.²⁷ Galtung proclaimed structural violence uniquely truncated, meaning that those who perpetrate this form of violence are often rendered invisible by a phalanx of professional experts and bureaucratic processes.²⁸

The anthropologist Paul Farmer (2003; Farmer et al. 2004), credited with introducing Galtung's concept of structural violence into the fields of anthropology and public health, prescribes the following approach to anthropological investigations of inequality and oppression. Per Farmer, researchers should analyze: (1) the local historiography of structural violence. In addition, they should attend to (2) its intentionality and the way it conceals those who perpetrate

27. Without mentioning structural violence, Susan Greenbaum (2008) makes a similar point in her examination of the destructive effect of urban redevelopment on the social capital of public housing residents.

28. As discussed in chapters 4, 5, and 6 of this dissertation, my research supports Galtung's contention that propagators of structural violence are hidden. For example, the government officials and low-level functionaries working with the Farms community are mostly African American and middle class and include a sitting councilman who often applies a White versus black binary framework to his critiques of inequality, at least while in the presence of the TTDO; this situation renders a field of visibility that hinders the realization that many of the African American officials are themselves active agents of structural violence. They both advocate and support the NCI and the demolition of the Farms community.

it, as well as how it saps its victims' agency. Finally, anthropologists should discover: (3) how it operates through and across the various axes of social identity; (4) its material manifestations; and (5) its spatial dynamics, meaning how it operates in, over, and across space. According to Farmer, this conceptual analysis can illuminate the structural forces behind most of the world's misery.²⁹ In the spirit of praxis, Farmer (2003) proposes an activist posture for ethnographic and general social science researchers, which he called "pragmatic solidarity." Through pragmatic solidarity, Farmer encourages anthropologists to challenge dominant discourses, demystify hegemonic narratives of cultures of poverty, elucidate the hidden forces that engender material and sociospatial inequalities, and examine other related social structures of oppression. Central to this dissertation's research is Farmer's conception of structural violence.

This study also draws upon several other contributions to the structural violence concept from Peter Uvin (1999), William Oliver (2001), and Mary Anglin (1998), all of whom have added to its breadth through various research contexts. Uvin emphasizes the nontangible impact of structural violence on human psyches and, "considering the toll structural violence [takes] in a psychological and/or spiritual sense," maintains that social researchers and policy makers should include therapeutic elements in any intervention strategies (Uvin 1999, 50). Borrowing Rasheeduddin Khan's (1981) criteria, Uvin outlines four forms that structural violence might take: (1) direct violence; (2) poverty, that is, deprivation of basic material needs; (3) repression or deprivation of human rights; and (4) deprivation or alienation of higher human needs (1999, 50). Regarding the second form, Uvin emphasizes that we must attend to the indifference and

29. Farmer applies this analytical framework to Haiti's asymmetrical relationship with France and the United States. He shows that narratives circulated by Western media of Haitian incompetence, criminality, and cultural inferiority shroud the exploitative policies and practices of the United States and France.

outright denial of access to life-sustaining resources, particularly where there is evidence of exigent and critical need.

Others have examined the effects of structural violence on racial and gendered minorities (Mullings 2005; Oliver 2001; Page 1995, 1997, 1999a). Instructively, Oliver demonstrates the power of the structural violence concept to examine the violence that has overtaken and victimized African Americans inter- and intraracially. Oliver argues that racism, particularly cultural racism, is a form of structural violence. Cultural racism results in intense self-hatred amongst African Americans and produces the social phenomenon of “black on black” violence, in addition to the direct and indirect violence generated by White racism against African Americans. Oliver argues that structural violence is the best explanatory framework to understand subcultures of violence and poverty. His treatment of cultural racism demonstrates that the delinking of cultural, public, and individual racism from institutionalized racisms obscures the workings of a White supremacist society because, as he explains, cultural racism saturates society so deeply. Similarly, I argue that institutional and individual racisms, where they exist, are mutually informing and together represent unitary elements of the black and White binary and hidden dimensions of the emergent sociospatial binary utilized in this dissertation research.

Anglin uses the analytic perspective of structural violence to highlight the increased vulnerability and suffering women face in US society. Anglin (1998, 145) examines how “social and government policies” that “valorize particular family forms and jeopardize others” are implicated in women’s suffering. She maintains that local and federal government agencies are key purveyors of structural violence and that their policies and practices penetrate material and nonmaterial levels of women’s experience. This gendered analysis of structural violence informs

my research as well, because the federal and local government posits urban renewal as an attempt to relocate the concentration of households headed by single African American women with children in public housing communities.³⁰

Other uses of the structural violence concept include analyses of direct violence as a consequence of and response to structural violence, particularly direct forms of violence that impact the poor and other marginalized people (Khan 1981; Márquez 2012; Oliver 2001; Scheper-Hughes and Bourgois 2004).³¹ Anthropologists Scheper-Hughes and Bourgois (2004) note that physical violence is not a separate form of violence, but rather a byproduct of structural violence. I agree with Scheper-Hughes and Bourgois's fuller articulation of structural violence as also being direct violence. Márquez (2012) similarly concludes that hidden structural violence is the fundamental cause of interracial physical violence between Latinos and African Americans in urban cities. Gabriella Modan (2008) captures this fact in her book *Turf Wars*, which depicts the Mount Pleasant neighborhood of the District of Columbia. *Turf Wars* examines the way gentrification and land speculation have generated violent clashes between African American and Latino/a communities as well as how these marginalized communities engage in direct and

30. Chateauvert (2008) explains how public housing policies have actually restricted the presence of adult men in households. Even though local housing authorities claim no longer to practice these policies, related income policies ensure that public housing continues to be decidedly gendered.

31. The concept of structural violence has also been used in investigations of: social and political structures that constrain the life choices of men who have sex with men in India (Chakrapani et al. 2007); reduced and discriminatory health services and social medicine for the destitute (Argento et al. 2011; Farmer et al. 2006; Keshavjee and Becerra 2000; Kurtz et al. 2008; Shannon et al. 2008); paternalistic and authoritarian management of women's reproductive health (Ellison 2003); socialization of children (Schwebel and Christie 2001); colonial structures of development aid and their impact on developing nations (Khan 1981; Uvin 1999); labor practices in Mexico (Benson 2008); gender violence and societal devaluation of women (Mazurana and McKay 2001; Osler 2006); oppression by the state (Benson 2008; Eckermann and Dowd 1988; Khan 1981; Shannon et al. 2008); disaster management, displacement, and refugees (Breunlin and Regis 2006; Chaudhry 2004); and urban retail food provisions and nutrition deserts (Lane et al. 2008).

indirect violence to defend public and private space appropriated for the expansion of White privileged space.

In this research, I conceive structural violence as both direct physical violence and indirect forms of violence that occur over time and are spatially situated, and that arrest, sap, and constrain the agency of the poor, particularly African American female heads of households in public housing, and produce ghetto environs. Moreover, the perpetrators as well as their use of structural violence are hidden, leaving this sort of violence to be interpreted as phantasmal or epiphenomenal of the local culture. In the context of the Farms Public Dwellings community, it is worth investigating how crime and violence serve as the canary in the coalmine that indicates the presence of structural violence, rather than attributing them to supposed superpredators engaged in pathological cycles.

This research holds that there is a perpetual need to realize and chart the operations of structural violence through the experiences of those impacted. Given the drive of humans to move toward optimal forms of existence and community health, it is necessary to ask what social forces complicate and foreclose their agentive strategies. Moreover, how do the Farms community residents mobilize themselves in reaction to and resistance against forms of structural violence?

The Significance of Place for the Truly “Truly”
Disadvantaged Other

To be human is to live in a world that is filled with significant places.

—Humanist geographer Edward Relph (1976, 1)

Perpetrators of structural violence, including government officials and nongovernment persons, embed it in and operate it through spatially specific and intentional forms as determined

by the needs of the elite. Farmer traces international flows of resources and power across uneven geographies and observes how the flow of resources is always initiated by one geo-polity against another, or more specifically, initiated by and in the interest of the dominant Western nations against non-Western states, such as the United States versus Haiti (Farmer 2003). He concludes that geographies of inequality are products of deliberate and purposeful actions that are spatially manifest. Stated differently, geographic inequality is not an abstraction—some product of some phantasmal alternate reality—but rather a tangible result of policies and practices enacted in concrete places. To fulfill Farmer’s prescriptions for investigating structural violence is to realize its spatial nature, meaning how it produces “Otherized” places and peoples as an antithesis of the elite. Its spatial form means its material form or the materiality of place, such that the manufacture of public housing developments represents structural violence’s real spatial forms. For built spatial forms such as public housing to be maintained as AAUGs requires a continuous perpetration of structural violence, which is a place making of devaluation.

Attention to forms produced through structural violence builds upon theories of place making that emerged in cultural geography and anthropology in the late twentieth century. Such theories see place as more than a simple backdrop for social activity (Lefebvre 1991).³² For example, researchers have teased out the environmental features, built forms, and social practices that index certain locales as inferior or racialized places (Blokland 2008; Bonilla-Silva 2010; Crump 2002; Massey and Denton 1998; Saldanha 2006). In an effort to explain the racially bifurcated settlement pattern prevalent throughout the United States in the mid-twentieth century,

32. Social scientists have developed a spate of descriptive and analytical devices (i.e., “place making,” “place-attachment,” “place-identity,” “sense of place,” “displacement”) to describe relationships between people and spatial forms (Diamond 2008; Fried 2000; Jorgensen and Stedman 2006; Pan and Liu 2011; Rutheiser 1997; Tester et al. 2011; Turner 1988; Xu, Qingwen, Douglas D. Perkins, and Julian Chun-Chung Chow 2010; Zukin 1987).

Douglas Massey analyzed the racial ideology that saw black identity as inferior and contaminating to predominantly White spaces.³³ According to Massey, White citizens pursued racially exclusionary residential patterns that have resulted in today's hyperconcentrations of different racial and class status groups (Bonilla-Silva 2010; Massey and Denton 1998). Massey and Denton (1998) argue that the US government's hyperracialized policy toward residential development is characterized by racial and class segregation that places African Americans in unpleasant urban environs.³⁴ Blokland (2008) asserts that the federal government racialized public housing from its inception, as it reserved spaces for those relegated to be "Others" who fell outside of mainstream America. Crump (2003) explains that along with public housing developments, the erection of spatial barriers such as highways indexed certain communities as no-go zones (see also Pan and Liu 2011). Spatial concentrations of fouling industries and other sources of environmental pollution also marked off certain environments as essentially different and inferior (Williams 2001).

"Ghetto," an original descriptor of imposed living quarters for Jewish people in Venice, later was applied to ethnic enclaves of immigrant Europeans who seemed resistant or slow to assimilate into the dominant American society (Duneier 2016).³⁵ Equivalent terms such as "slum" designated early African American communities; however, all these terms index communities as inferior and socially disorganized. The ghetto was (and continues to be) "a sociospatial institution geared to the twin mission of isolating and exploiting a dishonored

33. Massey and Denton (1998) reject the political, economic, and cultural poverty theories continually privileged in the social sciences.

34. See Sider (2006) for further discussion of state-led policies and practices that have produced racialized geographies and privileged private capital.

35. While structural violence certainly operates against Westerners who resist the binary, this concern falls beyond the scope of this dissertation.

category” (Wacquant 2012, 2). Nazi Germany used the ghettos as warehouses in preparation for the genocide of Jews, Jehovah’s Witnesses, gays, and those of African-German heritage. As southern, central, and eastern European Whites became fully incorporated into US citizenry (Roediger 2006) and relocated outside the slums and ghettos, African Americans latched onto the ghetto concept as a strategic and political moniker in hopes of eliciting the same sympathies that had benefited Jewish ghetto dwellers. Duneier (2016) notes that African American scholars such as Du Bois studied European Jewish ghettos in attempts to understand the intersections between race and place in the United States. Duneier writes, “For many blacks after World War II, the Nazi ghetto provided a powerful metaphor for their own experience. . . [The European ghetto Jews’ experience] proved a crucial reference” for blacks (Duneier 2016, 24).

Social scientists meanwhile referred to the AAUGs as the “inner city” and their resident occupants as members of the “underclass” (see previous section). At this point, the terms “slum” and “ghetto” became fused in the popular and academic imaginations.³⁶ What made the ghetto recognizable was the development of vertical warehouses—that is, public housing structures—that concentrated poor African American single females with children in formerly vibrant and heterogeneous black communities. Unique to the District of Columbia, the federal government placed height restrictions on the housing so as not to obscure views of its monuments. Therefore, public housing structures in the District of Columbia resemble garden-style townhomes.

I consider public housing sites as carceral locations in that they isolate, restrict, confine, stigmatize, and diminish the quality of life of their immured residents in the most punitive

36. According to Wacquant (2012), the inaccurate academic fusion of “slum” with “ghetto” can be traced to the Chicago School sociologist Louis Wirth (1928). Wirth examined early forms of Jewish ghettos in urban society. As a sociologist, he felt that urbanization and its resultant ghetto forms were harmful to the family institution. He believed that urbanization was the causal factor leading to all the deleterious factors we now associate with African American ghettos. The ghettos of Wirth’s time were slightly different in appearance than today’s African American ghettos, of which public housing, often referred to as projects, is the iconic feature.

manner. These urban spaces are intentionally designed by federal, state, and local governments to exclude and locate their inhabitants beyond the reach of mainstream society, but not too far lest they cease to be an antithetical reference (Rothstein 2016). An optimal binary, racial or cultural, can only function with a limited degree of spatial distance from the reference category. I explain this in detail in the next section, when I introduce my theory of the new sociospatial binary. Public housing, as intentional antithetical places, ascribes to its people and inscribes onto its built environment a symbolically diminutive value, and as a reference to mainstream society, its value must be less than that of mainstream society.

Logan and Molotch (1987), applying a neo-Marxist perspective to place making, conceive “place” as a site where transactions of value are made to meet human mental, physical, and spiritual needs. Places are therefore social objects with market value and profit potential. In this dissertation research, I would like to emphasize the ideological nature of place that supports White supremacy. Logan and Molotch argue that a dialectical tension exists between the users of place and the entrepreneurs of place, that is, between use value and exchange value.³⁷ The interest of public housing residents, like other types of renters, lies in their use of public housing as a place—that is, its use value. In sharp contrast, for government, housing officials, and corporate economic developers, the interest of “place” is its profit potential or exchange value.³⁸ Logan and Molotch do not claim that exchange and use orientations are mutually exclusive or that one belongs to owners of property more so than it does renters; rather, they emphasize that

37. Logan and Molotch (1987) divide owners into three types of entrepreneurs: serendipitous, active, and structural. The latter two “strive to capture the differential rents by putting themselves in the path of the development process” (30).

38. Logan and Molotch (1987) suggest that, “to ascertain the various social practices of these two orientations and their resulting social construction of place, researchers should examine the strategies, schemes and needs of human agents and their institutions at the local level” (12).

place makers generally follow the interest of owners in exchange value or the interest of renters in use value. To be certain, the state is invested deeply in geographically organizing and managing the sociocultural binary alongside revenue generation. The District of Columbia Public Housing Authority (DCHA) and other District of Columbia agencies operate across both orientations.

In the context of the Farms Public Dwellings and the NCI redevelopment program, it may appear that exchange value trumps all else; however, the construction and maintenance of the Farms community suggests that its use value has been to bracket residents off from mainstream District of Columbia as *Others*. Therefore, the site has an important ideological function. It is in the purview of the government to determine local sociospatial forms of AAUGs; through zoning policies, for example, they can establish and maintain the built, natural, and subsequently the social environment of AAUGs. In other words, the DCHA possesses sufficient power and resources to create places in the interest of the dominant society group(s).³⁹ Public housing sites are deliberately ghettoized forms ritualistically produced and then articulated as intractable places to be seized and reworked by, and for, the WSC interest. This ritual of conquering the Others' place is done as necessary according to the expanding or contracting interests of society's dominant class. In addition, this process reifies the dominant group's identity; resolves boundary distortions; and in some cases, does general boundary work.

Plans for urban renewal thus bring into sharp focus the power of the Western Superior Cultural group (WSC) to construct, deconstruct, and reconstitute the sociospatial binary (WSC–NWIO), which I argue is in play in the Farms community. In the next section, I discuss the

39. Research on the public-private strategy of development in public housing includes Crump 2002, 2003; Freeman and Braconi 2004; Fullilove, Green, and Fullilove III 1999; Fullilove and Wallace 2011; Goetz 2011, 2012; Greenbaum 2008; Popkin et al. 2000; Williams 1988, 2004; and Vale 2013.

WSC–NWIO/TTDO binary in detail, which I should note is an attempt to answer the question: “For whom and under what circumstances is structural violence dispensed to maintain the social binary and against the public housing resident?” Here, I seek to move beyond the descriptive work of verifying and documenting structural violence. Rather, I attempt to explain the functional nature of structural violence’s operation and those who dispense it.

Sociospatial Distance and Distortions of the
WSC–NWIO/TTDO Binary:
An Analytic Framework

Figure 1 is a schematic diagram that visualizes the WSC–NWIO/TTDO binary and the impact of structural violence on sociospatial distances possible in the binary.

Western Superior Culture (WSC) & Non-Western Inferior Other/ Truly "Truly" Disadvantaged Other (NWIO/TTDO) Binary Structure

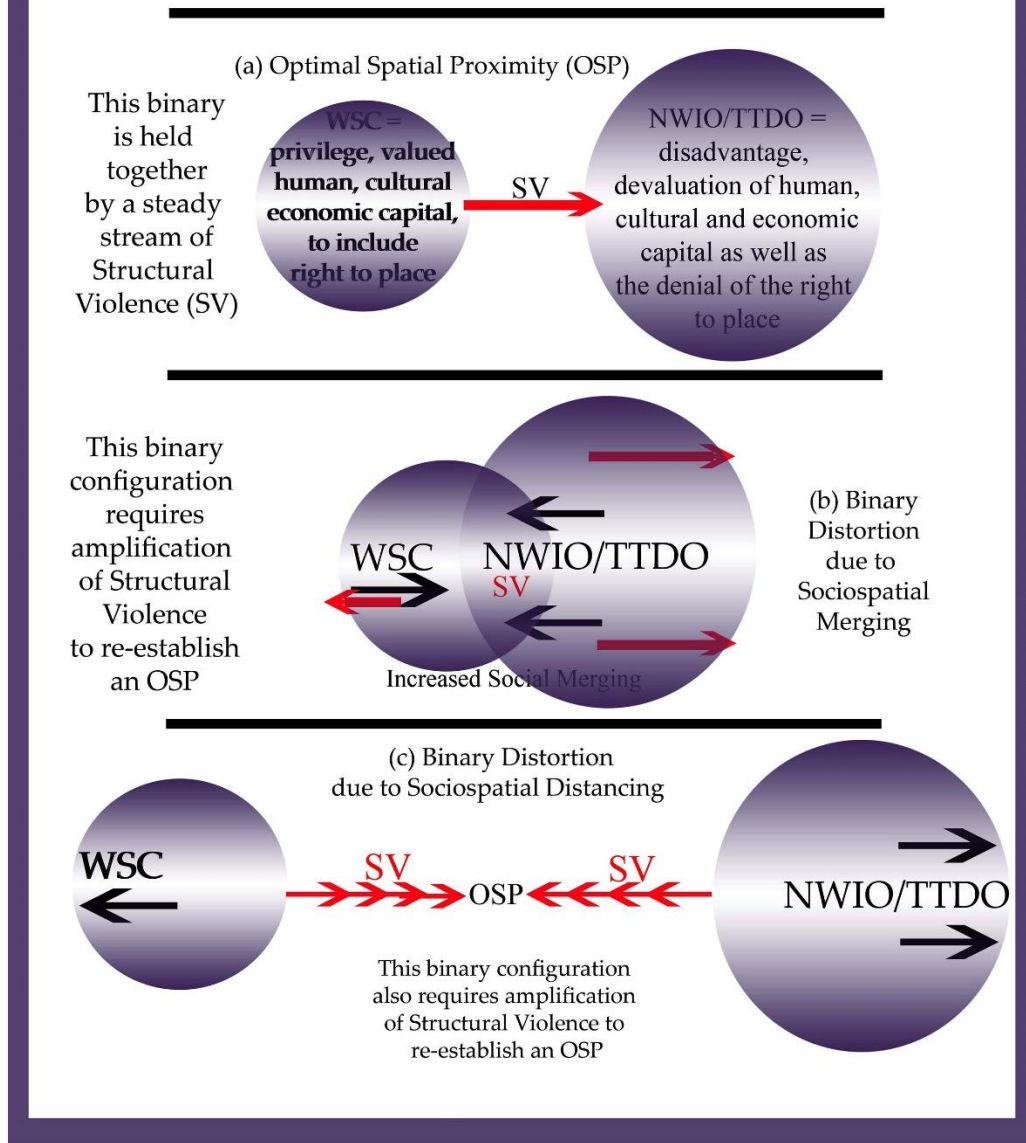


Figure 1. WSC–NWIO/TTDO Binary Structure.

Figure 1(a) depicts the condition of Optimal Spatial Proximity (OSP) favorable to the dominant society (members of the Western Superior Culture or WSC). OSP is achieved when WSC and NWIO/TTDO communities, spatially intact and distinct, are held in proximate orbit to

one another through the operations of structural violence. That is, the binary categories should not be merged or held too far apart. The extent of structural violence dispensed at the level of the OSP binary eventually fails to be sufficient against increased pressures inherent to the tenuously connected binary parts, and structural violence must be increased to return the distorted binary to optimal functionality (demonstrated in chapters 4 through 6). The binary will eventually become distorted to the point that the two constituent categories are no longer contrastibly and spatially referential, meaning they become integrated. To be sure, there is a definite push for integration by the NWIO given the fact that the quality of life enjoyed by the dominant group becomes part of the sense of relative deprivation of the disadvantaged. Or a point of exhaustion is reached, and members of the NWIO/TTDO push for separation or increased distance through retreatism. Where there is binary distortion, there is, and will be, an increased application of structural violence (justified as a need to manage the TTDO threat) to restore the optimal social binary.

The binary distortion depicted in Figure 1(b) is exemplified by what occurred in AAUGs following the US civil rights movement. The civil rights movement represented tremendous effort on the part of NWIO/TTDO groups (and sympathetic members of WSC) to do away with de jure and de facto racism and the racial binary. Yet the push for racial integration—as embraced by some Whites and middle-class African Americans—was a half-baked strategy to end racial inequality, leading to results that included cultural diversity without substantive social equity (Michaels 2006). One might argue that, at best, it was a strategy implemented to benefit a narrow segment of the African American community. However, the African American middle and upper classes' call for integration resulted in a limited merging of binary racial categories. It was after the civil rights era (circa 1970s) that postracial discourses became coupled with culture of poverty arguments and gained ascendancy. As for the African American middle class, social

integration has reached government (and some private sectors) and public zones of entertainment and consumption, but residential segregation largely has remained stubbornly intact.

Ethnographic and demographic studies have disproved the notion that most of the African American middle class departed from AAUGs and moved into America's White suburbs (Massey and Denton 1998; Pattillo 2008; Pattillo-McCoy 2000; Wilson 1978, 1987). Examining the demographic shifts in American cities, the political scientist Andrew Hacker (2010) notes that as soon as the population of African American residents reaches eight percent in a predominantly White community, panic sets in and Whites begin to out-migrate.⁴⁰ The presence of African American professionals continually creates discomfort for Whites even within corporate, entertainment, and consumption zones, or what Anderson (2004a) refers to as cosmopolitan canopies. The negative experiences endured by the African American middle class in cosmopolitan canopies represent the increased tension and amplified application of structural violence to re-establish the binary from its distortion related to merging.

Anderson (2011) describes those who attempt to disrupt the canopy to restore racially bounded identities as "ethnos" (189–215). These ethnos, per Anderson, wish to establish the cosmopolitan canopy as either White or black space. Anderson's work represents an important investigation of cosmopolitan spaces and one possible future direction of this research.

Integration of the African American middle and upper classes into WSC spaces causes a

40. I would like to imagine that race is not the sole trigger of this "postracial" moment. In fact, to restate a premise of this argument, complete racial exclusion is intolerable in the postracial moment, but exclusionary spaces continue to be constituted around cultures and classes that by and large disparage a significant number of African Americans.

distorted binary. The result is an amplification of structural violence that operates to restore the optimal spatial binary (Cose 1993a, 1993b; hooks 1996).⁴¹

The opposite of the binary distortion that occurs when the categories merge is retreatism, as reflected in Figure 1(c). Retreatism triggers increased application of structural violence to ensure that both the sociocultural contradistinction and the optimal spatial distance between categorical members of WSC and the NWIO/TTDO are restored. Direct and indirect forms of structural violence are intensified in the AAUGs, for example by the importation and increased ease of access to guns and illegal drugs, the war on drugs, mass incarceration, turf wars, and revanchist public policy (Alexander 2010). Drugs, guns, and mass incarceration constrain community building and stability in AAUGs as well as slowing any movement toward integration, which most AAUGs including the Farms Public Dwellings community still view as desirable.

For the WSC–NWIO/TTDO binary to be maintained at an optimal level, NWIOs/TTDOs and the places they occupy must be devalued through structural violence. Often disguising their actions as social progress, speculative capitalists with entrepreneurial schemes seize upon devalued people and places for exploitation and profit. However, such actions are only possible under a complacent and ideologically agreeable government.

Developers feature so prominently in this kind of spatial transformation that it has come to be characterized by the involvement of big capital. The sociocultural binary situates NWIOs/TTDOs and the places they occupy well for financial exploitation—what Neil Smith

41. Vera Green (1970) cautions anthropologists to avoid ethnographic renderings of static and homogenous African American communities. Williams (2002) also challenges static conceptions of community, particularly where the social factors of race, class, sexual identity, and gender result in multiple standpoints among individual members. For further discussions of diversity in African American communities, see Stephen Gregory's (1992, 1999) and Sabiyha Prince's (2002, 2003) studies of race and class in New York.

(1987) refers to as the rent gap. The rent gap is the difference in a site's potential exchange value and its current use value. To expedite this capitalist process of spatial reclamation, speculative capitalists close ranks with members of WSC including the government to amplify narratives of TTDO pathology and neoliberal logics as solutions to poverty. The new living conditions of displaced inhabitants of AAUGs tend to be no better than the earlier versions, but it is not because of the depraved and culturally debased practices of NWIOs/TTDOs. Rather, it is that the intervention in the form of urban renewal was never intended to resolve chronic poverty or to dissolve the binary. Designed by urban project managers and planners who identify with WSC, these manufactured sociospatial environments are always inscribed with ideologies intended to orient NWIOs to their social place in US society and thus sustain the OSP of the WSC—NWIO/TTDO binary (Wilson 1987).

It can be argued that gentrification and displacement constitute another example of sociospatial expansion where the dominant cultural style is forced on and into the inferior space, thereby creating a temporary distortion of the social binary, despite the stated goal of gentrification to improve deteriorating environments. The results suggest something altogether different. Gentrification in the 1980s was characterized by avaricious White entrepreneurs (sometimes subsidized by the government), whose relocation into African American communities triggered a definite changeover. Although the racial binary was in vogue during the twentieth century, and forms of gentrification continue to assault poor black and Latino communities today, conceptually, gentrification does not apply to the displacement of low-income, single-female-headed, and African American households from public housing. Moreover, it does not capture the situated agency of some of the African American middle-class interlopers who advocate for HOPE VI and NCI redevelopment. The local, state, and federal

governments own public housing complexes and their superblock footprint structures. Whoever takes possession, or if the corresponding government entity enters a public/private partnership, they cannot proceed with redevelopment in the piecemeal fashion characteristic of Ruth Glass's gentrifiers. Current urban renewal projects require extensive capital to pay for demolition and the disposal of the many contaminants (e.g., lead, asbestos) found in public housing developments in addition to the cost of development. Few private gentrifiers have access to the amount of capital required to redevelop such large spatial features. Current trends in redevelopment of public housing under HOPE VI in general and the NCI specifically are suited for government and big capital. Finally, the transfer of private housing into private hands is less challenging than taking government-owned property and transferring it into the hands of private developers. Thus, gentrification and displacement from public housing are slightly different processes.

African American gentrifiers such as those referred to by Sabiyha Prince (2003) as black urban professionals (buppies) do not see themselves as such, particularly because the common depiction of gentrification is White invasion of black spaces. However, my research suggests that buppies and other middle-class African Americans who reside near the Farms public housing community are principal advocates for the Farms community's demolition and residential displacement. While they engaged in gentrification and displacing effects, they have developed a cognitive firewall preventing themselves to appreciate the implications of themselves in the Farms community. Moreover, many of the young professionals who I discuss in chapter 6 articulated their dislike for the culture and lifestyles of poor Farms Public Dwellings residents. Logan and Molotch (1987) would characterize this group as active entrepreneurs, and I argue in the next chapter that they are also perpetrators of structural violence. African Americans of middle-income status are not in pursuit of solely pecuniary interests in the Farms but also of the

idea of an exclusive and utopic middle-class community east of the Anacostia River for African Americans of middle-class status.

The concept of gentrification, when applied to public housing communities, fails to address the symbolic function of these AAUG forms. Moreover, it fails to explain how they might even serve the dominant society's interest. Paradoxically, local and federal government agencies, economic developers, and community members champion the investment of gross amounts of speculative capital and related types of conspicuous consumerism in urban renewal because they deem redevelopment the most responsible solution to concentrated poverty and its attendant crime. However, what is not considered is whether crime and poverty in this context are functional, meaning manufactured, and how the government may play on capital-accumulating corporations to effect sociospatial binary change in WSC's interest. The investigation of this point is beyond the scope of this research; however, this idea is plausible and consistent with my theoretical framework. The substitution of mixed-use and mixed-income developments intended to draw consumers with disposable income (and enhance consumer culture in the AAUG) displaces and deconcentrates inequality only to relocate and concentrate it elsewhere, thereby reconstituting the boundaries of the sociospatial binary.

I recognize that TTDOs have agency and that they act to affect binary distortion through four key modalities (see chapter four). Indeed, my research prioritizes the place-making strategies of Farms residents in pursuit of community development and cohesion. TTDOs constantly reject, modify, or accommodate the particular spatial forms intended to interpellate them (Pecheux 1982) as TTDOs in AAUGs. Poor communities work against stigmatization and develop agentive strategies to resist constraints on their living environments, material deprivation, and the cultural myths that adversely affect them (Checker 2005; Williams 2001).

Public housing residents display a wide range of attitudes toward their social position in the WSC–NWIO/TTDO binary. Some remain hopeful and optimistic, while others, beset with intergenerational nihilism or frustration, reject or retreat from the binary. While this research attends to all these dispositions on the part of public housing residents, retreatism is of interest because it is a significant trigger of binary distortion and calls for amplification of structural violence against the TTDO. Retreatism does not imply self-defeating notions whereby NWIOs/TTDOs duplicate the same isolated, segregated spatial features that already ensnare their lives. Rather, retreatism is conceptualized here as all social practices that aim to conceal NWIO/TTDO actors from the revanchist state and binary impositions. Those disposed to “retreat” are pushing back at the most repressive forces (e.g., the police) that sustain WSC and all forms of surveillance used to penetrate their social world. This dissertation research shows, for example, that Farms public housing residents engage in many forms of impression management to maintain retreatists personas (Goffman 1959). They present certain profiles in public with the aim of securing basic needs while avoiding surveillance by governmental agents and strangers to their community, including welfare agents, police officers, housing officials, and other outsiders. They sometimes engaged in off-the-books income-generation strategies or benefit from those innovators who do. For both retreaters and innovators, this give them good reason to be evasive in order to avoid disclosure of illicit and illegal practices. Because WSC requires constant surveillance of NWIOs/TTDOs to collect and furnish evidence of the group’s contradistinction in the sociospatial binary, such retreatism creates the sociospatial distortion represented in Figure 1(c).⁴² Their efforts to establish greater distance from WSC again result in

42. Retreatism is not exclusive to the NWIO/TTDO. It features heavily amongst White hate groups, such as neo-Nazis, who hold intense sentimental attachment to WSC and deem integration a process of social death. These constituent members of WSC often attempt to pull the binary apart spatially.

increased structural and even direct violence in their communities, as members of WSC attempt to return the binary to OSP.

In sum, the WSC–NWIO/TTDO binary construct provides a current and alternative framework for understanding chronic and entrenched poverty within the Farms’ AAUG as well as the need to redevelop it. Once the binary is established, capitalism efficiently and aggressively exploits it. The elites hold the binary together through structural violence that produces social segregation, persistent intergenerational poverty, and the formation and stigmatization of ghettos that devastate the lives of the TTDOs. WSC agents deliberately manufacture African American urban ghettos (and their occupants) as dysfunctional and pathological to serve them up in contradistinction to WSC. Public housing residents experience trauma on a daily basis because of the coercive policies and practices disguised as benevolent and progressive. Members of WSC use public housing sites’ social, natural, and built environments, once they are constructed as AAUGs, to attribute inferior status to the TTDOs.

This oppressive dynamic is complicated by the yearnings and agentive strategies of NWIO/TTDO people, who struggle to live, dwell in their homes, maintain vital communities, and share in the broader American dream. This dissertation therefore not only teases out connections between place and identity, it identifies the place-making strategies of the NWIOs/TTDOs, who contend with the external and place-based structural violence imposed on them by a powerful WSC.

Dissertation Outline

In Chapter 2 of this dissertation, “All Cried Out Here In the Farms: Encountering the Truly “Truly” Disadvantaged,” I depict my efforts to negotiate entry and maintain access to the Farms Public Dwellings community. Moreover, I detail the guiding activist methodology that

frames this research. Through employing various ethnographic methods, I accessed rich cultural forms of local knowledge and witnessed firsthand the Farms Public Dwellings community residents' experiences as they grappled with structural violence; their intense screams of anguish, protests, and calls for help, which over the time of my research, petered out into whimpering and exhausted cries. In situating myself in the Farms community and establishing a stance of pragmatic solidarity, I include a relatively brief sketch of my biography and political standpoint, as well as the roles I undertook to build relationships and establish pragmatic solidarity with the residents. Finally, I briefly discuss a course I taught in the Farms to introduce the residents to the discipline of anthropology and ethnographic research.

Chapter 3, "History Matters: As It Is Best Suited to Reveal the Nature, Continuity, and Accumulative Effects of Structural Violence in the Farms," and chapter 7, "Our Experiences, Our Voices: Competing Perspectives on the Need for Farms Historical Preservation," examine the Farms community over time, meaning its objective and published history as well as its subjective history held by the residents and other community participants. Chapter 3 looks at the nature and impact of structural violence over four temporal and transformative moments as it operated against the Farms area's shifting populations and the communities therein created. The intention here is to render visible the operation and cumulative nature of structural violence through a diachronic treatment of social inequality and its resulting formation of African American urban ghettos (AAUGs). This chapter makes clear that social policies and practices of federal, state, and local governments deliberately produced the Farms Public Dwellings' *ghettoization* and that these government actions were ideologically driven by agents of the state in the interest of the elite. The corollary goal here is to debunk the idea that the truncated life

experienced by the Farms Public Dwellings residents is somehow the unintended consequence of propitious policies.

Chapter 4, “The Farms’ Social Structure and the Structure of Fear,” observes the Farms community’s social structure and place-making strategies. Reflected in this chapter is the local taxonomy of complex resident types that are constituted around the dual categories of length of resident tenure and depth of social ties. This chapter traces the various ways each resident type is impacted by structural violence. Moreover, this chapter observes the way fear as produced through government practices impacts the lived experiences of all participants of Farms community life. Public housing is theorized here as a spatial form that coercively and ideologically stigmatizes and violently punishes its occupants. In addition, this chapter explores residents’ responses to the imposing and punitive social binary of WSC versus the NWIO/TTDO. This chapter explores the response of retreatism, which certainly distorts the functioning binary. The chapter argues that urban renewal is not only the amplification of violence to restore the optimal binary, but also an effort to reconstitute the binary spatially and to punish noncompliant residents.

Chapter 5, “Call the Meeting to Order but in Whose Interest and toward What Ends?” examines first the context of urban renewal as, arguably, a key feature of the fourth and current transformative moment in which structural violence is being amplified against the Farms community residents to reify the Otherization of the TTDO and, as mentioned in the previous chapter, to punish those who retreat and resist. The New Communities Initiative (NCI), articulated as a proper urban renewal strategy to effectively eradicate drugs, violence, and crime from the District of Columbia, is in fact more reflective of the revanchist moment in governance. This disciplining strategy is intended to punish noncompliant residents of the social binary and to

incorporate the “transformed ghetto” into the expanded and privileged space of the WSC group while displacing the TTDO residents to a new space that again positions them in the old spatially constituted binary. Furthermore, this chapter examines the NCI mandate that calls for full community participation in the design and implementation of the urban renewal strategy, and the ways in which residents mobilize themselves against or for, or remain neutral regarding, the redevelopment plans.

Chapter 6, “Buppies, the African American Middle Class, and Structural Violence in the Farms,” examines the newly incorporated members of the WSC group and their role in the new social binary. These inductees, the Buppies and their more established relatives, the African American middle class, signal the new articulations of citizenship whereby some African Americans’ incorporation into mainstream society and the WSC group status is afoot. This further but not full incorporation is the result of the civil rights struggle and other social justice activities. This chapter scrutinizes these inductees’ active participation in the proposed redevelopment as community neighbors in the Farms’ adjacent northern community—Union—and southern community—The Heights. This chapter also considers an emergent civic group composed of these inductees, called Professionals Rising in the Southeast (PRISE), and their discursive practices to eradicate the stigma-inducing iconic ghetto, namely the Farms Public Dwellings.

Chapter 7 centers on the historical preservation perspectives of Farms community members who have suffered or witnessed structural violence firsthand. Since the social binary articulated in chapter one is maintained through structural violence, understood here is structural violence’s inherent consequence of eliding the history and heritage of the Other—particularly the historical interpretations of Farms Public Dwellings community residents. This chapter

privileges the residents' and other community participants' interpretive histories as important narratives to be affixed to the well-preserved and published record, while simultaneously allowing for an internal debate to play out among the local purveyors of history.

The rendering of personal historical perspectives is empowering and indicative of agency among the residents. Reflected in this chapter is what Farms community participants prioritized and chronicled, beginning with the happenings during the colonial era and continuing to those of the present day. It demonstrates that the Farms Public Dwellings community—its people and place, popularly held to be “ghetto”—is not the simple result of African American pathology. Additionally, this recounting of history also demonstrates that despite challenging conditions, each shifting population has attempted to produce a vibrant and stable community.

Chapter 8 is the concluding chapter, “Hear Their Screams Loud and Clear: What Does the Farms Community Redevelopment Tell Us about Structural Violence and the Sociospatial Binary?” This chapter offers some policy and practice recommendations that would eradicate the social binary altogether and produce a livable environment for the Farms community. The aim of this chapter is not just to give clarity to the residents' screams for help, but also to offer precise policies that could produce a new and humanistic fifth moment in which TTDO lives matter too!

CHAPTER 2

ENCOUNTERING THE FARMS' TRULY "TRULY"

DISADVANTAGED

In this chapter, I discuss my efforts to negotiate entry, build rapport, and maintain access to the Farms residents. In so doing, I provide as vividly as I can a descriptive depiction of the Farms neighborhood and its public dwellings community. As I was pursuing an understanding of how Farms residents grapple with structural violence, in this chapter I also detail my guiding activist methodology along with the various ethnographic data production methods I utilized. I also provide some autobiographical information to clarify my own position and how it affected my ability to establish rapport and claim pragmatic solidarity with the Farms residents—the praxis stance developed by Paul Farmer and explained in the previous chapter.

The Beginning

It was just dusk on a dry and humid Thursday in September 2007 when I nervously entered the sanctuary of Josiah Baptist Memorial Church (pseudonym). Up to this point in my research, I had only surveyed the Farms Public Dwellings community and surrounding area from the safety of my gray 1987 Volvo. Over time, I discovered this community to be relatively safe, but there were moments of violence. Josiah is one of the younger churches among six that serve the Farms neighborhood, but its congregation, as far as I could tell, was larger than the other five churches combined. Most of its congregants are former or current residents of the Farms neighborhood. During earlier drives through the area, I noticed posters announcing that the District of Columbia's Deputy Mayor of Planning and Economic Development (DMPED) office planned to hold a series of community meetings to be held at Josiah to discuss the Farms Public Dwellings NCI redevelopment.

I expected that these meetings might provide some answers to my research questions concerning the impact of structural violence on the lived experiences of Farms Public Dwellings residents and the ways residents mobilize in the context of urban redevelopment. I was also interested in the equally important question of what sense researchers and policy makers could draw from the sociospatial functioning of the Farms Public Dwellings community as an African American Urban Ghetto (AAUG). I was certain the answers lay in residents' experiences and interpretations of their rights as citizens to quality housing, equal protection, a healthy community, and belonging in the District of Columbia. Getting to these answers meant that my frequent windshield tours in and around the Farms community had to end and that I needed to take a more pedestrian and intimate approach to conducting research.⁴³

At the meeting, the senior pastor Reverend Brockport (pseudonym) delivered an animated soliloquy outlining his efforts to ensure that development-planning activities would be fair, equitable, inclusive, and transparent and that the future redevelopment of the Farms would be favorable to its residents. In a deep African American English vernacular, Brockport repeatedly bellowed, "Come on, y'all," to the weary audience comprised of Farms Public Dwellings residents, District of Columbia officials, other church members, and guests from two adjacent and neighboring communities, namely Union and The Heights (local appellations for

43. The best way to learn about a community's social life is to place oneself on the ground where all the action is taking place. However, due to amplified insecurity post 9/11 and the resulting hostility directed at "strangers/others," as well as the real risk of other sorts of victimization, it is necessary and even prudent in some cases to make preliminary community observations from the safety and convenience of a privately-owned vehicle or public transportation. The principle point of this method is for the researcher to remain safe. As a qualitative research method, a "windshield tour" is best carried out from inside a car, bus, or trolley. The windshield tour makes modified use of participant observation skills in environments that are known to be unsafe or in communities where potential risks are unknown but imagined. The method can serve as a preliminary component to embedded participant observation or can stand alone as a form of qualitative research. I received training in this method from the anthropologist Tony Whitehead of the CuSAG Department at University of Maryland (explained further below). Ironically, my decision to end my windshield tours was precipitated by a few disturbing police traffic stops.

Uniontown and Congress Heights respectively). Brockport seemed to seek confirmation from the Farms residents of his assumed role as principal arbiter and community advocate. Apparently becoming aware of the fatigue that had befallen his audience, Brockport reluctantly adjourned the meeting. His audience seemed to appreciate the sudden adjournment and hastily filed out of the stuffy sanctuary onto Martin Luther King, Jr. Avenue (known locally and referred to here as MLK Ave), just across the street from the entrance to the Farms complex.

As the meeting disbanded, I rushed to the side of a local community leader, Harriet Jacobs (pseudonym), a long-term resident with strong social ties and an accommodator, whom I'd earlier arranged to meet. Harriet had agreed to introduce me to the DMPED team, the host pastor, and residents who had participated in the discussion. Several days prior to this meeting, I had rehearsed an introduction to my research plans. I would describe my interest in the Farms community's history and culture, concern for the public safety of its residents, and intention to conduct research that would be meaningful and useful to the residents in their community development efforts. I hoped that this brief introduction would win support for my research project from key community members. Harriet took my hand and led me to meet the DMPED leader, Debrah Jackson(pseudonym), who was talking to a five- or six-year-old child about his future career goals. The child was telling her how much he enjoyed his kindergarten class at John Brown Elementary (pseudonym), but that he was having difficulty remaining awake during instruction. Ms. Jackson's eyes lit up as if she had anticipated such a comment. She began to interrogate the child about his mother's parenting or lack thereof.⁴⁴ She then directed the child's eyes with her pointed index finger to the multiple smart phone devices covering her pants'

44. I could not quite ascertain who had accompanied the child to the meeting. I learned later that neighborhood youths would scout out such community meetings so they could run in afterwards to collect some of the refreshments that had been provided to the participants.

waistline—the technology of the accomplished—declaring, “I didn’t make it this far by sleeping in class!” The child seemed confused by the barrage of questions, comments, and seemingly unrelated reference to technology. He interrupted her to recount how he had heard gunfire during the last few nights. He stated that most nights there were multiple sounds of gunshots and that whenever his mother heard the discharge of a gun, she snatched him out of bed to take shelter in the innermost corner of their home. He said that his mother would keep him awake by talking to him all night because she feared that if either one of them fell asleep, they might be struck by a stray bullet.⁴⁵

Listening to this child, my eyes filled with tears. I was already familiar with this type of community trauma. By age twenty-one, I had been shot at or been near gunfire that barely missed hitting me at least six times. I had emerged unscathed, but many of my childhood friends were not as fortunate. I scanned the eyes of those gathered around the young child, but to my dismay, all their eyes were dry. Ms. Jackson wished the boy good luck, and then, it seemed dismissively, she turned away from him to greet Harriet and me. Harriet then turned to introduce me. I felt compelled to hide my display of emotion and moved forward, readying the rehearsed greetings so as not to lose the opportunity to meet this wide and diverse audience of community gatekeepers. I later asked Harriet, who became one of the key participants in my research, why no one else had been moved to tears by the child’s account. She rejoined, “So much violence has overtaken the community that we are all cried out here in the Farms!”

I begin this chapter with this anecdote because it represents my first encounter with the range of diverse participants involved in the Farms redevelopment, including: the executive

45. I heard sounds of gunfire most nights of my visits and residency in the Farms. Most were warning shots by drug dealers keeping others from encroaching on their marked-out territory, but sometimes there were outright shoot-outs.

board of the Farms Resident Council, made up of current residents of Farms Public Dwellings; local clergy; local historians and historical preservationists; government officials from District of Columbia Housing Authority (DCHA) and District of Columbia Parks and Recreation (DCPR); social service providers; local community organizers; members of the Metropolitan Police Department (MPD); and civic leaders from contiguous communities. I would later interview many of the people present at this meeting and draw on their assistance in my research. Several became key research participants.

This first encounter with the community is also important because it resulted in modification of my research interests. It was there that I encountered the real struggles faced by the Farms Public Dwellings community as they sought to be involved with redevelopment plans. I soon shifted from an exclusive research focus on community violence and crime to a much broader investigation of structural violence. During that first meeting, I began to see that rationalizations for redeveloping the Farms Public Dwellings seemed to represent official and external interests, which were quite at odds with local interests and the desire for community preservation and development. I also sensed that the tenor and approach of DMPED was of a disciplinary type intended to fix and punish the poor residents. Exemplified in Ms. Jackson's dismissiveness of the young child, DCHA officials often came across as callous and detached in my opinion. At a later meeting, for instance, the head of DCHA, Adrienne Todman, stated she wasn't interested in any of the residents' perspectives, complaints, or comments that interfered with her primary concern, the profit of her agency.

I came to realize that the policies and practices of the DCHA and District of Columbia government created the very conditions of the Farms that necessitated its redevelopment. The evident physical deterioration had occurred under the watch of DCHA property managers who

bore the responsibility to maintain the infrastructure in a livable condition. Analyzing their discursive practices during my research has greatly shaped my understanding of how structural violence operates over time in specific localities to produce an AAUG and hinder the lives of low-income African American public housing residents.

I also reference this first meeting because it immediately jolted me back to my formative experiences as a child in Newark, New Jersey. There, I witnessed the power differentials in a race- and class-based system in which increasingly disadvantaged people were denied access to the government. Belonging to the category of the “underprivileged” in New Jersey nurtured my desire for social equality and justice. Hearing the discussions at the community meeting and the child’s explanation for why he was falling asleep in class made me realize that I could not pretend to be a neutral researcher, separated from the community by social distance and scientific objectivity. The research methodology described in this chapter developed out of my need to become a more engaged, activist researcher guided by pragmatic solidarity (Farmer and Gastineau 2002; Mattaini 2006).

In the next section, I describe the research site of the Farms public housing community. I then discuss my complex insider/outsider position as a researcher in the Farms community. The rest of this chapter outlines the research methodology I designed around Paul Farmer’s prescription for studying structural violence. The phases of data collection, strategies for recruiting research participants, and some problems that arose during my fieldwork are also described.

Positioning the Farms Public Dwellings within
District of Columbia's Urban
Redevelopment Plans

Anthropologist and public health researcher Tony Whitehead (2000) defines racialized urban ghettos (RUGs) as physically and culturally isolated areas with few opportunities for employment or participation in the labor force; low educational attainment; high levels of crime; dilapidated housing with households predominantly headed by single women; general environmental deterioration; and inadequate health, social, and other human services. While Whitehead goes beyond describing the attributes of the ghetto to analyze the factors that underpin these conditions, he generally agrees with Wilson's contention that such racialized geographies are characterized by social disorganization due to the weakening of formal and informal institutions that once were effective in staving off the community's social erosion.⁴⁶ Urban and city planners, government officials, some Whites, and some African American middle-income members invested heavily in protecting the boundaries of the social binary described in the previous chapters, as well as others, have seized on Wilson's arguments to blame the victims (residents) for the conditions of public housing communities.

As I describe in this section, the Farms Public Dwellings community and its neglected infrastructure exemplifies a RUG, or more specifically an AAUG, because it was intentionally designed by the government as a segregated environment to house low-income African American residents. In fact, African American urban ghettos must be labeled as such because their production are no longer produced through or for racially binary processes. From its

46. Whitehead's writing on this topic is intended to establish a new nomenclature for identifying African American urban ghettos, but is available only in an unpublished document. My main critique of it is that it does not depart from Wilson's description of the ghetto enough to present a robust discussion on the forces that shape the ghetto and/or the ghetto's function in a White supremacist society.

inception, the government promulgated racial- and class-based zoning and social welfare policies to isolate the Farms Public Dwellings community from the larger District of Columbia.

Notwithstanding the agreeable and hopeful language used to describe public housing redevelopment schemes such as Hope VI and the New Communities Initiative (NCI), all such plans carry a legacy of nonparticipatory community development practices, massive displacement with negligible return rates, and chronic and traumatic stress dealt out to public housing residents. Taken together, such racialized practices sustain Jim Crow era residential segregation rather than resolving the problem of concentrated poverty.⁴⁷

There were more than sixty complexes capable of housing more than sixty thousand families in the District of Columbia at the peak of public housing in 1990. The DCHA's proclivity for demolishing public housing and replacing it with private market units has led to a significant decline in the number of complexes over the past two decades. In theory, DCHA serves more than twenty thousand families today, although the actual figure is difficult to gather due to poor record keeping and lack of transparency ("Public Housing - District of Columbia Housing Authority" 2015). The remaining public dwellings have been left to disintegrate from infrastructural neglect and the depredations of warring drug dealers.

Originally built in 1943, Barry Farm Public Dwellings is today one of 56 public housing sites in the District of Columbia. The Farms Public Dwellings contains spacious courtyards and a six-acre recreation center and field. Its 26-acre footprint includes 444 (approximately 5.5% of DCHA's total) public housing units of various sizes (two-to-six bedrooms each), altogether

47. Race remains a salient feature in urban ghettos and in the Farms, so while I use a more cultural appellation, I am aware that displacement from public housing" is deeply patterned by race.

accommodating 2,400 residents during the time of my research (Figures 2–5).⁴⁸ Most housing units were in severe disrepair during the years I conducted this research, however. During a resident-led campaign to improve the housing conditions for residents, I was invited into several homes to see the erosion of appliances, plumbing, and electric wiring, all of which appeared to be several decades old, if not more. The conditions of most of the housing units I visited were in flagrant disrepair; I imagine if they were standard market rate units, District of Columbia code enforcement inspection agents would deem them uninhabitable. DCHA enjoys extra-governmental status, so it operates beyond the range of the District of Columbia’s code enforcement authorities. Although residents desired immediate repairs to the housing units, after a while, they hesitated to report safety violations to DCHA officials because they were aware of the District of Columbia government’s interest in redeveloping the properties and feared that heightened complaints would become justification for mass eviction.

The danger of exposure to toxic substances represents significant health risks to residents. Residents repeated rumors to me that the housing units were contaminated with asbestos, lead, and other harmful substances due to having been built using shoddy construction materials and plumbing parts. Following up on these rumors, I inquired through the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) to DCHA about the levels of asbestos, lead, and other toxic substances present in the Farms Public Dwellings community as well as any previous remediation efforts, but was frustrated in my attempt to get information. I then submitted an additional FOIA request, but to this day have yet to receive a response to my inquiries. In addition, my direct observations of

48. For current demographics, see the “Barry Farm” page on the DCHA website, URL: www.dchousing.org/property.aspx?id=5I.

several living units suggested that there was significant erosion to the paint, wood framing, and plumbing.

Farms residents also face health risks from the location of their community near some of the most toxically degraded environments in the District of Columbia, including the superfund sites of St. Elizabeths' east and west campuses (a historical mental asylum campus), the Navy Yard, the Joint Anacostia-Bolling Air Force base, and the DC Materials facilities (an industrial materials factory).⁴⁹ Additionally, polluting activities are conducted at neighboring sites such as the Blue Plains Sewage Plant, PEPCO, and the defunct District of Columbia General Hospital that has been repurposed as a homeless shelter and shares its campus with a District of Columbia jail (Figure 2). Altogether, these sites have severely polluted the Anacostia River, surrounding land, and the area's general air quality. Washington DC's largest park, Anacostia Park, includes 110–130 acres of contaminated wasteland left to decay by the US Department of Interior in an area known as Poplar Point.⁵⁰ This area lies west of the Farms complex, though separated by the concrete island of Interstate Highway 295 and the Anacostia Freeway. Poplar Point land was transferred from the federal government to the District of Columbia's government, which manages it jointly with the National Park Police (NPS). The District of Columbia government plans to relocate the National Park Police facilities and redevelop Poplar Point into an urban waterfront park with mixed-use businesses and mixed-income housing. It will eventually include

49. Superfund sites are sites designated by the Comprehensive Environmental Response, Compensation, and Liability Act (CERCLA) of 1980 as being so polluted with hazardous contaminants that they require both long-term and immediate remediation. These are sites mandated and funded by the US Environmental Protection Agency as a national priority for immediate remediation due to the risk the sites hold for nearby human habitations (US EPA 2015).

50. District of Columbia Department of Public Buildings and Grounds and Anacostia Citizens Association broke ground for Anacostia Park in 1923.

sixty acres of recreational space and entertainment venues; the remainder has been allocated for high-end housing.

MLK Avenue, which demarcates the eastern border of Farms, proceeds north and south and its southward direction transects St. Elizabeths (a national historic landmark referred locally as “St. Es”) into two halves, its east and west campuses. The Farms’ southern border shares a contiguous wall with the west campus of St. Es, which has been under development since 2007, into Homeland Security’s new federal headquarters at an expected cost of twenty billion dollars.

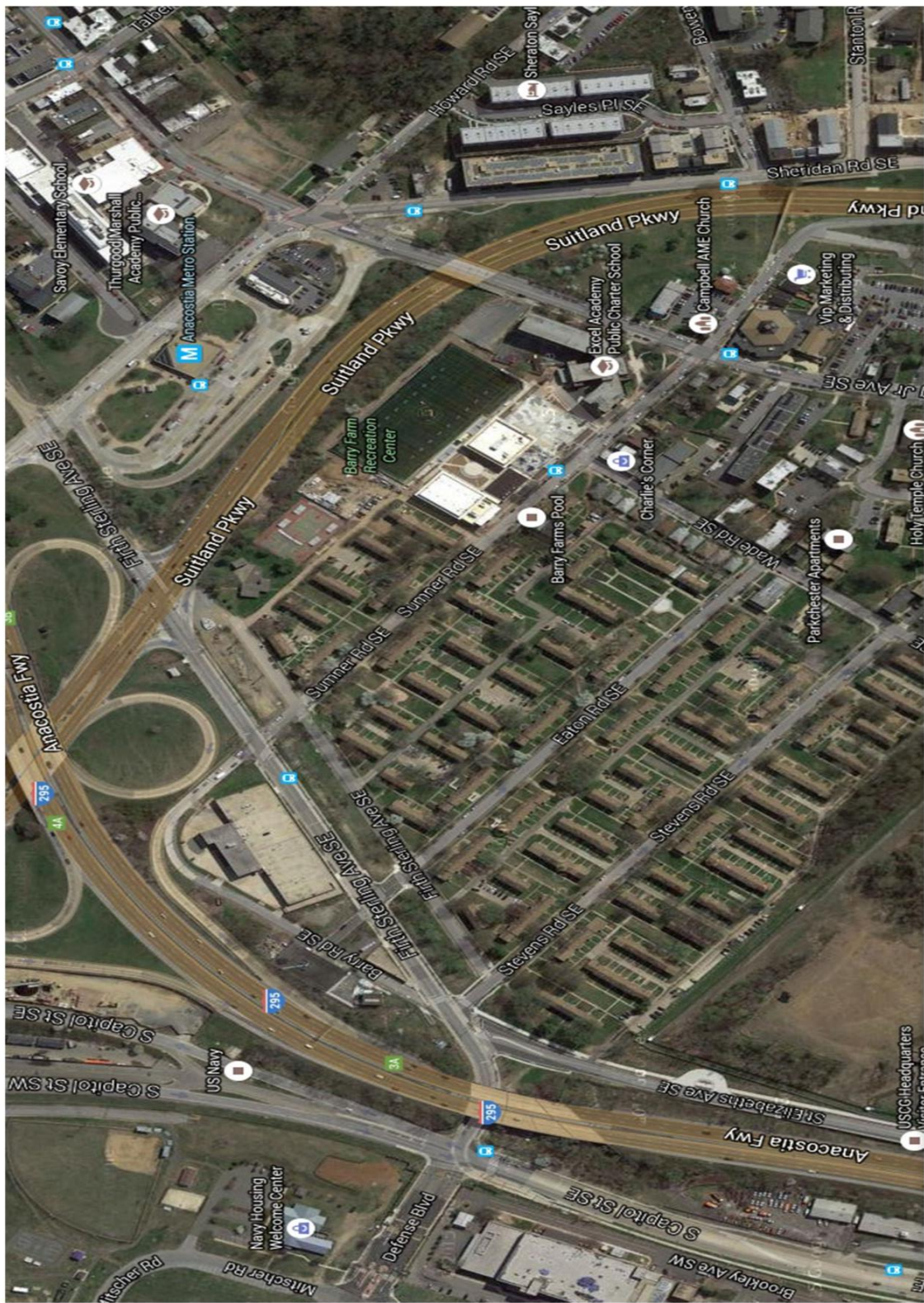


Figure 2. Street Grid Map of Barry Farm (Courtesy of Google Maps, last accessed September 2015).
<https://www.google.com/maps/@38.8569379,-77.0093859,14z>

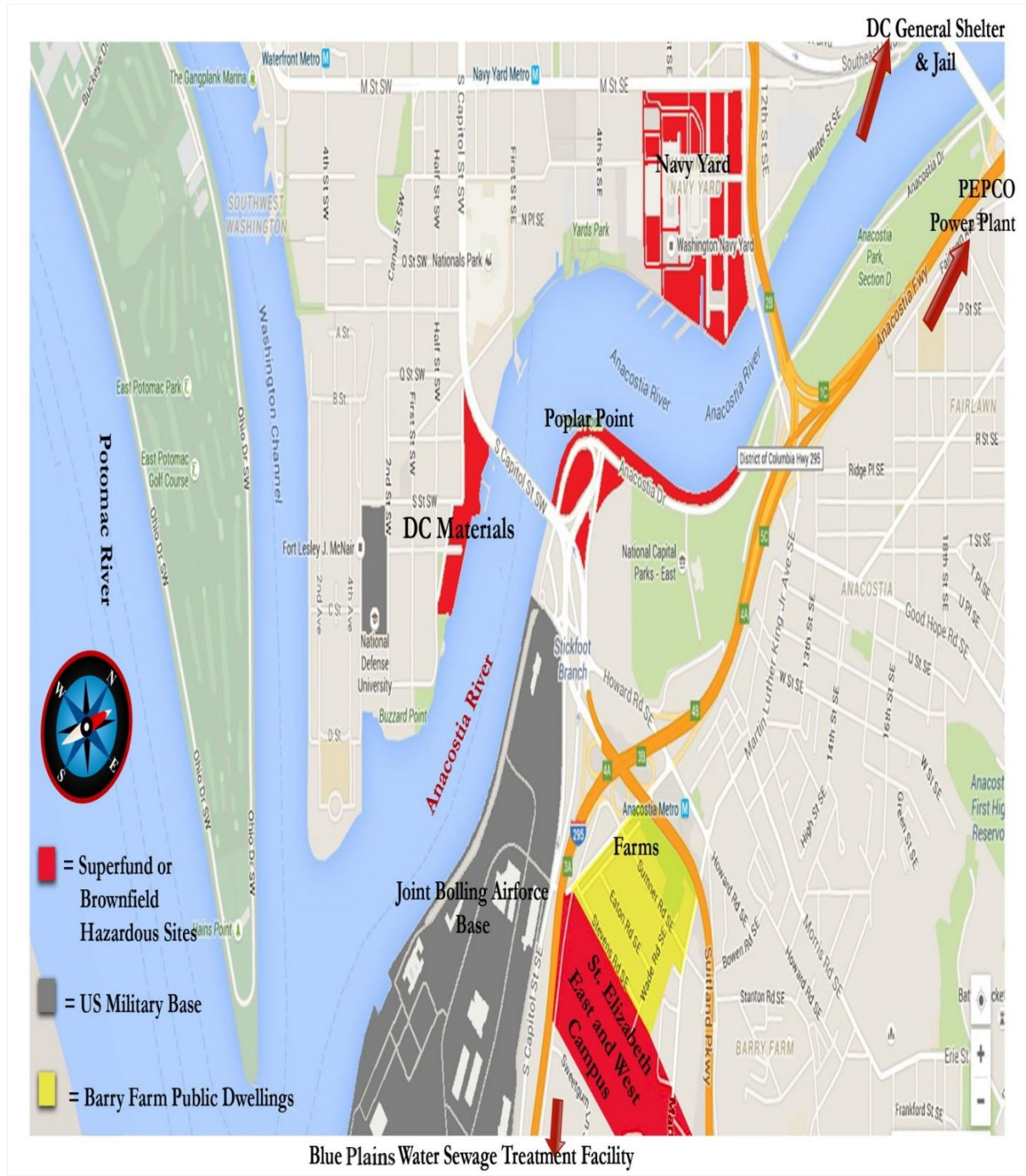


Figure 3. Farms Public Dwellings Structures with Hazardous Sites Depicted.

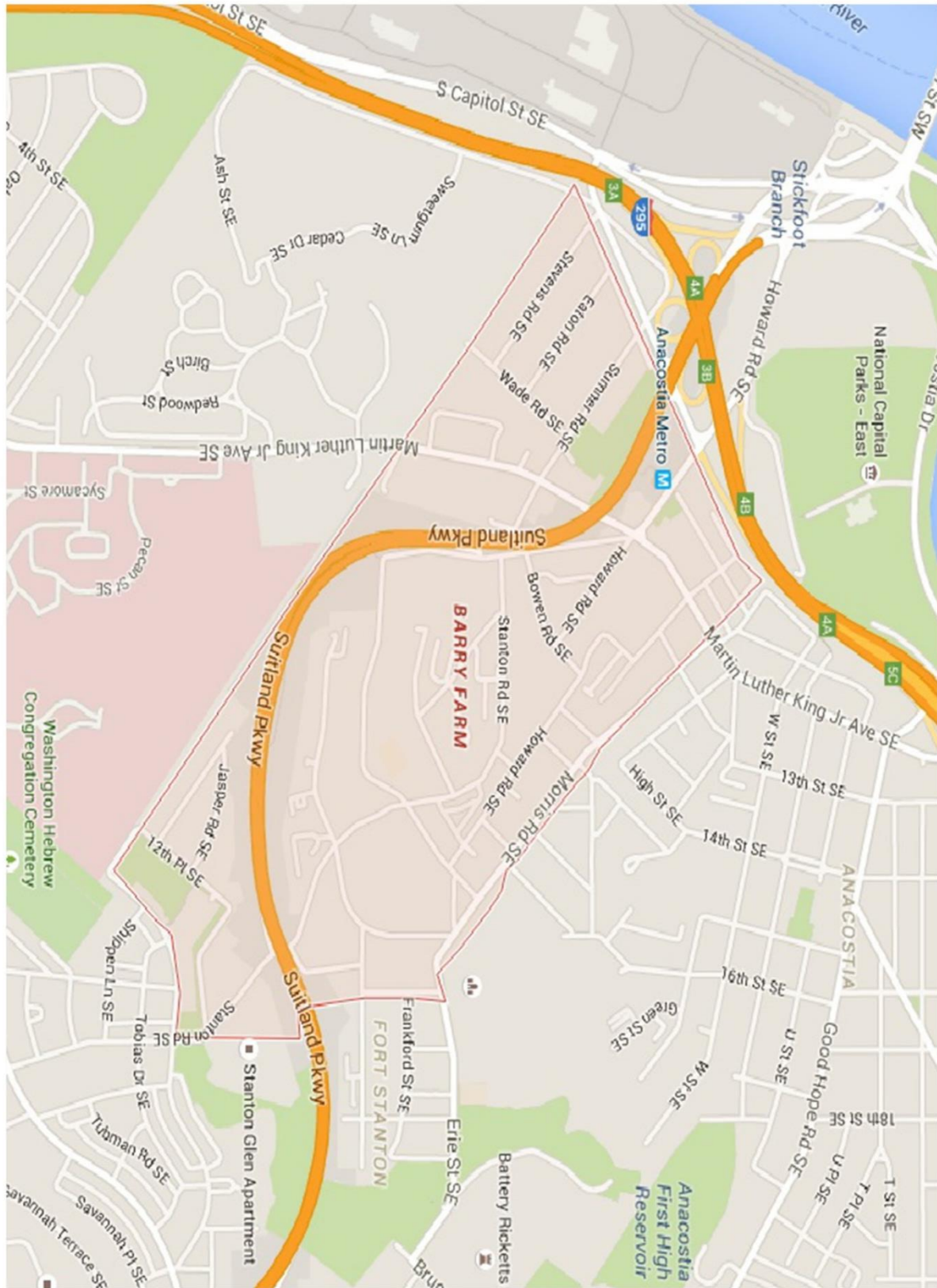


Figure 4. Street Grid Map of the Barry Farm Public Dwellings and Greater Area.



Figure 5. Barry Farm Public Dwellings Structures. (The images show a select sample view of houses in the Farms community as depicted on the District of Columbia Housing Authority's website. This view is from 1292 Eaton Road; "BARRY FARM - District of Columbia Housing Authority" 2015).

Early in my research, I joined Coppin State University students (Baltimore, MD) with local historian John Brooks (pseudonym) on a tour of the St. Es west campus, where I witnessed construction workers wearing hazmat suits in the process of removing six cubic tons of soil. A staff member with the General Services Administration (GSA) disclosed to our group that the soil was filled with several known toxic substances and therefore was being relocated to a special landfill purposed for hazardous materials. However, when Farms community leaders complained that the dust particles from the St. Es west campus construction site were causing respiratory illness, dizziness, and other severe conditions, a GSA representative claimed that the air and soil qualities registered well within normal ranges per Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) standards.

District of Columbia officials had begun developing the east campus as early as the beginning of this research in 2007, and they intend to produce a mixed-use site to include a high technology park and a job innovation center. District of Columbia officials and federal government analysts project 20,000 new jobs will be created in the area after construction of these sites is completed. Farms residents greeted the announcements of new employment opportunities, often announced at the various community meetings, with cynicism and despair. Ward 8 in general and the Farms Public Dwellings complex have already been filled with labor opportunities due to the infusion of billions of dollars in development funds into the area over the last decade, but the area still has some of the highest unemployment rates in the District of Columbia.⁵¹ Local construction jobs are not made available to Farms Public Dwellings

51. In a 2010 State of the Award address at Josiah, a member of Ward 8's council observed that unemployment rates in Ward 8 were two to three times the national average. Currently the unemployment rate for the District of Columbia is the highest in the country ("Map: LA" 2015; "District Of Columbia Economy at a Glance" 2015).

community residents. Farms Public Dwellings community men routinely observe nonlocal Latino and White construction workers arriving at the southwest corner of the Farms Public Dwellings complex around dusk. They park their cars, and then disappear into the back of the St. Es west campus to work. These laborers reappear at dawn, load their equipment into their vehicles, and vanish onto the adjacent highways.

Public health, safety issues, and problems of unemployment are exacerbated by the Farms Public Dwellings' physical isolation. Indeed, the Farms is spatially laid out like a containment zone. Busy streets and freeways bracket the complex: Suitland Parkway to the north, MLK Ave to the east, and I-295–Freedom Parkway and Southeast/Anacostia Freeway to the west—and the Farms is literally walled in on the south by St. Es's northern wall. Suitland Parkway is a major traffic artery that stretches 9.35 miles from the Joint Anacostia-Bolling Air Force base, at the southwest corner of the Farms, to Andrews Air Force base at the parkway's eastern terminus. At the northwest entrance to the Farms, Suitland Parkway crosses over Firth Sterling and then passes Anacostia/Southeast Freeway's access lane. Suitland Parkway continues forward past Anacostia Park's Poplar Point section and terminates at the South Capital/Frederick Douglass Memorial Bridge (FDMB). The FDMB joins four other bridges that connect Wards 7 and 8 (communities east of Anacostia River) to District of Columbia's mainland.⁵² The FDMB conveys Suitland Parkway traffic over Anacostia River to the Nationals Park major league baseball stadium and to corporate and government offices downtown.⁵³

52. As of 2007, the district government had spent in excess of \$300 million modernizing the bridges that cross over the Anacostia River into the Poplar Point area. Since these bridges connect the eastern banks of Anacostia communities to downtown DC, in theory their renovation pulls Farms into District of Columbia's urban scape. By the time, Poplar Point is fully developed, some of the visual observations documented here will seem foreign to the reader.

53. I discuss the history of the Farms community and the Farms Public Dwellings in greater detail in chapter 3.

The baseball stadium and market rate condominiums were built in 2008, replacing the area's Arthur Capper/Carrollsborg public housing complexes. Several residents of razed housing complexes such as Sheridan Terrace, Arthur Capper/Carrollsborg, and Sursum Corda were promised they would be able to return to their original neighborhoods after redevelopment, but were permanently displaced and relocated to the Farms community and other public housing communities east of the Anacostia River. I met with many of these residents during my fieldwork, who explained that they were supposedly temporarily relocated to the Farms Public Dwellings community from a community under redevelopment only to be permanently placed there. I officially requested information from DCHA regarding relocation and tracking of residents, but was told that the records were lost. The relocation of residents from other communities resulted in rivalry and the increase of violence within the Farms.⁵⁴ To ensure my own security, I had to learn how to decipher community signs of impending conflict and heed the direct advice of key research participants to stay away from Farms at times.

The Farms complex is accessed at two of three entrance points: on Sumner Road, off MLK Ave or via Firth Sterling just before the I-295 highway. The third access point connects the Farms Public Dwellings community to Anacostia-Bolling Air Force base and the new Homeland Security site. As such, Farms community residents and the MPD rarely use this third location. An MPD vehicle normally sits at the entrance point of MLK Ave and Sumner Road.⁵⁵ The presence of the MPD at this main entry point to the community suggests to the residents that the

54. The relocation of many other public housing communities into a single, enclosed geographic area is reminiscent of the colonial project of establishing artificial countries in Africa, which has only led to ethnic conflict in the postcolonial moment (Peoples and Bailey 2011).

55. The Farms is policed by more than a dozen different law enforcement agencies, the most significant of which include the Metropolitan Police, transit police, US National Park Police, Homeland Security Police, and Federal Protective Police.

District of Columbia is heavily invested in their containment. The police rarely patrol the community in response to residents' needs and concerns or to build positive community relations. Rather, the Farms Public Dwellings community serves the police as a hunting ground for drug dealers or black males, whichever they encounter first. Metropolitan police also camp out here to caution all residents who would vandalize the new development along the MLK Ave corridor. Over the course of my research, I interacted regularly with one housing authority police officer and one MPD police officer; they both shared that their received mandate was to contain residents in the Farms Public Dwellings community as well as to deter any would-be wrongdoers. In terms of deterrence, I was told there was a need to deter residents from vandalizing properties under construction. Youth residents scaled the wall of the St. Es west campus and trespassed into the Homeland Security site, which caused Homeland Security Police to take up their post at the third access point and to patrol the wall that adjoins the two communities. In addition, Homeland Security Police would attend the NCI meetings to express to the residents and government officials present that they must do a better job at containment and deterrence. Unbeknownst to the residents, this made perfect sense to me because given the toxins present on the St. Es west campus. Yet the emphasis on containment and crime suggests that the government prioritizes criminalization rather than service and protection of District of Columbia citizens.

Reaching the nearest Metro station on MLK Ave without crossing dangerous intersections is best done by taking the long way around, walking east on Sumner and then north along MLK Ave. Although this route passes by John Brown Elementary, most Farms children commute to school along a less safe route by walking north on Firth Sterling and crossing Suitland Parkway. Thelma Jenson (current president of the resident council) shared many stories

with me regarding injuries and fatalities that occurred at the intersection of Firth Sterling and Suitland Parkway. Thelma believed inattentive drivers, or those who fear driving in the area because of all the stories concerning area violence, speed through that intersection and as they attempt to hastily exit the area often collide with pedestrians. The hazard of crossing at this intersection does not deter Farms residents because the alternative of passing by John Brown Elementary on MLK Ave is worse. Residents fear harassment and or aggressive flirting from police officers encamped there, as well as ambushes by rival gangs that conceal themselves behind the school building. I learned to navigate the Farms complex and larger area with an emic sensitivity akin to Farms residents' sense for danger.

At the beginning and closing of each school day, parents' vehicles and school buses at John Brown Elementary congested the Farms community's Sumner Road and MLK Ave entrance. Few Farms children attend John Brown Elementary school these days. It was suddenly closed in 2009 and then converted into a pair of private charter schools under the former mayor, Adrian Fenty. The selective enrollment criteria of the two charter schools forced the local students to bypass their immediate school and travel down the road to Savoy Elementary School. School children from the Farms are forced to cross the dangerous Suitland Parkway to arrive at Savoy, which is in a rival community. Meanwhile, the central operating officers of the charter school programs commandeered a swath of recreational space from the District of Columbia Parks and Recreation's (DCPR's) Farms' recreational field; blocked off the seized real estate with chain-link fencing; and renamed it after the charter schools. Farms residents resisted this encroachment by punching a human-sized hole in their fence for passage.

Savoy Elementary School is located north of Suitland Parkway near the border of the historically preserved neighborhood known as Union, a mixed residential community of old

historic homes and several public housing communities. Various governmental social service programs are also housed along the northern end of MLK Ave in Union, so both children and adults from the Farms Public Dwellings community to travel regularly into the area for services. Union was originally conceived by its private developers as an exclusively white settlement outside the District of Columbia's mainland.⁵⁶ It's mostly white homeowners were drawn from Navy Yard employees by dangling deeds with racially exclusive covenants during the late nineteenth century (see chapter 3 for a detailed history). Union is currently and predominantly African American and transitioning from a low-income and working class community into a neighborhood of Black and White, middle-class and urban professionals. However, youths from the Farms Public Dwellings community refer to Union as Choppa City, and consider this community a principal rival.⁵⁷ While conducting research, I sometimes met with Farms residents and transported them to errands in Union or The Heights. Civic leaders in the area would hold informal gatherings to discuss redevelopment plans in both Union and The Heights (these are local references to Uniontown and Congress Heights respectively). Unfortunately, when meetings are held in the rival communities, Farms residents cannot safely walk to them if they take place after dark. Intercommunity relationships were sometimes tenuous and seemed always likely to escalate into violence, but intracommunity tensions were just as precarious.

The Heights sits to the south of the Farms on MLK Ave, just beyond the St. Es campuses. It is another mixed-income residential neighborhood with private homes and an established cadre of African American middle-class residents from the civil rights era intermixed with public

56. Conveying a sense of alienation from the mainstream environments of the District of Columbia, Farms residents often refer to the land across the Anacostia River as the mainland.

57. "Choppa" refers to the sound that discharged firearms make.

housing communities. The Heights is undergoing a demographic transition like Union's, but at a much slower pace. As is happening with residents of the Farms and Union, most of The Heights' low income and working class poor are being forced to relocate to what some refer to as the city's ninth ward, that is, Prince George's County.⁵⁸ Most people who currently reside east of the Anacostia River consider Prince George's County, an abutting county in Maryland, to be an affective extension of the District of Columbia because their kinfolk and resources routinely flow back and forth across the contiguous and porous borders of the two jurisdictions. Some poor, working class, and middle-income African Americans are giving up on remaining in DC and are relocating to Maryland and other southern states where their grandparents originated (Stack 1996). Simultaneously, middle-income African Americans are emphasizing their presence and the revitalization of the urban areas to which they are restricted to living (Gregory 1992, 1999; Pattillo 2000, Pattillo-McCoy 2008; Prince 2002, 2003).

The gentrifiers of Union and The Heights exhibit some demographic contrasts. Union's gentrifiers consist mostly of young White and black urban professionals. Many of the Union and Heights' residents that I developed close ties with tended to dismiss notions of racism outright and embrace the idea of a color-blind citizenship based on meritocratic and market economy principles.⁵⁹ The Heights residents are mostly older African Americans who have owned their homes for several decades. Those that I have enjoyed contact with nostalgically cling to their civil rights era experiences as a testament to their successful defeat of racism. The Heights' civic

58. Prince George's County is not part of the District of Columbia proper, but a county across the Maryland state boundary where many of the low-income residents of Wards 7 and 8 are being forced to relocate due to gentrification and displacement from public housing.

59. These generalizations about the residents and civic leaders from Union and The Heights are based on how they represented their perspectives at formal and informal meetings I attended. I am aware that more diverse views regarding structural inequality probably exist in their communities, but the nature of my research prohibited pursuing such wider perspectives in the communities adjacent to the Farms neighborhood.

leaders tend to subscribe to postracial ideas and only attend to racism when it impinges on their immediate quality of life and material interests. Civic leaders of both Union and The Heights appear somewhat ambivalent toward low-income and impoverished public housing residents. They mostly seem to want to see the Farms razed and redeveloped, and readily offered up “culture of poverty” conclusions to explain chronic poverty and persistent crime in the Farms (see chapter 6).

As summarized in chapter 1, theories of social disorganization and cultural pathology have often been used by social scientists, politicians, and journalists to justify redeveloping public housing into private units rented out at market rates. The African American middle class, which is pushing for redevelopment, claims that it will provide the best safety net for the poor and underprivileged. The District of Columbia government’s and specifically DMPED’s redevelopment plans under the NCI (“Barry Farm Park Chester Wade Road Community Revitalization Plan” 2008) tend to use circumscribed language to emphasize that redevelopment is a form of intervention in the human capital of public housing residents. By this, they mean the intention is to reconstruct the architecture of public housing to benefit its residents and to rebuild their character.

The same argument was made in the 1990s under HOPE VI, an urban redevelopment-financing program created by Housing Urban Development (HUD). In 1998, HOPE VI funding enabled DCHA to raze Sheridan Terrace Public Dwellings, a public housing complex located within the broader Farms community just outside Farms Public Dwellings. The land was neglected for fourteen years, and then in 2012 was redeveloped into an upscale “mixed-income” housing complex called Sheridan Station.⁶⁰ Former Sheridan Terrace residents, who had been

60. The new Sheridan Station residential units are located in the northeast corner of the Farms area, but are

displaced to live across the street in Farms units, denounced the Sheridan Station developers for having reneged on their promise to return all Sheridan Terrace residents to the site once it was rebuilt. The rental application process for people wishing to move to Sheridan Station involves a forensic-like background check intended to keep public housing renters discouraged from applying, if not outright denied, for these units. Farms residents of public housing must undergo several home visits from housing officials to verify that they have been maintaining proper hygienic and functional maintenance of their housing units; they also must have clean criminal histories and perfect credit profiles. Such background checks ignore the infrastructural decay, deliberate managerial neglect of housing repairs, lack of economic opportunities, predatory merchants of misery and the capricious policing. Former Sheridan Terrace and current Farms residents told me that officials manufactured criminal accusations against them to bring them into the system for surveillance. Such measures guarantee declined applications for TTDOs and ensure their imminent and permanent displacement before and after redevelopment.

Private developers make the same claims as the government does in justifying development plans. Early in 2008, Josiah Baptist Church, which had just come under new pastoral leadership, began to position itself in the real estate market by purchasing and selling land in and around the Farms neighborhood area.⁶¹ After amassing a significant footprint in the Farms neighborhood, the church secured development funds and organized a team to construct a 99-unit apartment complex near the Farms in 2011. Reverend Brockport claimed that the new development would provide jobs and decent off-site housing to the Farms residents. A few

separated from the rest of the community by John Brown Elementary and the Suitland Parkway overpass.

61. To clarify, the Farms neighborhood is the larger geographical area; it is located between Union to the north and St. Es to the south; the Farms Public Dwellings community refers to the public housing site within the Farms neighborhood.

Farms residents were relocated to Sheridan Station and Josiah's newly built apartments as temporary housing until the Farms community was redeveloped, yet they were placed on limited leases with public housing subsidies set to expire in five years, after which their apartments were to be rented at market rate.⁶² Consensus among Farms residents was that the church's real estate development plans had provided negligible employment opportunities and actually destabilized housing security for some residents.

I did not know this part of local development history when I first entered Josiah in 2007 to attend the meeting on NCI redevelopment plan. My primary concern at that time was to establish a position that would allow me to gain entry to the community, as described in the next section.

Stating My Position(ality) and Framing the Research Approach

Shortly after attending the redevelopment meeting mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, I began to take walks through the Farms community with the intention of increasing people's awareness of my presence and establishing new field contacts. These strolls also provided me the opportunity to become fully acquainted with the street grid and the environment and take a visual inventory of the external conditions of the housing stock and grounds. I was interested in exploring examples of expressive culture such as go-go music, graffiti murals, and rest-in-peace shrines. I also wanted to identify safe community spaces, that is, places that exhibited a lot of social activity and were well lit, highly accessible, and free from drug transactions.

62. By the time my research concluded, the church's development plans appeared to have stalled.

I soon discovered that drug dealing and usage were too widespread to avoid and that large social groups offer some guarantee of safety. A long-time resident later explained, “It is better to sell drugs among large groups like these...who are most likely all friends and sympathetic to a person’s need to hustle in this fashion.” Moreover, members of large social groups sometimes used recreational drugs. They could expect to find within their ranks someone who could conveniently provide a product with a safe potency. I later found out that some of the more violent skirmishes between drug dealers in the Farms were between long-time residents and new short-term residents with weak-to-no social ties, who had been forced to relocate there from other public housing sites. Not every new resident in the Farms represented a threat, as some were already familiar with the community or had family already living there, short-term residents with strong social ties. New residents with no local community ties, especially if they were once part of a rival community, presented the greatest challenge. (See chapter 4 for further discussion regarding resident types.) Residents shared with me that these newcomers often introduced products with dangerously high potencies that resulted in overdoses. Consumers would then tend to lose confidence in street pharmaceuticals for a time, which stalled income generation for innovators in the area and increased tensions and formal rivalries. My respondent offered further insight: “Huh, well, when someone from your network is taken out by bad drugs, you don’t just lose a customer; instead you lose a valuable member of your safety net.”

Given these circumstances, it is no surprise that I was often met by the glaring stares of community residents during my morning and afternoon strolls. In some instances, I submitted to hour-long inquisitions by young adults regarding the reason for my presence in the Farms Public Dwellings community. One inquisitor, along with a group of his silent peers, all apparently in their early- to mid-twenties and dressed in camouflage attire with the brims of their red-and-

white fitted baseball caps pulled down just above their eyes, declared that I was either an “undercover police officer or a duck!” Ducks are individuals (mostly males) who are not original to the community. These unsuspecting visitors are often targeted for personal crimes.

My response to the group was to show them my university identification and research consent forms as proof that my presence was innocuous and that I had a genuine interest in researching and writing about their community. Despite my attempt to defuse the situation, this inquisition escalated into a tense standoff. Fortuitously, Harriet passed by on her homeward commute. Each of the young adults greeted her with the affectionate appellation, “Hey Mama Farms.” Harriet astutely sensed the tension in the situation and summoned me to accompany her home.

As we approached her house, I noticed that the communal walkway was strewn with debris of all sorts, the facade was missing stucco, and the external paint was discolored by condensation that drained from second-level air conditioners down the front wall. Spider webs as thick as tree moss, making her windows opaque, covered the rusty steel grates that encased her two ground floor windows. The inside of her two-bedroom home belied its exterior condition, however.⁶³ It was meticulously ordered and clean. Her living room and stairwell walls were covered with framed photos, laminated degrees, and leadership plaques that demonstrated fifty years of accomplishments. The diplomas showed that she had advanced degrees in public health from a local metropolitan university. Many photographs revealed that Harriet, now widowed, had been happily married to an African American WWII veteran and that they had enjoyed life with their four children and twice as many grandchildren. Harriet came to the Farms

63. The layout included a kitchen and living room on the ground floor and two bedrooms and a bathroom on the second level.

neighborhood shortly after the development of the Farms Public Dwellings; however, she owned a home on Sumner Road and MLK Ave first. The photographs also revealed that Harriet had accumulated so much weight over the past decade that it threatened to suffocate her small frame. Later I found out that her health had begun to decline.

Once we entered her house, she began scolding me for meandering through the Farms without having already established sufficient connections to the community. It is not uncommon for outsiders with genuine interests to visit the community, but they mostly come to attend a specific event at the Farms recreation center. They rarely venture as deep into the area as I had in strolling around. When they do, it often leads to trouble. Aware that she might have saved me from calamity, she exclaimed, “The social climate in the community is no longer what it used to be!” While at that time she did not explain what “it used to be” meant, I understood that she was concerned about the increasing deterioration of the social and built environments of Farms. I also understood her to mean that the youths’ embrace of crime unfamiliar to her generation was the order of the day.

After settling me in a chair and counseling me on personal safety, Harriet began asking pointed questions about what I really wanted in her community and why I was there. I would hear many variations of these questions until the last day of my field research. While my answers were always consistent in content, they would change in style to meet the situational context. In this first case, my answers led to a conversation lasting several hours, stretching from the early afternoon until the late evening, as I shared with Harriet a partial autobiography and my activist and methodological stances.

I began by explaining that I was not interested in collecting information on the Farms to deposit into some obscure archive at some local academy. Since the philosophy of anthropology,

I embrace calls for pragmatic solidarity, I maintain that collecting data for its own sake, even data to be used to identify structural oppression and levels of agency, does not serve either the community or the goals of an engaged activist anthropologist. Instead, my goal was to take engaged research to its logical end by using my findings to help remove structural oppression and energize the agentive strategies of those who were oppressed so they can improve the conditions of their lives. Farms community members later made it very clear (particularly at meetings) that they would offer assistance to anyone conducting research if the researcher planned to reciprocate by making his or her results available for the community to use and benefit.

I then explained to Harriet that, although I am not from the Farms or even the District of Columbia, I did feel an intrinsic connection to the Farms. My windshield tours throughout the Farms neighborhood evoked in me a sense of nostalgia, ambivalence, anxiety, and great excitement: for me, it was like returning home. I grew up in Newark, the largest, most populated, and second most diverse city in central New Jersey.⁶⁴ I explained to Harriet that I saw myself as

64. Newark was originally home to a Native American population, the Hackensack Indians. Puritans colonized Newark in the late sixteenth century under the leadership of Robert Treat from New Haven, Connecticut. Newark was soon populated by mostly Irish and German immigrants. By the early nineteenth century, it was a bustling industrial hub that led the United States in the production of leather and iron goods. During the nineteenth century, Newark also presaged the postindustrial economic era by having two behemoth insurance companies, Prudential Insurance Company of America and Mutual Insurance.

From the late nineteenth century to the mid-twentieth century, Newark welcomed large numbers of immigrants from central and southeastern Europe, mainly those with Jewish heritage. At the same time, oppressed and poor groups of African Americans began concentrating in Newark's central ward. Their numbers swelled with the in-migration of African Americans from southern states, along with Latin Americans from the Caribbean (i.e., Puerto Ricans and Dominicans). Like the District of Columbia, Newark became a medium-to-dark chocolate city hampered by racism, classism, and sexism. The rage of its marginalized citizens fomented into the riots of 1967, during which significant portions of the central ward were incinerated. City administrators and private developers responded by abandoning the central ward, leaving its African American denizens isolated, vulnerable, and desperate: literally and figuratively mired in bricks and rubble. The problems faced by people left to live in the ruins were exacerbated in the 1980s, when the CIA and the White House conspired to introduce crack cocaine to the inner cities of the United States. Government agents flooded AAUGs with drugs and guns in an effort to destabilize and depoliticize the revolutionary tendencies on the part of the dispossessed (Scott, Peter Dale, and Jonathan Marshall. 1998; Webb 2011). In Newark, these postriot conditions accelerated the out-migration of the remaining Whites and middle-income African Americans to the suburbs and the periphery of the city respectively. Their mass exodus was

a native anthropologist, meaning that my racial heritage and the social, political, and economic circumstances of my origins are similar to those of most members of the community in which I planned to conduct fieldwork (D. Jones 1970).⁶⁵ When I was growing up in Newark's central ward in the late 1980s, it closely resembled the Farms community of the 2000s. Newark's central ward had been cordoned off as a wasteland that kept its residents, mostly poor African Americans, isolated from the rest of the urban population. Growing up in the ward, I saw that devastation and despair never kept my community's stalwart gatekeepers from their relentless search for social equality and the equitable development of their living environment. I told Harriet that she reminded me of one of those stalwart community members, Judy Diggs. Furthermore, I explained, by conducting research in Farms, I was in a way returning home—not to save a “throwaway people” but to join a human community of great potential that deserves the right to exist.

Harriet agreed to give me her full support so long as I would not engage in some fly-by-night research that would do more harm than good, that is, produce depictions that would continue to “Otherize” her community as exotic and different. Rather, she stated that she hoped I would depict a story of familiarity—to bring into view the processes of ghettoization and to

facilitated by the early construction and expansion of massive highways. The highways served as reliable conduits for suburbanites who wanted to commute to work in the business districts downtown without coming into significant contact with city dwellers. They also serve as barriers keeping residents of AAUGs from reaching fertile ground, productive resources, and western privileged space. The same highways tore out and displaced many African Americans from the central ward, but now serve to convey the middle-income gentry back to living in the city. Suitland Parkway ripped apart the early community of Barry Farms in the same way. Just as in District of Columbia's eighth ward, developers used federal subsidies such as HOPE VI to finance public land grabbing in Newark's central ward.

65. Although I did not tell her this at the time, I was anxious that I would not be considered “authentic” enough by Farms residents because I had been absent from such urban environments for several years. As an anthropologist, however, I expected my time away to have provided me enough social distance to be able to discern the structural violence operating in the community.

humanize the residents of Farms—that would shame the local government and shock it into corrective action. I reassured her that my interest was genuine and I would endeavor to do just that.⁶⁶ In the next section, I outline the collaborative research methods I adopted in hopes of achieving these goals as an activist anthropologist.

Studying Structural Violence: An Activist Research Methodology

In asserting my position as a native anthropologist in the Farms community, I was breaking with anthropological tradition. The history of anthropology “is a hunting story—a story about capturing something of the ‘Other’ that the west desires and bring back for western consumption” (Ranco 2006: 62). Traditional hermeneutic training of neophyte anthropologists requires them to absorb a vast amount of theoretical and methodological knowledge, and then off they go into a social world different from their own. Early twentieth century social scientists thought that approaching a community as a nonnative would make the alien culture more intelligible to the researcher. Neophytes were expected to remain scientifically detached—objective, neutral, and impartial—in their relationship to their subject matter and selected research communities. This detached posture was assumed to be the proper foundation for an epistemology that would yield reliable data according to positivistic critics (Rosaldo 1993). By the late twentieth century, anthropology had come under considerable push-back for perpetuating Western cultural hegemony as the discipline hid behind the smokescreen of neutrality and objectivity, while privileging the study of the unfamiliar and exotic. Early black anthropologists were not socially affiliated with the communities they studied. African American anthropologists

66. I enjoyed her unwavering support until her untimely death three years after we met.

only later shifted their attention to stateside activist research where they increasingly encouraged the study of their own cultural communities in the United States (Harrison and Harrison 1999).

In *Reinventing Anthropology*, Dell Hymes warned researchers that unless anthropology became the “possession of the people of the world,” the field and its ethnographic products would wander “backward into the service of domination” (Hymes 1972: 54). He prescribed a politically engaged anthropological praxis to keep anthropology viable as a discipline. Just a few years earlier, Kathleen Gough (1968) had made a similar call for anthropologists to study imperialism and the inequitable distributions of power that constrain social practices of non-Westerners. By the 1990s, many African American, Chicano/a, and feminist anthropologists were conducting research that challenged injustice (Behar 1996; Harrison and Harrison 1999). My methodological framework builds on their and many other wonderful examples of engaged and activist anthropological research that came after Hymes’s urgent call to political praxis (Emihovich 2005; Greenbaum 2008; Harrison and Harrison 1999; Hyatt and Lyon-Callo 2003; Rodriguez 2003; Stack 1975; Williams 1988).

Vincent Lyon-Callo and Susan Hyatt (Hyatt and Lyon-Callo 2003) conceptualize anthropological activism through what they term “Ethnography from Below” (EfB for short). EfB is a type of engaged praxis that requires a lengthy span of time in the field and direct collaboration with community activists and other members of the community. The goal of EfB is often to clarify the impacts of neoliberalism and marginalization on local communities, so it greatly influenced my approach to exploring the lived experiences of Farms Public Dwellings community residents. This method begins with the victims, and it allowed me to study the dynamic interactions between people and place, the internal and external forces that shape a community over time, and assertions of belonging and agency amongst community residents. It

also allowed me to create what Rodriguez (2003) calls an “activist space”: a participatory research space that permits critical reflexive thinking and transformative practices to emerge in order to counteract the propagation of structural violence. Some witnesses of violence that participated in my research in the Farms were already caught up in their own forms of activism. By creating an additional activist space, I hoped to facilitate their decisions about how to strategically and productively protest and alter their living and social conditions.

My research approach was thus in line with Hymes’s suggested methods for conducting an engaged and transformative anthropology that would work against inequitable and unjust social processes. This approach complemented a theoretical framework (outlined in chapter 1) grounded in Farmer’s (2004, 2006) theories of structural violence, critical race, and space-place. The data collection methods I used were all intended to empirically verify structural violence and social resistance in the Farms Public Dwellings community as it underwent urban redevelopment. That is, I adopted ethnographic methods that would enable me to gather data on Farms history, spatial form and function, intentional design, subject formation and agency, and material suffering of its residents.

My methodological approach was partly modeled on Cheryl Rodriguez and Ginger Baber’s (2006) use of the archival research method along with other relevant ethnographic techniques to retrace the intellectual, material, and social lives of African Americans living in Central Park Village (CPV) in Tampa, Florida. Similar to the Farms, CPV dates to the antebellum era. From the late-nineteenth to mid-twentieth century, it was a mixed income and vibrant community of color, but thereafter suffered from regular government intrusions into its urban character. The first intrusion came in the form of slum clearance and was followed by a series of urban renewal projects. The inclusion of mixed-income and mixed-use developments on

CPV's footprint disrupted long-standing social networks and displaced the community's residents. Rodriguez and Baber analyzed historical archives and oral histories to document community heritage, preserve memories, and inform the public of local social justice practices. In the spirit of what Farmer (2003) calls "pragmatic solidarity," Baber and Rodriguez (Rodriguez 2003; Rodriguez and Baber 2006) envisioned their ethnographic work as a social justice instrument intended to mitigate the full harm of urban redevelopment. Just as I hoped to do for the Farms Public Dwellings community, Rodriguez and Baber's research methodology not only gave voice to community residents, but helped them reflect on the cumulative external stressors negatively affecting their capacity for community cohesion, identity, vitality, and agency.

Research Competency and Phases of Data Collection

I conducted field research in the Farms community over the course of a five-year period (2007–2013), which is atypical for dissertation-related research. Pursuing funding and advanced studies, as well as doing volunteer work, slowed the pace of the research but in the end provided me with more extensive data on the community.

In 2007, I began preparing to conduct fieldwork by training and then working as a qualitative data collector for Tony Whitehead of University of Maryland's (College Park) Cultural Systems Analysis Group (CuSAG). CuSAG collects data on the community ecology of Wards 7 and 8 to try to understand influences on returning citizens (formerly incarcerated) and recidivism. I selected the Farms community for my doctoral research site after I had already become familiar with its rhythms, sounds, and textures during windshield tours there to collect data for CuSAG. I conducted windshield tours in 2007 in the Public Dwellings community.

In 2008, I was selected as a fellow to join ONE DC's 2008 Kressley Organizing Institute (KOI). ONE DC is a political advocacy group that fights for racial and social equity for African

American and low-income residents of the District of Columbia. This allowed me to further develop my understanding of the local politics surrounding public housing and the public housing trust fund. It also gave me time to develop activist strategies for studying issues of public housing redevelopment and displacement in the Farms Public Dwellings community. In the summer of 2008, I also accepted a volunteer position offered to me by Harriet. Initially, I volunteered as a staff member at the Farms recreational center from 2008 through January 2009. After that, I was asked to assist the leaders of the community's Farms resident council, with whom I volunteered exclusively from then on, with the exception of assisting a Men Against Violence group and two additional tenant associations (FTA & FIRG). Both volunteer positions increased my presence in the community and enabled me to identify active stakeholders and recruit research participants from central and highly trafficked areas in the community. I also developed significant contacts amongst law enforcement officials (including some of the Homeland Security police assigned to the area), in various DC governmental agencies, and the local housing authority, service providers, and politicians. Over the next several years, I had the most contact with Farms residents and officials from DCHA and DMPED.

In 2009, I was selected as a participant to join the Summer Institute of Research Design (SIRD), a program sponsored by the National Science Foundation (NSF) and administered by Russell Bernard that trains doctoral students for field research. The advanced research training I received from Dr. Whitehead at CuSAG, KOI, and SIRD, along with the guidance I received from the leaders of the Farms resident council, prepared me to participate more fully in the lives of Farms residents and their fight for social justice.

The resident council agreed to me teaching a course titled "Anthropology, African American Community & Change" to Farms residents in 2009. In consultation with SIRD

instructors and resident council leadership, and following the recommendations of one of the members of my dissertation committee, I developed the course and taught it that summer and again in 2010.⁶⁷ The class was held in the resident council office's multipurpose room. Farms residents and I discussed issues of culture, social inequality, crime, structural violence, public housing redevelopment, community identity, and agency during the class, which greatly contributed to my understanding their perspectives. We also read Carol Stack's ethnography *All Our Kin* (1975).

During the spring semester of 2010, I successfully applied for the Capitol City Humanities Council's "Major Heritage" grant to conduct oral history interviews in the Farms. This grant was intended to support heritage preservation in District of Columbia communities that were undergoing historical change. After consultation with the resident council, it was decided to use the funds to pay participants \$25 per hour for three hour-long interviews each, which at the conclusion of this research will be turned over to the archives at the Anacostian Museum of Smithsonian Institutions.

I lived in the Farms development for a total of six months in monthly segments scattered between Fall 2010 and Spring 2011. I scattered my residency over the year to avoid detection as a boarder by other residents and the community's property managers so that my host's lease would not be violated. The room I rented was located just a few houses away from the Farms' resident council office. This residency allowed me to see social conditions up close, as well as how the local housing authority responded to repair requests. It also gave me a more substantial presence in the community and a greater ability to participate in community life.

67. I used an introductory text in cultural anthropology and two ethnographic community studies (Bourgois 1995; Stack 1975). I secured donated copies of reading materials from members of the Association of Black Anthropologists and the authors of the texts.

In December 2012, I contributed to three important projects of the Farms resident leaders, which were: (1) the creation of a tenants' association and a study group; (2) the design and development of the tenants' association's website; and (3) the initiation of a historical preservation and community heritage project. The last project in particular aligned with my research agenda in contributing to the historiographic documentation of the community. Boyd writes that "heritage can change the place-meaning of a community [and] act as a mechanism through which residents can construct notions of racial authenticity, which [African Americans] use to disrupt historical patterns of racial displacement" (Boyd 2000b:108). In Boyd's research, historical preservation has served the African American middle-class more than the poor. However, my proposal was for the residents of public housing (and those being displaced from public housing) to control the preservation project in their own interests. The heritage documentation that resulted from this project is now part of the community's benefits agreement included in negotiated contracts with public housing developers. (See Appendix D for the Community Benefits Agreement and Appendix F for historical preservation documents.)

While I still maintain an active role in the Farms community, particularly in assisting in a legal strategy to demand improved housing conditions and resist displacement, I concluded my ethnographic data collection efforts in early 2013.

Data Collection Methods

In this section, I describe the participant recruitment and data collection methods I used to understand the structural violence operating in the Farms community. Each method provided data on the historiography and spatiality of the Farms community and the suffering of its residents, as well as their agentive strategies in the face of structural violence. Altogether, the selected methods provided tools to perform activist and engaged research intended to highlight

the impact of structural violence on the lives of residents in the Farms community. Over the course of this research, I consulted with the Farms resident council about what methods and research actions would prove the most favorable for the social environment. Of particular note was that I learned that using tape recorders or yellow legal pads would taint my genuine efforts and cause misinterpretations of my intentions, so I abandoned these practices. For reasons I explain here, collaborative research is very valuable in ethnographic research and consistent with the Chicago Guide to Collaborative Ethnography (Lassiter 2005; 2008; Rappaport 2008).

Recruiting and Protecting Research Participants:
Witnesses of Violence, Traumatically
Stressed-Out Offenders, and
Perpetrators of Redevelopment
and Structural Violence

Given my objective of understanding the processes of structural violence better, I was determined to employ participant recruitment and data collection strategies guided by the highest regard for safety. In accordance with American University's research regulations concerning human subjects, I first secured Institutional Review Board approval for the research methods described here. The activist turn in anthropology has put increasing emphasis on the mental and physical safety of all research participants, particularly in violent contexts such as public housing communities traumatized by redevelopment. Instructive here are the research safety protocols developed for domestic violence research (Langford 2000). I sought to follow these safety protocols by: (1) anticipating and avoiding retaliatory violence (i.e., from DCHA or Farms residents) against my research participation; (2) considering differences in gender and other social positionalities; (3) being reflexively aware of how my subjective identity as an African American man and doctoral student enrolled in a local but prestigious university might influence my relationships at the field site; and (4) consulting with the resident research participants to

determine to what extent we should publicly acknowledge their participation in my research and contingency plan if their participation was disclosed against their interest (Langford 2000). Consequently, and in keeping with the terms and ethics set forth by the American Anthropological Association's Code of Ethics ("Ethics Blog » Full Text of the 2012 Ethics Statement" <http://ethics.americananthro.org/category/statement/>, last accessed 2015), I took all necessary and sufficient steps to ensure the safe and humane treatment of my research participants; protect their identities when necessary; and secure the resulting data files. All research participants were informed of their participation rights and what they should expect from the usage and dissemination of collected and analyzed data. All analogue data and copies of archives were secured in my home office safe. Transcribed interviews and other digital data were stored in an electronic database protected by a firewall.

Preparatory coursework on content, theory, and methods of urban anthropology had made me aware of the overwhelming power of state-government agencies and local housing authorities over public housing residents' lives. Since public housing residents themselves exist outside the regimes of power, they can be subjected to retaliation unless precautionary steps are taken in conducting research. I have therefore replaced personal names and nicknames of research participants with pseudonyms in this dissertation as well as the original data files. I retained the original names of most public officials except in the few cases where using their names will not expose the identities of my research participants. Furthermore, especially when in the presence of DCHA officials, I sometimes disguised my research activities and relationships with Farms residents. I recognize that ethnographers are sensitive about issues of deception and many argue for complete openness in the practice of ethnographic research (Neuman and Robson 2004). My

resolve here was to carry out urban research in ways that would decrease harm to my research participants and increase their empowerment.

With these safety protocols in mind, I began recruiting research participants among the various types of resident and nonresident stakeholders. The size of the Farms community is relatively small, so it might have seemed appropriate to conduct a census survey and recruit a randomized and representative sample of participants. However, the residential population is constantly in flux due to aggressive evictions and resettlement of new families from rival and nonrival communities into the Farms. This rapid turnover makes such methods unreliable. I therefore recruited research participants through purposive and snowball sampling. These techniques use established social networks in the community to identify and recruit potential participants (Kissane 2003). I started with Harriet's direct contacts, and then followed up with her contacts' personal networks.⁶⁸ I also advertised my research throughout the Farms community through flyers with largely favorable results. I secured the participation of residents who were involved in regular community-wide activities as well as individuals I had observed coming and going, but who seemed less engaged in community life. Most of these latter residents were recent entrants into the Farms community.

Purposive snowball sampling enabled me to protect willing participants from disclosure and avoid contact with uninterested individuals.⁶⁹ This was important because there was palpable fear among some residents that they would be penalized for participating in any activities that might run counter to the government's interest. I also actively monitored this labor-intensive

68. Leaders in the community had such large networks that I had to screen for those who would take the research seriously and were genuinely concerned about development issues.

69. Sometimes people requested to participate because I offered token pay for being interviewed; I would then discover they didn't live in the community or had no interest in the research but were trying to support their drug habits. I screened these people out of the participant pool.

process of building trusting relationships with research participants. Distrust was high in the Farms because DCHA incentivized residents to report neighbors' lease violations ("see something say something"). Distrust was also generated by the fact that the MPD (following the police chief's mandate to clear criminal cases) provided small rewards to residents willing to report (i.e., snitch) some of the more heinous acts that occurred in the area. Residents were thus very selective about whom they created relationships with, although resource deprivation led them to seek out relationships that could yield them reciprocal goods and services such as childcare and food. In the end, I developed durable contacts amongst the residents and currently maintain warm friendships with many of them after having left the field.

Using the purposive snowball sampling selection and recruitment method drew me more deeply into the complex social networks operating in the Farms and a more emic understanding of how Farms residents perceived themselves as a community. I soon discovered that some longer-term residents held a degree of dislike toward recent entrants and even sought to exclude them from community events and concerns.⁷⁰ The Farms resident council leaders believed that the deterioration of the area, devolution of community spirit, and animus amongst residents was due to the influx of new residents who refused to follow community norms. They felt strongly that I should recruit participants for my research based on their social ties and length of tenure in the community and directed me to pay attention to a resident typology they developed.⁷¹ They categorized residents as long-term or short-term and as having strong community ties or weak-to-no social ties. They determined that long-term residents were those who had lived in the

70. For another example of such tension, see Michelle Boyd (2000).

71. They shared with me their way of classifying residents based on length of residency and strength of social ties in the summer of 2009, while I was teaching the class on anthropology at their office.

community for more than ten years although this factor shifted according to the purveyor's interest. Long-term residents with strong community ties were those who were well acquainted with everyone in the Farms; however, some long-term residents had zero or weak community ties, usually because their children had relocated elsewhere. These residents were fully integrated into the social life of the Farms, but they also could become victims by unknowing community youth.

Short-term residents (who had lived in the Farms less than ten years) also fell into two categories. Some short-term residents had strong enough connections within the community that they could easily assimilate into the Farms Public Dwellings community culture, while the second group of short-term residents had weak or no community ties. The resident council leaders described this latter group simply as interlopers and argued that they caused trouble because they resisted local customs and competed for scarce resources. They also moved into rehabilitated units.

I found that these somewhat crude categories, although determined by the resident council's executive board rather than having been born out of organic community relations, were very useful for my research participant recruitment and efforts to understand the varied ways structural violence impacts the lived experiences of Farms Public Dwellings residents. In addition to the residential tenure and social tie schematic of resident types, I recruited research participants according to three broad associations with structural violence: witnesses of structural violence (witnesses/WitnessSV), perpetrators of structural violence (perpetrators/PerpSV), or traumatically stressed-out offenders (stressed offenders/TSO). I refer to people as "witnesses" if they have observed or experienced any form of structural violence. "Perpetrators" are those who have committed acts of structural violence against the residents through public policy. These

actors do include a few residents themselves. The code of the street maintains that residents can commit violence, even against each other, without contrition and they often do. “Traumatically stressed offenders” are people so traumatically stressed by deprivation and past violence that they develop nihilistic worldviews that, in part, explain their commission of direct and physical violence against other residents.⁷² Even though these categories were useful for my research purposes, I recognize that their boundaries are blurred within the complex reality of the Farms community; individuals in any of these categories often have contradictory and shifting interests and thus they move across the categories as the situation dictates.

The term “witnessing” provides a counterbalance to the notion of “snitching,” which implies that someone is disclosing wrongdoers and their activities to the authorities and thereby betraying community trust and the local code of the streets (Anderson 2004). Witnesses are those who have directly observed different forms of violence and are willing to speak up through the power of testimony. Such testimonials given during interviews are cathartic, healing, and empowering. Witnessing challenges systems of power that wrongfully and harmfully compromise human vitality and deny voice and agency (Hutchinson, Wilson, and Wilson 1994). Witnesses were recruited from the following groups: residents, recreational center staff, board members of the resident council, and three groups of local allies (two resource-poor public housing advocate groups and one men against violence group). I recruited members of the executive board of the resident council through Harriet, who was the resident council’s president at the time I met her. Before she was forced to resign from her leadership roles in the community due to declining health, she introduced me to her protégé, Thelma Jenson, who became the new

72. This is the more sensational type of violence that saturates the nightly news and the type of violence that serves the land developers, District of Columbia government, and the area’s African American middle-class as justification for displacement, demolition, and development.

president. She also introduced me to Vice President Vivian Brown, Treasurer Jessica Tatum, Secretary Gloria Kensington, and Parliamentarian Margarette Jeminson (pseudonyms). These residents provisionally embraced my activist research approach.⁷³ I later assisted two other residents, Linda McCrae and Julia Snow, in creating alternative resident groups in the Farms community, namely the Farms Tenants Association and Farms Investigative Research Group respectively. I also assisted resident Jason Banks in developing his Men Against Violence campaign.⁷⁴ Most of these witnesses were courageous enough to speak about the joys and pains of community life and how the implementation of community redevelopment goals was challenging them and causing them significant stress.

The perpetrators of structural violence were many and diverse. They included Farms management staff and administrators from the local housing authority, as well as the housing authority's police agency, the MPD, other district government agencies, DMPED, the District of Columbia mayor, Ward 8 council members, social service providers, staff at various nonprofit organizations, local clergy, developers, African American gentrifiers (buppies), and long-time, middle-class residents, namely African American residents of Union neighborhood and The Heights neighborhood and at times even residents from the Farms Public Dwellings community. Attempts to associate with the perpetrators sometimes brought me into informal gatherings at private homes and/or other exclusive meeting spaces. These gatherings, cleverly promoted as African American professional meet-and-greet events, were actually disguised events for

73. While I maintain that all Farms residents are victims of structural violence, the resident council executive board's actions as described in this dissertation sometimes made it difficult to see them solely as victims.

74. Throughout this dissertation, I elaborate on the profiles of many other residents with whom I enjoyed working.

discussing Farms and other area development goals. My affiliation with American University provided me enough social capital to access these exclusive social spaces.

I believe if it was not for the social justice feigning of some hosts, I would not have been invited to such gatherings because I made no effort to hide my predilection for social justice work. My activist role as a community advocate increasingly created tension, particularly with the Farms management office, local housing authority, and the DMPED agency. I was able to observe closed meetings with government officials; however, only Jackson agreed to participate in a one-on-one interview with me after she had resigned from her official post with the DMPED. One resigned contractor of Ward 8 Family First Government Second Incorporated (W8FFGSI) (pseudonym) met with me for an interview in which he acknowledged that government officials and service providers had banned all employees from contributing to my research.

Stressed offenders represent many of the Farms Public Dwellings community residents I encountered, who had given up on conventional means of subsistence. This group included senior and middle-aged women as well as the community's young adult males. Moreover, stressed offenders along with witnesses disrupt and at times support the WSC–NWIO/TTDO binary because they are most likely to retreat from conventional society and the official means of surveillance or support it through acts of violence. While their actions are often seized upon by WSC as evidence of cultural pathology, their social practices represent a significant risk as they resist the constrained mobility of the binary and may engage as innovators in illicit/illegal practices that spill over into WSC space. On the other hand, their retreatism distorts the binary and denies contradistinctions between the binary's two constituent groups. Stressed offenders are the NWIO/TTDO's most alienated and desperate members. Some stressed offenders lash out, but

in ways that hurt other TTDOs, and when this happens conflict is often settled with street justice unless wiser heads can intervene (see chapter 4). The social strain among members of this group was rather apparent; and whereas some continued to espouse goals consistent with the American dream, denied the appropriate mechanism, they utilize innovative practices. Importantly, the three types of research participants outlined above should be understood as complex social types, meaning that situations caused individuals to shift from witness to perpetrators of structural violence to stressed offender and then back. Table 1 at the end of this chapter summarizes the participants and the characteristics of the main research participants. Important to note, the associated categories should not be understood as static stations. Residents move across the chart's categories based on situational context, residential tenures, social ties, history with structural violence and displacement, and relation to structural violence.

Participant Observation

Along with the two data collection techniques described above, I made significant use of participant observation as an integral component of my overall data collection strategy.

Participant observation facilitates rapport-building and data verification. Another important benefit is that, irrespective of other data collection techniques used, participant observation improves data analysis by generating new insights, theories, and questions (Dewalt and Dewalt 2011).

Participant observation calls for systematic observations of people, practices, and social phenomena through actively taking part in community members' daily routines. Victor C. De Munck (1998) explains that participant observation allows the researcher access to the natural happenings of a group without experiencing the staged reactions normally directed toward outsiders. Goffman's (1959) book *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* is quite instructive

in this regard. He notes that individuals simultaneously manage presentations of selves and form impressions of others based on their immediate needs, long-term goals, and dynamics of the encounter. The presentation of the strategic self is labor intensive and wears down over time, so any sustained presence in the lives of research participants aids the researcher in discovering authentic selves—what Goffman calls the back stage. Through participant observation, I sought to engage in reciprocal exchanges in order to move beyond the “front stage,” which Goffman describes as the less authentic self. For example, I offered transportation to business, medical, personal, and entertainment activities inside and outside the community. This was not only to thank people for their assistance in my research, it was itself a participatory method developed by Kusenbach (2003), called the “go-along.” The go-along method simply requires fieldworkers to “accompany individual informants on their ‘natural’ outings, and—through asking questions, listening and observing—actively explore their subjects’ stream of experiences and practices as they move through, and interact with, their physical and social environment” (Kusenbach 2003: 463). Kusenbach argues that the go-along method facilitates researchers’ understanding of participants’ environmental perceptions and spatial practices in addition to collecting their biographies. Driving people places gave me many opportunities to engage in deep discussions with residents about their lives and worldviews while at the same time observing how they negotiated diverse settings beyond the Farms Public Dwellings community residents. My analysis of their strategies of place making and sense of the Farms as a social space was greatly enhanced by this method.

I also provided reciprocity by assisting the community in many other ways. As noted above, by the time I arrived in the Farms, the resident council and recreation center staff had witnessed several other social science researchers, politicians, journalists, and venture nonprofit

opportunists coming into the community to collect information, often merely to satisfy grant requirements, then departing as quickly as possible without providing any benefit to Farms Public Dwellings community residents. Neither the recreation center staff nor the resident council leadership would tolerate me doing the same thing. Nor did I, as a social justice activist, condone such practices. The resident council and other groups were determined to maximize the benefits of my assistance, so I was asked to take on numerous participatory roles in the Farms community. These roles included administrative volunteer (fundraiser, reader of technical documents for those with low literacy skills, local historian, grant writer); recreational staff (coach, surrogate parent, camp counselor); peace organizer (social justice advocate, public safety advisor, mentor to an incarcerated male, resident council executive board member); transportation service (taxiing people to markets, medical centers, homeless shelters, or jails); and promotional developer (graphic designer for flyers, event planner for the Farms Historical Day festival during 2010 and 2011). The resident council leadership expected me to prioritize my volunteer role as a community advocate to such a degree that my relationships with residents sometimes suffered and I found it difficult to schedule and conduct interviews for my research. Nevertheless, I mostly enjoyed their demand for reciprocity, as it guaranteed my safe and assured entry into the community and contact with many community members. The observations I made and the unstructured conversations that occurred as I participated in the community in these various ways contributed significantly to my analysis of place making and agency in the Farms.

Community Meetings and Focus Groups

Redevelopment planning for the Farms Public Dwellings offered me the opportunity to “study up” the perpetrators of structural violence by attending public forums (Nader 1972). In these public community forums, I observed policy enforcers discounting or ignoring the

complaints of community residents, many of whom had been serially displaced from other public housing sites by similar redevelopment schemes. For this reason, I too chose focus groups as a method because it was already an established component of the NCI development scheme. However, I valued and affirmed all community input. Market researchers and economic developers organized community participation in the Farms Public Dwellings community by including residents in groups focused on discussing the planning and implementation of the NCI. Beginning in 2007, the Farms and surrounding communities were besieged by such focus groups, many of which were deceptively dubbed “Ward 8 Empowerment Summits” or “Ward 8 Community Forums.” I attended most of these meetings, which I estimate in total were fifteen over the course of my field research. I was allowed to record a few of these proceedings; however, DCHA and other government agencies strictly enforced rules around recording. Generally, Farms Public Dwellings community residents constituted roughly a third of the attendees, often outnumbered by government officials, land developers, and service providers. Farms residents were often lured to these events by well-advertised gift card raffles and food provisions for attendees. However, residents were almost never allowed to ask questions about their potential displacement and their return to the property after redevelopment. The sign-in sheets with special markings for residents was guarded at each of these meetings because they alone served as evidence of residents’ full participation in the redevelopment process. Residents’ participation was stipulated by Housing and Urban Development policies and NCI.

I also utilized the community course, “Anthropology, African American Community & Change,” which I offered in 2009 and 2010, as a focus group. Each focus group involved ten to twelve residents who were heads of their households and mostly females from fifty to sixty-five

years of age. I would lead each discussion and topic with, “What do you want other District of Columbia residents to know about the Farms?”

Semi-Structured Interviews

I rounded out my research methods with semi-structured and unstructured interviews during which I asked questions about research participants’ life experiences and their perspectives on community life, development plans, and crime reduction strategies. I also asked questions aimed at understanding the symbolic significance of the community and the value of its proposed redevelopment. This type of questioning stemmed from Lawrence and Low’s (1990: 473–474) note that

the use of metaphor in symbolic analysis of the built [environment] . . . merges the strength of cultural meanings and interpretation with concrete architecture. . . . The built form thus becomes a vehicle for expressing and communicating cultural meaning—that is a meaning system in itself—that is interpreted within the context of . . . social structure.

In order to appreciate the nature of residents’ experiences of suffering as well as their agentive strategies, it was important for me to collect their thoughts and opinions as accurately as possible. I therefore asked interviewees if I could record the interviews using an analog recorder (or digital recorder if I had it on hand) but only after establishing trust. The Farms residents often requested that I not audio record interactions or even make use of a pen and note pad because it symbolically resembled the power government professionals had over their lives. To oblige their request, I would return home as soon as possible to record my notes from the interview and then arrange a follow-up session with the research participant to verify my data. In anticipation of issues with memory and due to an earnest desire to get it right, I sought verification of my notes with my research participants within a timeframe of twenty-four to forty-eight hours, and corrected my notes as necessary. During the verification process, I discovered that some research participants embellished stories, suffered faulty memory, or avoided and disavowed topics they

perceived would create shame or cause harm from the development agents. I also discovered that I was more critical of some events or insights than they were.

Kathryn Borland (1991) notes that data validity can be limited by the listener and the storyteller having conflicting interpretational frames. After processing an oral history collected from an elderly relative, verification of the data revealed a disjuncture between Borland's and her relative's interpretations of events (Borland 1991). Borland wanted to interpret the data through a feminist lens, while her relative determined that her testimony be less charged around gender politics. This caused me to reflect on the precarious positions many of my resident participants were in and how their disclosures were already entangled in a web of politics, to such an extent that it interfered with the data reliability. I found Borland's discussion very instructive, and I often sought out verification of observations with my research participants, but I also evaluated any disclosed testimonies that were later rescinded as possible evidence of fear of governmental retaliation. As with most ethnographic work, I exhaustively triangulated the data collected, and to resolve any uncertainty I had to trust my participants.

Archival Research

Soon after I began volunteering to assist the Farms Public Dwellings resident council, its leaders assigned me the task of providing them with a coherent history of their community. Up until then, the only published history of the Farms was a mere two-to-four page long (see chapter 3; figures 9–12). Written circa mid-twentieth century, perhaps by four unknown authors, this short document emphasized that General Oliver Otis Howard almost single-handedly established the Farms community. The resident council leaders explained at a community meeting called by Coach Carter that so much had transpired since the community had been founded, that they wanted to account for its more immediate past and contemporary “living” history. I welcomed

their request as it aligned with my theoretical and activist approaches to research. As Rodriguez and Baber (2006) note, while most African American urban communities have undergone similar processes of redevelopment, each community has a unique history. The rebranding that usually accompanies redevelopment tends to erase local heritage and history. Collecting and coherently presenting a community history therefore resists such erasures and engenders identity, hope, resilience, and agency.

Following Farmer (2004), I also expected that historicizing the Farms would enable me to capture the structural violence operating over time in the community. Although I did not want to foreclose any other possible analysis, I thought it would be important to demonstrate how structural inequalities had been intentionally built up in their community over time at the hands of external agents. Leveraging the community's history as a site of critical reflection would enable them to debunk the notion that such inequalities are somehow naturally endemic to the culture of low-income public housing residents.

Writing a traditional community history turned out to be a difficult task, since local and national repositories recording Farms history were poorly maintained. I started by collecting material records from public and private repositories that would help me understand factors influencing socioeconomic change prior to the proposed redevelopment. Archival research was conducted at the Anacostia Community Museum of the Smithsonian Institution, Martin Luther King Memorial Library's Washingtonian Collection, and several other repositories of documents pertaining to Farms Public Dwellings.

Oral History Interviews

Archived collections of official documents generally provide evidence of dominant discourses (Blokland 2008), but neglect the voices and histories of subordinated peoples. In

addition to compiling pertinent documentation of Farms history, I collected biographical and social information by conducting oral history interviews amongst Farms Public Dwellings community residents. This data solicitation method requires participants to narrate their lives, taking into consideration special ideas and events that have positively or negatively impacted them. Using the oral history interview method has the unique capacity to embolden participants' levels of agency by giving them the opportunity to carry on a critically reflexive process during the interview (Angrosino 2002).

During the oral history interviews, which were semi-structured and unstructured, I asked interviewees to provide greater details when discussing their community participation (or lack thereof) and their experiences with past and current urban development. I also focused on epochs such as the 1960 riots and the 1980s-crack cocaine epidemic and any experiences of violence during those times. The oral history interviews provided this research historiographic data, as well as information on the suffering of Farms neighborhood over time.

I conducted oral history interviews at each interviewee's private residence or away from the community, as determined by the research participant's level of comfort and safety. Participants' homes proved to be wonderful places to conduct interviews as these intimate spaces allowed me to study the interviewee's private effects and visual cues concerning their social networks. These observations further contributed to my analysis of subject formation and place making in Farms.

In the next chapter, I discuss the history of the Farms neighborhood and the Farms public dwellings development to demonstrate the operation of structural violence. The Farms neighborhood has gone through a series of transformative moments with each moment clearly initiated by and for the interest of the elite. In every case the DC government, whether at the

federal or municipal level, has served the elite's ideological interest. While this research intends to understand the lived experiences of the Farms residents, consistent with Paul Farmer's prescription for anthropological use of the concept of structural violence, I try to provide a fuller picture by bringing into view the perpetrators of this hidden, subtle, chronic, and destructive type of violence and their long use of it. If we understand abject poverty, crime, and violence ahistorically, then those characterized by these conditions are locked outside of time and easily Otherized. I aim to resituate them in time—to normalize them—to humanize their experiences and expressions.

Table 1. Participant Characteristics

| Participant | Biographical identifier | Length of residency | Strength of social ties | Status | Current presence |
|----------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Harriet Jacobs | Community matriarch Resident | 30+ | Strong | Witness of Structural Violence (WitnessSV) | Deceased/ Stevens Road |
| Thelma Jenson | Past resident council president | 30+ | Strong | WitnessSV/Stressed Offender (TSO); Perpetrator of Structural Violence (PerpSV) | Deceased/Sumner Road Displaced from the Farms property |
| Vivian Brown | President of resident council at the conclusion of this research | *5+ | Strong | WitnessSV/TSO Accommodator | Stevens Road/Formal area school teacher |
| Coach Cater | Former recreation center manager | NA | Strong | WitnessSV | Transferred to another Ward 8 recreation center |
| Sammy | South African doctoral student conducting research on sports, peace and conflict | NA | None | NA | Left the community after engaging in extended but unsuccessful community research |
| Julia Snow | President, Farms Investigative Research Group (FIRG)/Residents | 3+ | Weak | WitnessSV/Rebel | Sumner Road/Evicted |
| Phaedra Moore | Camp Organizer/ | 12+ | Strong | WitnessSV/Rebel | Stevens Road |

| Participant | Biographical identifier | Length of residency | Strength of social ties | Status | Current presence |
|--------------------------|----------------------------------------|------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| | Camp2NoWhere | | | Retreater | |
| Sheryl Pennington | Resident | 5 | Strong | WitnessSV/Retreater | Stevens Road |
| Chase Hamilton | Founder of PRISE | New Homeowner | None | PerpSV | Local Area Neighborhood Commissioner |
| Mary Joe-Denver | Resident | 30+ | Strong | WitnessSV/Retreater | Stevens Road |
| Parisa Bonita Norouzi | Director of Empower DC | NA | NA | WitnessSV | Actively organizing Farms residents in guerilla activism |
| Linda McCrae | Farms Tenants Association/ Resident | 20+ | Strong | WitnessSV/Rebel | Stevens Road |
| Patsy Fletcher | Historical preservationist | NA | NA | Historical Preservationist | Recently authored a publication of 18 th and 19 th century Farms Amusement Parks |
| Peggy Wilson | HOPE VI coordinator | NA | NA | PerpSV | DCHA |
| Jelissa Bryant | Resident | 6+ | Weak | WitnessSV Accommodator | Stevens Road/Former Area Neighborhood Commissioner |

| Participant | Biographical identifier | Length of residency | Strength of social ties | Status | Current presence |
|------------------------|--------------------------------------------------|------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Coach Dean Bilal | Recreation center staff and former resident | 40+ | Strong | WitnessSV | Displaced recreation center staff |
| Manager Taylor | Recreation center manager | 1 | None | WitnessSV | Retired recreation center staff |
| Mecca Johnson | Recreation center staff and former resident | 40+ | Strong | WitnessSV | Retained staff for the new recreation center |
| Beverley Goldwater | DCHA official | NA | NA | PerpSV | DMPED/NCI Official |
| Rev. Brockport | Senior pastor Josiah's Baptist Church | NA | Significant | PerpSV | Current Josiah's senior pastor |
| Brian | Former volunteer Farms resident council | 10+ | Significant | PerpSV | Entrepreneur |
| Jason Banks | Founder of Men Against Violence | 20+ | Strong | WitnessSV/TSO | Sumner Road/Relocated resident but current coffin procession |
| Nicola | New resident | 2+ | None | WitnessSV/Accommodator | Sumner Road |
| Margarette Jeminson | Parliamentarian, Resident Council Resident | 30+ | Strong | WitnessSV/TSO Retreater | Stevens Road |

| Participant | Biographical identifier | Length of residency | Strength of social ties | Status | Current presence |
|----------------------------|-----------------------------------------------|------------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Anastasia Konrad | | 4+ | Weak | WitnessSV/ Accommodator | Eaton Road |
| Dianne Dale | Organize of Hillsdale Civic Association | 30+ | None | WitnessSV | Author of <i>The Village that Shaped Us</i> |
| Brenda Richardson | Assistant to the Ward 8 councilman | NA | Weak | NA | Retired Aide, Councilman Marion Barry's Ward 8 Constituents Service Office |
| Gretchen LaGrange | Empower DC | NA | Significant | WitnessSV/Rebel | Ward 8 Public Housing Resident |
| Nathan Bookman | Farms public dwellings property manager | 20 years as manager | NA | PerpSV | Property manager |
| Tinetta Baxter | Resident | 4 | Weak | WitnessSV/Rebel | Firth Sterling Road /Former councilman aid |
| Debrah Jackson | DMPED project manager | NA | NA | PerpSV | Resigned |
| Florence Manilow | Resident Council Treasurer | 18 | Weak | WitnessSV/TSO Innovator/Accommodator | Sumner Road |
| Beverly Lou Lou Lucille | Resident | 20+ | Strong | WitnessSV/Innovator | Stevens Road |

| Participant | Biographical identifier | Length of residency | Strength of social ties | Status | Current presence |
|-------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------|---------------------------------------|
| Stephani Proctor | Resident | 18 | Weak | WitnessSV/TSO | Stevens Road |
| | Local Historian | | | | Non-Resident |
| John Brooks | Resident | NA | Weak | WitnessSV/Retreater | Stevens Road |
| Mr. & Mrs. Foldier | Evicted Resident | 40+ | Strong | WitnessSV | Evicted resident from Stevens Road |
| Granny the Floetress | Resident | 15+ | Strong | WitnessSV/ | Eaton Road |
| Tyrone | | ≤10 | Strong | WitnessSV/Innovator | |

CHAPTER 3

HISTORY MATTERS: AS IT IS BEST SUITED TO REVEAL
THE NATURE, CONTINUITY, AND ACCUMULATIVE
EFFECTS OF STRUCTURAL VIOLENCE
IN THE FARMS

Anthropologists and the natives they study have become acutely sensitive to the liabilities, lessons, and license that might be derived from the past, whether it be personal, disciplinary, or “ethnic.”

—Anthropologist James D. Faubion (1993, 36)

Neither people nor the places they dwell come to be as they are at any moment in time as the result of a single event. Rather, their conditions are the result of complex and competing social processes whose effects accrue over time, and which are initiated by policies and practices of dominant groups. Beyond the Boasian brand of anthropology, anthropological attention to the historiography of people’s myths, worldviews, social practices, and rituals as they experience structural violence is urgently needed.⁷⁵ Stated differently, anthropologists’ attention to the very social phenomena that produce much of our subject matter, particularly forms of racialized and entrenched poverty, has not kept pace with the ferocity of the elite’s structural violence and erasure of history. In this chapter, I examine the nature and impact of structural violence over four temporal and transformative moments as it operated against the Farms area’s shifting populations and the communities therein created. The intention here is to make visible how structural violence operated and accumulated to produce the deep social inequality characteristic

75. According to Boas, each cultural phenomenon we anthropologists study is historically constituted and situated. Boas called this orientation historical particularism (Peoples and Bailey 2011).

of the Farms AAUG. This chapter makes clear that social policies and practices of federal, state, and local governments deliberately produced the Farms Public Dwellings' *ghettoization* and that these policies and practices were and are driven by the elite's ideological interest (in tandem with economic interests) and facilitated by the state.

James Faubion (1993) intimated that any discipline such as anthropology that is so invested in expositions, articulations, depictions, and portrayals of cultural systems must attend to history unless it deliberately intends to exoticize or "Other" its subject matter. He writes that the increased resonance of history in anthropology "is by no means the index of a purely intellectual turning, but just as much an ethical, moral and political turning" (1993, 44).

The social justice pivot toward history is further demonstrated in Paul Farmer's (2003, 2004) use of the structural violence concept in analyzing geographies of inequality between core and periphery countries. Farmer calls for anthropological accounts of the antecedent forces that contribute to violent inequality.⁷⁶ Guided by Farmer's use of the concept of structural violence, in this chapter I bring into view the actual agents and practices of structural violence that have operated in the Farms community but been concealed by the passing of time and narratives of cultural pathology.

Brett Williams (2001), in considering the spoiling of the Anacostia River, which rises and falls with each tide emanating from the Chesapeake Bay, demonstrates the value of examining sites of environmental degradation, inequality, and segregation over time. Williams utilizes a combined political ecology/economy framework that links transformations in the environment to social practices that privilege WSC ideologies of nation building and wealth accumulation (exchange value) at the expense of indigenous people's lives and relationships to each other and

76. See chapter 1 for a more detailed discussion of Farmer's utilization of the structural violence concept.

their land (use value). This chapter takes a cue from Williams by examining the Farms Public Dwellings community over four transformative moments.⁷⁷ These transformative moments center on: (1) the extermination of the area's indigenous peoples, and the policies and practices it involved; (2) the importation of African slaves and the forceful extraction of their labor; (3) the rise of the Jim Crow social order as a means to maintain social advantage for White Americans and disadvantage for blacks; and (4) the proliferation of crack cocaine and guns in black and Latino/a communities, followed by mass incarceration and the eradication of public housing, through the exercise of the punitive and disciplining power of the state. The fourth transformative moment signifies the deepening of structural violence and a re-articulation of the racial binary into a new spatially located binary characterized by culture and class in the Farms Public Dwellings community. A significant shift in the WSC–NWIO relationship occurred during the fourth transformative moment with the development of a postracial strategy intended to obscure the significance of race and racism. The shift toward emphasizing class and culture allowed a select demographic of the African American population (namely the black middle class) to enjoy increased, albeit provisional, citizenship. I should note here and elsewhere in this document, that while I cover some members of the African American middle-class as complicit agent perpetrators of structural violence, I don't want to misrepresent them as the key actors of structural violence. In fact, it is only due to the salience of racism and the stratification of the WSC group that I have immediate access to members of the African American middle-class but

77. I make use of the documented historical record and the instructional guidance offered in a series of guided tours by the Farms neighborhood historian John Brooks to emphasize the ideological nature of these transformations. While I determine here that ideology precedes material interest, I also understand that material interest works in tandem with ideology. For example, in the Farms community, Western superior cultural ideology facilitates the appropriation of surplus and exchange value and provides it with logical cover.

no access to other key White Washingtonians (see chapter six). However, the new emphasis on culture and class allowed White supremacy to ravage TTDO lives and produced terrible results for the TTDOs living at the Farms.⁷⁸

Following Farmer's (2003, 2004) prescription for the study of contemporary inequality and oppression, the anthropological researcher must try to trace the actions of structural violence historically. This chapter therefore reviews the history of the Farms as a necessary preliminary to analyzing the effects of structural violence on the community. Specifically, this chapter demonstrates how local and federal government agencies produced the Farms community as a ghetto form, namely an AAUG. The historical record reveals that structural violence is a functional component of this WSC–NWIO/TTDO binary. This social binary treats the Farms as the antithesis of the mainstream District of Columbia and, by extension, the dominant Western society. This chapter further shows that NWIOs and the subset of TTDOs continually demonstrate the capacity to create and recreate themselves as dignified people. Their dignity inherently produces tension within the binary, which the WSC responds to by amplifying structural violence.

The Anacostians: Erasing the Anacostians and Spoiling the Land

Because structural violence can be direct or indirect, the first instance of structural violence in the mid-Atlantic region was the seventeenth-century invasion by Europeans, combined with the assault, displacement, or outright extermination of the indigenous peoples who resided there. Two large-scale chiefdoms in the Chesapeake-Potomac region were roughly

78. These ebbs, flows, and consistent uses of structural violence should be understood as occurring within the context of an expanding military industrial complex with both national and imperial ambitions. It is worth noting that the Farms community is surrounded by several military installations.

divided where the Patuxent River connects with the Potomac River. An Iroquois-affiliated group known as the Susquehannocks had settled the northern area, while an Algonquin group had settled the southern portion of the Potomac, including areas along the eastern branch, later named the Anacostia River.⁷⁹ The Anacostian Natives (as they were referred to by Europeans) resided in seminomadic bands of eighty to a hundred people in the summer and composite bands of two hundred fifty to three hundred people in the winter seasons. They conducted their livelihoods through a mixture of foraging, cultivation, and trade. Louis Scisco (1955) notes that their settlements stretched from Little Falls, north on the Potomac, through the Anacostia River to the south at Oxon Creek. Each band had a distinct name (e.g., Doags, Nacothchtank, Moyaones), but Europeans categorized them collectively as Anacostian, an Anglicized version of “Nacothchtank.”

Louise Hutchinson notes that the term “Anacostian” (i.e., “Nacothchtank”) means “village of traders,” and that there is some evidence that the mid-Atlantic region’s most important trading center was on the flatlands near what is now the intersection of Good Hope Road and MLK Ave (1977). See Figure 6 for an example of what their settlement might have looked like. During the installation of the metropolitan rail station in the Farms neighborhood, archaeologists collected more than one hundred thousand artifacts that provided a glimpse into the life of early Anacostian Natives and African American homesteaders. Among the artifacts are thousands of indigenous arrowheads and spear points, some of which date back more than six

79. To the south are the areas settled by the Piscataway people in what is now southern Maryland and the Pamunkey people in what is now Virginia.

thousand years.⁸⁰ Other than these artifacts, scant details exist in the public record on the Anacostian Natives' lifeways.

Colonial records focus on conflict and conquest among the Anacostians. There is some debate concerning whether the Anacostian Natives were members of the Iroquois to the north or fully affiliated with the Algonquin to the south, or whether they were independent or simply shifted their alliances often and as necessary (Anacostia Community Museum 2010; Apidta 1996; Hutchinson 1977; Vaughn 1978). However, the fact that they were still an extant community a hundred years after the arrival of English colonists, but had disappeared by the 1800s, indicates that a seismic human crisis occurred as a consequence of the encounter. Alden T. Vaughn writes that the Western policy on both sides of the Atlantic toward native peoples was “unrestrained enmity and almost total separation” (1978, 58). Vaughn further captures the virulent antipathy of the English colonists toward the American Natives through his examination of public decrees by leading colonists. For example, Virginia Governor Francis Wyatt declared in the early seventeenth century, “Our first worke is expulsion of the Salvages . . . for it is infinitely better to have no heathen among us, who at best were but thornes in our sides, than to be at peace and league with them” (quoted by Vaughn 1978, 58).

80 Also discovered were cooking utensils, bones, buttons, and soda pop containers belonging to the early African American homesteaders of the Farms (“Before the Anacostia Metro Station: A Look at Indian Life and the Barry Farm Settlement” 1985). Note that the area is referred to variously as, for example, “Barry’s Farm” or “Barry Farms,” in the public record. In discussing any source, I use the source spelling, but otherwise I use “Barry Farms” or the current local names (e.g., “the Farms”), as already explained.



Figure 6. Native American Village of Pomeiooc by John White (Courtesy Anacostia Museum).

The American historian Gary B. Nash writes, “Just as Europeans saw in Africa and Africans not what actually existed but what their prior experience and needs dictated, so in America the image of the [Natives] was molded by the nature of colonization and the inner requirements of adventuring Englishmen” (1972, 197). Vaughan (1978) describes the inherent violence in the English colonists’ interest regarding the Anacostian Natives, which he sums up as: (1) to convert them to the Christian faith; (2) to trade their wares and other commodities from the “new world” including enslaved Native Americans in Europe; and (3) to conquer them. When conquest failed, they simply expelled them from their lands wherever they were in proximity to the colonists (Vaughn 1978).

The Farms' history begins in an ominous moment of Native American genocide. In 1608, Captain John Smith sailed north along the Potomac from the English settlement in Jamestown, Virginia, with an exploration team that subsequently made the first colonial contact with the Anacostian Natives. Smith, who actively participated in the campaign to massacre the indigenous populations in and around Jamestown, Virginia, now set his avaricious sights on the land and wealth of the Anacostia region.⁸¹ John Smith's disposition toward Natives is reflected in his comment that "the Warres in Europe, Asia, and Affrica taught me how to subdue the wilde Salvages in Virginia" (quoted by Vaughn 1978, 63). Smith found the Anacostian Natives to be very hospitable and to be living in an environment beneficial to the wellbeing and sustenance of the English colonists, he recorded in his journal, "I have no doubt that this initial contact was anything less than agreeable" (quoted by Louis 1955, 22).⁸² Yet, he went on to organize some of the first terroristic campaigns against the Anacostia Indians' southernmost band, the Moyaones.

Early European colonists carried out aggression against the Anacostian Natives and other indigenous groups for another hundred years. By the time the US Congress passed the Residence Act on July 16, 1790, which designated the new seat of national government to be on the Potomac River, the Anacostian Natives had been displaced. Because of English policy, Anacostian Natives had totally disappeared from what is now considered the Farms neighborhood by the close of the eighteenth century.⁸³

81. Smith was also motivated by the hope of propagating trade and mercantilism among the indigenous population (Nash 1972).

82. In 1632, fur trader Henry Fleet also observed that the Anacostian Natives were hospitable and prosperous-seeming (Anacostia Community Museum 2010).

83. In an effort to delink the assumed relationship between racial minorities and crime in the United States, Shaun Gabbidon and Helen Greene (2012) chronicle criminal trends and patterns of all demographic groups (White, African American, Native American, Asian, and Latino/a) as well as provide a detailed description of their victimization. Sadly, Native Americans tend to have high rates of alcoholism and domestic violence, which might be

Unfortunately, Smith's bellicosity toward the Anacostian Natives continues to be hidden behind well-constructed myths, such as the famous story of Pocahontas and John Rolfe's romance.⁸⁴ The systematic annihilation of Native Americans is veiled by more odious myths such as that of the Thanksgiving feast.⁸⁵ As noted in chapter 1, myths are ideological devices intended to orient worldviews, policies, practices, and identities. These origin myths support the practice among Westerners of erasing historical evidence of the structural violence they have committed against others. Such erasures serve to validate the notions of WSC groups, who excelled and progressed while savage others fail and regressed.

taken to justify notions of devolved cultural tendencies. Yet Gabbidon and Greene astutely connect these present-day tendencies to historical abuse. They note that from 1790 to the mid-1800s, more than three hundred treaties that were signed between European Americans and Native Americans were breached by and in the interest of the former. They particularly highlight the following policies: (1) The Indian Removal Act of 1830 enacted into law by Congress, which stipulated that Native Americans dwelling in the eastern region of the country were to be forcibly moved west of the Mississippi River, as exemplified in the subsequent Trail of Tears ordeal. (2) During the same year of this federally sponsored displacement program, the Bureau of Indian Affairs was instituted to aid Native Americans' acculturation to Western culture. Among other strategies to achieve this goal, Native American youth were forcibly sent to Christian boarding schools. (3) In 1887, the Dawes Act provided that Native Americans be provided with reservation lands—many of which have since been raided for mineral deposits and/or polluted by US energy industries and now are too dangerous for human habitation. (4) The Indian Citizenship Act of 1924 granted Native Americans dubious American citizenship, and the 1934 Indian Reorganization Act allowed Native Americans rights to establish their own cultural and civil institutions and tribal governments. (5) In the early 1950s, Congress enacted the policy entitled "Termination," which sought to end the reservation system and Native Americans' "privileged" relationship with the federal government. And finally, (6) in 1975, Congress enacted the Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act, which increased aid for education and other infrastructural needs to reservations (Gabbidon and Greene 2016).

84. During the first half of the twentieth century, American anthropologists devoted much intellectual energy to salvaging the cultures of Native Americans and challenging myths depicting the peace and tranquility of the colonists and savagery of the Natives (Peoples and Bailey 2011).

85. Ostensibly the greatest myth that obscures the actual posture of the English colonists toward the Native Americans is captured in the American tradition of Thanksgiving. The Thanksgiving tradition is thought to have begun in Plymouth, Massachusetts and Jamestown, Virginia around the same time of Virginia's 1622 Massacre. President George Washington issued a 1789 proclamation that formally recognized the Thanksgiving tradition, without mention of the settlers' atrocities toward Native Americans. It was not until approximately three-quarters of a century later, during the US Civil War, that President Abraham Lincoln declared Thanksgiving a national holiday in 1863 with the hopes of unifying the country. The holiday of Thanksgiving that we ritualistically observe every year on the last Thursday in November conveys a harmonious and collegial encounter between European colonists and Native Americans. This myth was completely seared into the American cultural psyche by the early 1900s.

The relationship between Native Americans and the federal government appears volatile and erratic at best. Some Farms residents I spoke with regarding the Farms redevelopment tend to draw on the experiences of the Anacostian Natives at the hands of the White majority as reason enough to distrust the local government's expressed intentions to improve their life conditions through redevelopment and temporary relocation. To give but one example, while I was interviewing a new resident by the name of Nicola at the Big Chair Coffee Bar and Grill, a White couple entered the establishment, passing many empty booths to sit near us on the second level. After inquiring whether we were conducting a recorded interview and committing to speak at a lower volume, they began to engage in very boisterous chatter and laughter. Nicola, who I would classify as a short-term Farms resident with weak-to-no social ties and a witness of violence, turned to address the couple in frustration, but I stopped her as I imagined that any confrontation would escalate into a greater conflict. We reluctantly decided to suspend the interview when Nicola exclaimed, "I guess us Indians don't have any rights these days with this planned gentrification and all!"

While Nicola was more concerned about sharing her story, and recruiting me as an advocate against the questionable accounting practices of the Farms Public Dwellings management office, this fleeting remark suggested her awareness of and political linking of the Farms Public Dwellings community residents' situation to the displacement suffered by the Anacostian Natives at the hands of Westerners. Moreover, the comment conveyed the wariness of Farms residents toward the NCI plan.

The District of Columbia's Enslavement,
Emancipation, and Betrayal
of African Americans

The enslavement of Africans represents the second transformative moment in Farms history. The loss of the Anacostian Natives resulted in the drying up of the fur trade and the export of other indigenous goods via the Virginia Company of London, leading to the company's bankruptcy (Hutchinson 1977; Louis 1955; Williams 2001). Wealth production shifted heavily to land speculation and crop cultivation, especially of tobacco. The Western system of private property and ownership entitled individuals to tracts of land that they could use for agriculture and speculative development (Anacostia Community Museum 2010). East of the Anacostia River, early land owners included George Thompson, who gained title to the Blue Plains tract, which today houses the Blue Plains Advance Wastewater Treatment Plant that discharges phosphorus and nitrogenous chemicals, among other toxins, into the Anacostia River; Thomas Dent, who owned the Giesborough tract, which currently is the site of The Heights (i.e., the Congress Heights neighborhood); John Charman was the owner of the St. Elizabeth tract, which included the land of St. Elizabeths east and west campuses and the Farms neighborhood community; and John Meeks had title to the Chichester tract, which currently is the site of Union (i.e., Uniontown) and Anacostia (Anacostia Community Museum 2010).

These tracts of land were subsequently divided up, with the exception of St. Elizabeths' east and west campuses. In general, the parcels of land have passed through the hands of several owners up to the present time. While the initial owners were generally speculators and crop producers, other early landowners sought respite in the area from the burgeoning District of Columbia. Regardless of the motivation of those who perpetrated the violence involved in acquiring ownership and shaping the land to their desires, the tracts required intensive labor to clear them of forest and till their soil. This demand was met by indentured servants and enslaved

African Americans who functioned as human cattle that were imported to do the work. Slavery might have been only faintly present in the Anacostia region during the late seventeenth to early eighteenth centuries, but by the beginning of the nineteenth century it was in full swing as a principal mid-Atlantic region economic enterprise (Louis 1955).

Slavery profoundly influenced the development of the United States. Take, for example, the American Revolutionary War—widely held to be a war of independence and resistance against Great Britain’s tyrannical governance of the English colonists. The common understanding of this war suggests that it was a response to Great Britain’s infringement on the English colonists’ personal freedoms through illegal searches and seizures as well as oppressive taxing schemes. However, a substantially understudied factor was the impact of the 1772 *Somersset v. Steuart* decision, which called for an end to slavery. This legal decision, issued by the English Court of King’s Bench, held that there was no basis for chattel slavery of Africans in English Common Law.⁸⁶ This decision reverberated across the Atlantic, but the 1787 Constitutional Convention made no effort to resolve the issue of slavery except for two considerations. First, the constitution clarified how to count enslaved laborers for the apportioning of seats in the House of Representatives, and, second, the constitution clarified the federal government’s responsibility to return escaped slaves—the Fugitive Slave Laws.⁸⁷

Slavery particularly flourished within the two states that ceded land toward the creation of the District of Columbia, namely the states of Virginia and Maryland. Captain and merchant

86. Great Britain subsequently ended the trans-Atlantic trafficking of slaves in 1807 and abolished slavery within its jurisdiction entirely by 1833. See Gerald Horne’s (2014:3) publication on the American Revolution for a more detailed discussion of this point. Great Britain’s satellite colonies in North America were subject to English law and custom, and the impact of this decision must have factored into the American Revolutionary War.

87. By 1793, Congress had authorized the Fugitive Slave Laws, which mandated that the federal government enforce the return of escaped slaves even from territories or states that did not allow slavery.

James D. Barry of Baltimore, Maryland decided to relocate to the newly formed District of Columbia. He purchased half of the 750-acre St. Elizabeth tract (i.e., 375 acres) in 1800. He also commissioned the Irish architect James Hoban, who had designed and overseen the construction of the White House, to build his family home on Poplar Point.⁸⁸ He then set up a tobacco plantation and purchased slaves to work on it.⁸⁹

The Barry plantation cultivated tobacco through the first three decades of the nineteenth century. The tobacco had a hard impact on the land, causing the depletion of nutritive elements in the soil and leading to erosion when rain washed the depleted soil into the Anacostia River, which quickly began to silt up. The rains washed away the material basis of American slavery east of the Anacostia River, and the increasingly shallow river ceased to be able to convey cargo-filled ships down to the Potomac River and into the Chesapeake Bay. Some English cultivators tethered to their dreams of growing rich off the land shifted their crop production from tobacco to fruits and vegetables such as corn. However, others increasingly contracted their slaves out to meet labor needs west of the Anacostia River, such as for the infrastructural development of the District of Columbia.⁹⁰

Two Farms' area installations were built using a significant number of slaves, namely the Navy Yard, built in 1798, and St. Elizabeths Hospital (St. Es), built in 1852. Although there is no direct evidence that the source of slaves for these projects was the Barry plantation, it is

88. Hoban also oversaw the construction of the Capitol after its principal architect, William Thornton, died.

89. Little is known about the lifeways of slaves on the Barry plantation or in neighboring communities, but the history of slavery west of the Anacostia River provides some insight into their dreadful life circumstances (J. Davis 1998; Ron 2013).

90. Apidta (1996) explains that immediately after the location of the District of Columbia was determined, many of the local plantation owners (some of whom were founding figures in the fledgling government) were compensated \$66.66 per acre, plus additional contracts to have their slave laborers build the city alongside indentured Irish laborers.

reasonable to assume that local slaves were used because transporting slaves from afar was costly. Louise Daniel Hutchinson (1977) notes that James Barry's social network included George Washington and that Barry used his connections to gain an appointment to the Board of Trustees for Public Schools, and in 1802 was elected president of the First Chamber of the City Council. Again, it is reasonable to assume that he would have exploited any economic development leads and the opportunity to contract out his slaves for projects west of the Anacostia River.

At the time, there was little interest in developing the area east of the Anacostia River. Well into the mid-twentieth century, Union, Anacostia, the Farms, and The Heights remained a sparsely populated rural area, with a topology of hills and dales. The lack of development east of the Anacostia continued with a few exceptions, namely St. Es, the Farms original homestead, and Union. In 1854, the Uniontown Land Association (ULA), owned by John Fox, John Dobbler, and John Van Hook, conceived a planned community east of the Anacostia River and purchased a 100-acre section of the Chichester tract for \$19,000. Similar to the current land speculations surrounding the St. Es redevelopment for use by US Homeland Security, the three Johns imagined that the area's Navy Yard and St. Es would create a demand for proximate land and housing accommodations. They subdivided the section into a grid of seven hundred rectangular 24 x 130 foot lots. They advertised the land to the White laborers employed just across the river at the Navy Yard (and perhaps St. Es) with a marketing scheme that promised modest monthly installment payments suitable for blue collar laborers, open spacious land with nearby access to downtown District of Columbia, and a racially homogenous community thanks to restrictive covenants that prohibited the sale, transfer, or inheritance of Uniontown properties to racial and religious minorities including African Americans and in some cases Irish.

The development of Union represents the first linkage of race to geography in the area, and gives a glimpse of the racial binary. Racially restrictive covenants, in particular, deeply impacted the District of Columbia's demographic dispersion and its built forms. Before this moment, the racial-spatial binary had not been as legible due to the nature of slavery within American society. Although enslaved laborers were subjugated, they had been integrated into the private spaces of the dominant White society. The covenants, however, forced free African Americans into crowded and disinvested neighborhoods within a few geographically limited sections of the District of Columbia such as Shaw, and later the Farms, east of the Anacostia River. These restrictive residential policies along with other racially discriminatory economic and development practices created environments of dense residential pockets of poverty, crime, and pestilence.⁹¹ Furthermore, the concentration of free African Americans into restricted zones marked African American social practices as distinct from and opposed to those of the dominant society.

Both free and enslaved African Americans resided within the District of Columbia. The 1850 census lists approximately eight thousand five hundred free African Americans and four thousand seven hundred slaves. By 1862, the number of slaves recorded for the District of Columbia had dropped to three thousand one hundred.⁹² Prior to the 1862 Compensated

91. The Supreme Court, in 1917, held in the *Buchanan v. Warley* decision that racially restrictive covenants as ordinances ordered by local municipalities violated the Fourteenth Amendment and were therefore unconstitutional. White homeowners desirous of exclusively White communities then entered into private agreements that prohibited selling, transferring, or bequeathing property to African Americans. The Supreme Court rejected a challenge to this private arrangement of discrimination in the 1926 *Corrigan v. Buckley* case. The Corrigan challenge was based on a case in the District of Columbia. However, in the 1948 *Shelley v. Kramer* Supreme Court case, the court found in favor of the petitioners' challenge to racially restrictive covenants, saying that restrictive covenants were not enforceable by the courts. The lawyers who represented the petitioners in *Shelley v. Kramer* found further victory in the now celebrated *Brown v. Board of Education* decision less than a decade later. I will discuss racially restrictive covenants further in this chapter.

92. See the "Emancipation" page of Washington DC's government website at <http://emancipation.dc.gov/>

Emancipation Act, the quality of life of African Americans (then referred to as Negroes) was at best precarious. From 1808 through 1821, Congress enacted a set of local codes that restricted their freedom of movement in the District of Columbia. Free African Americans had to be able to produce evidence of their status at all times and whenever questioned by authorities.

Moreover, they had to be off public streets in the District of Columbia by ten o'clock at night, and, irrespective of the hour, avoid the ensnarement of slave catchers.⁹³ Nevertheless, the conditions of slavery in the District of Columbia were considered at the time to be moderate because enslaved laborers could market their excess labor and might eventually earn enough to purchase their freedom.

From 1820 to the early 1830s, abolitionists flooded the US Capitol with petitions requesting the end to slavery in the District of Columbia if not throughout the entire country.⁹⁴ Around the same time, a series of slave insurrections increased the violence visited upon African Americans living in the District of Columbia.⁹⁵ White abolitionists, free African Americans, and

(last accessed June 2015).

93. Slave catching is now providing a profitable narrative for Hollywood in the movie *12 Years a Slave*. This dramatic period movie details the real-life story of a free man, Solomon Northup, who was kidnapped in the District of Columbia and sold to a plantation in New Orleans. It would take twelve years for Northup to be rescued and returned ("For Northup of '12 Years a Slave,' Family Determined to Fulfill Final Wish," *Al Jazeera*, <http://america.aljazeera.com/watch/shows/america-tonight/america-tonight-blog/2014/1/17/for-subject-of-12yearsaslave150yearsincorrectgrave.html>, last accessed November 2015).

94. By 1836, Congress issued a gag order prohibiting anyone from addressing the abolition of slavery. It was rescinded in 1846.

95. The most significant were those instigated by Gabriel Prosser in Virginia in 1800, Denmark Vesey in South Carolina in 1820, and Nat Turner in Virginia in 1831. In addition, the 1835 Snow Riots and the 1848 Pearl Incident raised tensions between ethnic Europeans and African Americans. The Snow Riots involved the alleged sexual assault of Anne Maria Thornton, the widow of William Thornton, the architect of the US Capitol, by her live-in slave Arthur Bowen. Bowen allegedly attacked Thornton at her 1300 F Street NW residence and was subsequently arrested and taken to the local city jail. An angry Irish mob assembled at the jail to lynch Bowen, but unable to access him they turned their ire on the nearby businesses of African Americans, including a restaurant owned by Beverly Snow. Snow escaped with his life, but his business was ransacked and other free African Americans were assaulted and maimed in the uproar (Apidita 1996).

Thirteen years after the Snow Riots, the Pearl Incident took place. Seventy-five adult and child slaves were

slaves found slavery to be morally indefensible and therefore actively resisted what Higginbotham (1995) summarizes as the ten precepts of American slavery jurisprudence, which were to: (1) maintain black inferiority against White superiority; (2) deny the humanity of blacks and designate and treat them as property; (3) keep blacks whether free or enslaved powerless; (4) ensure racial purity and criminalize miscegenation; (5) confine free blacks and campaign against slaves' manumission; (6) grant no juridical rights to blacks and keep slaves in a perpetually uncivilized state'; (7) deny blacks education and culture; (8) impose Christianity upon blacks; (9) defend against violent resistance; and (10) exhaust all measures, whether violent or peaceful, to maximize the full wealth potential slavery offers.

The District of Columbia was located between upper and lower southern slave states and therefore was a strategically important place for the commerce and transport of slaves. In fact, the early founders of the District of Columbia were very active in this peculiar human commerce, as Apidta notes: "An assortment of interstate traders operated from the many tavern barrooms in [the District of Columbia] and the largest slave trading firm in the country, Franklin & Armfield, was headquartered [there]. During the decade of 1830, [the District of Columbia] was called 'the very seat and center' of the slave-trade in the United States" (1996, 14). Indeed, the two largest slave depots in the mid-Atlantic region were in the port cities of Georgetown and Alexandria, both of which had been incorporated into the District of Columbia during its early formation.⁹⁶

being taken north to free lands on a ship commanded by Captain Edward Sayers and commissioned by Daniel Drayton. They were caught midway and returned to the District of Columbia for punishment, which included the slaves being sold south to New Orleans and Georgian plantations.

96. Alexandria was returned to Virginia at the request of the state's citizens. Many reasons were given for the 1846 retrocession of the land but the most relevant was that Virginia wanted to regain control over the Alexandria slave depot. The slave industry had flourished in both ports, but the Georgetown port had received favorable investments and support from Congress, whereas Alexandria had not. Alexandria feared that northern, antislavery legislative members of Congress would successfully eradicate slavery from the District of Columbia. As a result, they took back Alexandria's thirty-one-square-mile area, distorting the District of Columbia's once perfect

By 1850, the antislavery North and proslavery South had reached a congressional agreement known as the 1850 Compromise or the Missouri Compromise. It prohibited slave trafficking in the District of Columbia and the expansion of slavery to free states annexed to the nation. Sadly, this compromise also fortified the Fugitive Slave Act, which mandated that the federal government take an active role in capturing and returning escaped slaves, many of whom tried to shelter in Underground Railroad depots located in the District of Columbia. Under the authority of the Fugitive Slave Act, slave catchers operated with impunity, capturing mostly free African Americans and sending them to plantations as far north as the state of Delaware and as far south as the state of Louisiana.

The 1850 Compromise was short-lived because the Supreme Court in the 1857 *Dred Scott v. Sanford* landmark decision ruled that Congress had no authority to regulate slavery in any free territory. The majority opinion, rendered by Justice Roger B. Taney, also declared African Americans were not entitled to citizenship or to act as petitioners before American courts. This ruling jeopardized the free settlements of African Americans and their belief that the moral authority of democracy would bring a sudden end to slavery. What now amounted to a national impasse between the North and the South would only be resolved through a bloody civil war.

The US Civil War lasted from 1861 through 1865 and resulted in more than sixty thousand combined casualties.⁹⁷ St Elizabeths (St. Es) temporarily became an army-navy hospital for wounded US soldiers. Mid-conflict, President Abraham Lincoln signed the 1862

diamond configuration.

97. African Americans from the District of Columbia who fought in the Civil War numbered 3,269 (Hutchinson 1977).

Compensated Emancipation Act that freed slaves in the District of Columbia and compensated their former owners for compliance.⁹⁸ Lincoln then extended the scope of this Emancipation Proclamation to the rest of the country, without stipulating compensation, on January 1, 1863. The results were the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Amendments to the Constitution, which nullified the language of slavery that had been in the 1787 version and granted citizenship to all naturalized and born Americans. The 13th Amendment; however, included a clause that allowed for the re-enslavement of African Americans as criminal for trivial offenses, such as loitering under vagrancy laws.

In the decade following the Civil War, African Americans poured into the District of Columbia by the tens of thousands.⁹⁹ They strained the carrying capacity of the already crowded areas assigned to African Americans for settlement, particularly west of the Anacostia River. For example, despite the fact that nearly all the lots in Union (672 out of 700) had been sold to White owners by this time, only eleven percent of those lots (i.e., fewer than eighty) had been settled by White families, while in sharp contrast nearly five hundred African American families had settled in the Farms neighborhood by 1865 (Hutchinson 1977).

In early 1865, Congress established the Freedmen's Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands (hereafter, the Freedmen's Bureau) and assigned this agency the principal task of aiding ex-slaves of southern states into citizenship. Congress placed the Freedmen's Bureau under the leadership of General Oliver Otis Howard on May 20, 1865. Howard determined that his mandate included assisting ex-slaves in acquiring land and education and legal protection

98 This act granted each slaveholder \$300 for each slave and set the slave free. It also provided \$100 to each former slave who decided to emigrate from the United States to Haiti or Liberia.

99. According to District of Columbia historical preservation officer Patsy Fletcher, the city was affectionately known to African Americans as Lincoln's Town. The legacy of Lincoln's emancipation continues in the District of Columbia and is enshrined as a municipal holiday (<http://emancipation.dc.gov/> 2015).

from former slave states (Hutchinson 1977). The language of the Freedmen's Bill as interpreted by Howard caused him to appropriate all abandoned land held by former confederate states and to divide these lands up among the four million newly freed and southern African Americans.

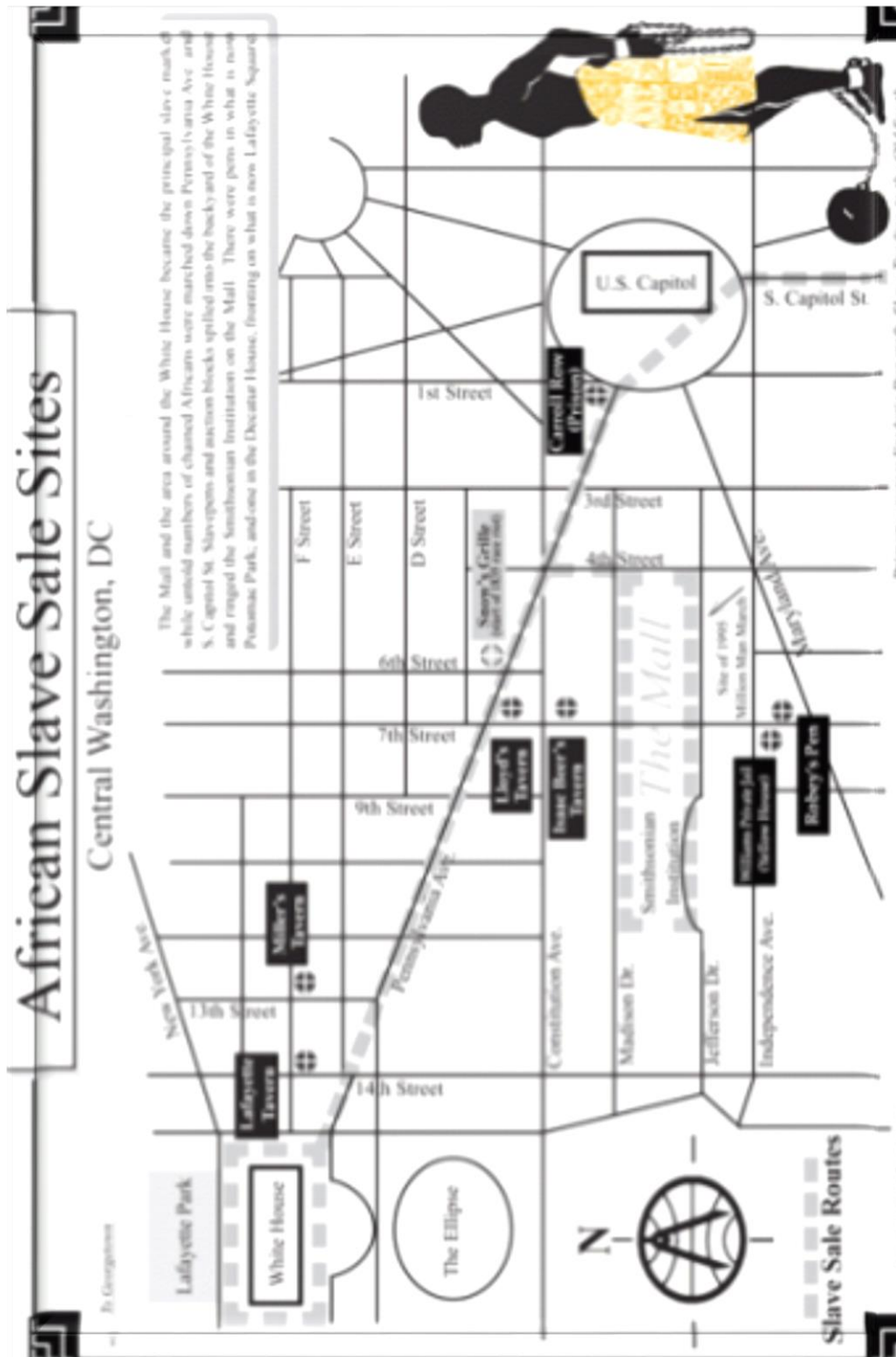


Figure 8. Map Showing Historical District of Columbia (Washington, DC) Slave Markets. Courtesy of the *Hidden History of Washington, DC: A Guide for Black Folks* (Apidta 1996).

President Lincoln said in his second inaugural address that the national path he envisioned would be one of “malice toward none; with charity for all; with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in; to bind up the nation’s wounds” (Abraham Lincoln 2015). However, before Lincoln could shepherd through his vision, which included making African Americans whole citizens, he was assassinated on April 14, 1865 at Ford’s Theatre in the District of Columbia. His successor, Andrew Johnson, a southerner and former slave owner, immediately began to weaken the authority and functions of the Freedmen’s Bureau as he considered its work a violation of states’ rights and a fomenting factor of dependency among the newly freed African Americans. Finally, he deemed it in violation of conventional rules regarding private property (Nieman 1978).¹⁰⁰ Without federal protection and the guaranteed provision of land, the freedom enjoyed by African Americans faded with the rise of Andrew Johnson’s southern state amnesty policy. Ironically, Johnson’s actions revealed the true dependency of southern Whites on exploited African American labor.

Despite Johnson’s antipathy toward the Freedmen’s Bureau (which Congress abandoned altogether in 1872), in 1867, Howard secured the assistance of a local businessman, John R. Elvans, to negotiate purchase of the Barry family’s 375-acre tract for \$52,000. (A road in the Farms was later named in honor of Elvans. See Figure 12 for other streets named after abolitionists and leaders of the Freedmen’s Bureau.) The Bureau divided the Barry plantation into 375 one-acre lots to be sold for \$125 to \$300 each, which could be paid in installments, to free African Americans and ex-slaves. This represented somewhat of a travesty of Howard’s envisioned land provisions, as it did not provide the promised free forty acres and a mule as

100. Donald G. Neiman (1978) chronicles the tug-of-war relationship between Johnson and Howard and Johnson’s successful efforts to weaken the Freedmen’s Bureau.

compensation for slavery, but rather sold the land to ex-slaves.¹⁰¹ The Farms plantation nevertheless became the first Freedman's Village in the nation.¹⁰²

Despite the loss of land provisions and the rise of a revanchist confederacy over African American southern lives, Hutchinson observes that rapid growth and development occurred in the Farms homestead. She writes, "Men with families and also women—both with children and single—purchased the land eagerly" (1977, 83). She describes the industriousness of people living at the Farms: "The hills and valleys were dotted with lights. . . . [T]he sound of hoe, pick, rake, shovel, saw and hammer rang through the late hours of the night" (83). Early Farms residents were some of the most industrious citizens in the District of Columbia. Hutchinson noted that the Farms men worked in farming, gardening, blacksmithing, carpentry, and construction to name a few areas. The men also worked at St. Es, the Navy Yard, and other major developments throughout the District of Columbia, although crossing the river made them vulnerable to attack.¹⁰³ Women primarily worked in laundry services, as seamstresses, and in culinary work. To supplement incomes or to live independently, many residents developed successful entrepreneurial endeavors including food services, paint shops, mortuary services, architectural design, grocery stores, and so on. As a result and "in spite of the faltering labor market and the national depressions of 1873 and 1893, [Farms] residents fared better than many

101. The proceeds were used as capital to develop Howard University (District of Columbia), Virginia Union (Richmond, Virginia), and St. Augustine University (Raleigh, North Carolina). The US Congress chartered Howard University on March 2, 1867 (it was named for General Oliver Otis Howard, who served as the institution's third president).

102. The second Freedman's Village was situated nearby, on the site of what is now the Arlington National Cemetery.

103. The Anacostia Museum displays news clippings dating from the late nineteenth century well into the twentieth century that report physical assaults on African Americans living east of the river as they attempted to traverse the 11th Street bridge for contract labor. (It is difficult to determine the sources of these clippings as they are mostly without the periodical's title or other identifiers.)

people. During times of economic reversal and uncertainties, they had the security of their land, their homes, and the support of one another” (90).

Future prospects remained hopeful for Farms residents. Some early residents of the Farms sold portions of their property as sites for community schools, and others built churches and businesses on their land. Farms families along with the Freedmen’s Bureau built some of the first schools in the District of Columbia to serve the needs and interests of African American school children. The first public school east of the Anacostia River—a four-room structure—was Hillsdale Elementary, built in 1871.¹⁰⁴ Louise Hutchinson notes that “Peter Wilkinson, an early settler in the black community of Barry’s Farm, sold one of his lots for the construction of Hillsdale School” (1977, 77). Almost three years prior to Hillsdale School’s creation, residents established the first private African American school, Mt. Zion School (later renamed Howard School). Hillsdale and Howard were the only schools serving African American children east of the Anacostia River until the James G. Birney School was built in 1901.¹⁰⁵ These developments suggest that early residents of the Farms had a clear proclivity for scholarship despite being the recipients of inferior and inequitable resources.

The interests of the Farms community extended beyond education into political participation. The political leadership pressed forward on gaining other important services and infrastructural investment commonly enjoyed in the District of Columbia’s mainland at that time, such as water mains and plumbing, electricity, and public transportation. In 1868, Farms residents voted in local resident Anthony Bowen—a former slave—as mayor of the City of

104. This school was located just a few feet north of the current John Brown Elementary School.

105. The Birney School, a beautiful architectural structure located on the northwest corner of Howard Road and MLK Ave, now serves as the site for a private charter school, Thurgood Marshall Academy. The Birney School was moved to the site of John Brown Elementary, but subsequently closed at the rise of the Fenty administration and his school czar Michelle Rhee’s austerity cuts. Two charter schools now occupy John Brown Elementary.

Washington (a jurisdiction that existed before the consolidation of the District of Columbia; Hutchinson 1977). His later re-election was defeated because Whites in the area were frightened by African American political suffrage and demands for equity. Despite such resistance, Hutchinson observes that:

[Farms] presents an interesting study of a community whose pleasant surroundings and available land afforded the opportunity of home ownership to blacks of varying socio-economic levels. Former slaves and free blacks lived here, and together they developed a strong community with religious, educational, and cultural institutions, which attracted skilled artisans and craftsmen to homes that accommodated large and growing families. The community of landholders and homesteaders provided a solid base for involvement in the District political life. (90)

In sum, the development of the Farms homestead took shape within the precarious conditions of a failed Reconstruction Era and emergent Jim Crow era that dispensed segregation and racialized violence against African Americans. This second transformative moment features the enslavement of African Americans in the District of Columbia and the District of Columbia's strategically located role in the proliferation of slavery throughout US society. Despite the federal government containing two opposing political factions wrestling with the institution of slavery, federal policies and practices prior to the Civil War produced structural violence that affected the lived experiences of free and enslaved African Americans in the District of Columbia. As in the case of Native Americans, any wretchedness discovered in African Americans' collective culture and their degraded environs, which they have been forcibly assigned, must be read against the legacy of structural violence. For African Americans in the District of Columbia, this is the legacy of the slavery that lasted for more than two and a half centuries, then dynamically transmuted into new forms of exploitation and dehumanization. By 1870, when the third transformative moment of Jim Crow emerged to begin its assault on African American lived experiences, African Americans had already endured a horrid and traumatic existence at the hands of dominant White society.

The Rise, Twilight, and Fall of Jim Crow:
Dialectics of Social Progress
and Breached Freedoms

The rise of Jim Crow represents the third transformative moment in the history of the South. Jim Crow was an era of racially specific de facto practices and de jure proscriptions. It featured massive state-sanctioned lynchings and violence against African Americans, legal and customary residential segregation based on race along with separate and unequal public services, the construction of racially specific workforce housing that was unregulated and poorly constructed, the expanded political disenfranchisement and voter suppression of African Americans and some poor Whites, and the lack of equal protection under the law, as well as the continued trend of racial criminalization of African Americans and their introduction into convict labor schemes. Gabbidon and Greene note that during the short-lived Reconstruction Era (1865–1877), many domestic terrorist hate groups emerged such as the “Knights of White Camellia, the Constitutional Union Guards, the Pale Faces, the White Brotherhood, the Council of Safety, the ’76 Association, and the infamous Knights of the Ku Klux Klan,” all with the intention of re-imposing the racial, economic, and social hierarchy that prevailed during the era of slavery (2016, 15).¹⁰⁶ Gabbidon and Greene conservatively calculate that these hate groups committed more than three thousand lynchings of black men, women, and children during the heyday of Jim Crow. Many other African Americans were falsely arrested and sentenced to life terms in convict labor camps and returned to the plantations of the Confederate South.

106. Some of the aforementioned groups have come and gone, been revived and renewed, and/or splintered into new groups, but others of their type have increased exponentially to date. The Southern Poverty Law Center tracks active hate groups. As of January 2015, they were aware of 784 such groups (Southern Poverty Law Center 2015).

As the US Congress created policies to transform the country from a rural/city dyad to an urban/suburban dyad it also sought to carry to fruition the work of the Founding Fathers in creating two racially separate and unequal societies (McIntyre 1992). Banks and Banks (2004) give a more anodyne account of the federal government's involvement in the Farms community's transformation from a stable mixed-use and mixed-income community to a disjointed, disorganized, and racialized urban ghetto as the unfortunate and unintended consequences of well-meaning housing and urban development policies. Banks and Banks note that the government's initial housing policies were intended to resolve the "alley dwelling" crisis in the city's southwest area:

At the same time that Barry Farm became home to hundreds of freed slaves and their families, the southwest section of the nation's capital struggled to provide housing for thousands of freedmen as well. . . . By 1871, the city directory reported 1,500 households in just 118 alleys. Eighty-one percent of the alley dwellers were black and largely unskilled service workers. By 1897, the city's alley population numbered 17,244 or 11% of the total city population, living in 237 blocks. (Banks and Banks 2004, 17)

Many of the alley dwellers were southern migrants fleeing Jim Crow, and the city would continue to experience spikes in this group's immigration, particularly around American wars. In terms similar to those Du Bois (Du Bois, Anderson, and Eaton 1899) uses in *The Philadelphia Negro* study, Banks and Banks go on to describe the alley dwellers' unhygienic living conditions along with high infant mortality rates as public health concerns that justified government action. The federal government did indeed act to solve the woes of these alley dwellers by appointing the senior Banks (James Banks, an African American son of the Farms neighborhood) to oversee their mid-twentieth century relocation from the southwest to communities east of the Anacostia River. Of significant note is the apparent class bias of James Banks:

Although many acknowledged the severe health problems of alley dwellers, of greater concern to the community at large was the plague of immorality that came to characterize the life in the alleys. Rape, robbery, and murder were more common in the world hidden from the street. It was as though the alley dwellings possessed their own culture and set

of standards that were entirely different from those of the rest of the citizens. (Banks and Banks 2004, 17–18)

By the mid-twentieth century, due to racially restrictive covenants enforced in the District of Columbia until 1948, when the Supreme Court ruled that racially restrictive covenants were unconstitutional,¹⁰⁷ most of these African American alley dwellers that had accumulated in the District of Columbia after the Civil War had been relocated into the Farms neighborhood.¹⁰⁸

The Jim Crow era received its greatest legal victory in the *Plessy v. Ferguson* 1896 Supreme Court decision where the majority decision held that separate amenities *as long as they were equal* were not a violation of the US Constitution and more specifically its Thirteenth and Fourteenth Amendments. The *Plessy v. Ferguson* decision rendered by the highest court in the land (a court located in the District of Columbia) rolled back all juridical and racial progress since the end of the nineteenth-century Reconstruction Era and gave unequivocal legal cover to the US government's manufacturing of its racially separate geographies (i.e., the racial-spatial binary). The legal decision that suggested we could have separate, equal, and parallel societies rooted in notions of social equity was just as farcical as the notion of disparate racial human types. Yet this pseudoscientific racial logic became the law of the land and shaped the African American experience many decades into the twentieth century.

Touring the Farms

The Barry Farms Freedman's Village was thus first built and then transformed into the Barry Farm Public Dwellings during the eighty-five years that constitute the Jim Crow era (1875–1960). The following composite description of several historical tours of the area led by

107. This ruling came in the landmark *Shelley v. Kramer* case.

108. This pattern of relocating displaced and vulnerable residents to the Farms neighborhood continues to challenge the current residents' efforts to stabilize their community.

the local historian and preservationist John Brooks demonstrates the effects of the Jim Crow era on the built environments of the Farms and other communities east of the Anacostia River. At the time I began conducting this research, John Brooks lived just outside the Farms Public Dwellings, but maintained an active presence within the Farms by volunteering to assist the resident council, particularly in organizing the Farms Historical Day festival.¹⁰⁹ Gregarious and sociable, at times John could be found comparing his historical understanding to the personal recollections of the Regs (regulars), long-term residents who hung around the fence line of the community recreation center and with whom he shared a love of the art of storytelling and poetry.¹¹⁰ He captivated audiences by bellowing out dramatic facts he had discovered. I was often enchanted by John's public tales. Sometimes, his stories were never-ending and convoluted, but mostly they were factual and enthralling. John was a masterful elocutionist. His delivery, albeit *sermonesque*, was artfully rhythmic and passionately narrated.

John Brooks earned an MA in historical preservation at the suggestion of Patsy Fletcher, another preservationist, while living in the District of Columbia. John's efforts in support of local heritage preservation helped win a negotiated agreement with the Salvation Army to give their newly constructed building the name of Solomon G. Brown, an African American community leader and pioneer of the Farms' community. John's larger goal was to get the District of

109. John, an African American male, was at the time of my research in his late sixties or early seventies, with a head and face full of white bushy hair, topping 6'2" in height, and with a seemingly slim and frail body. Despite his frailness, he ambulated around the Farms better than most of the youth a third his age. He relocated to the District of Columbia from a small southern community in South Carolina after his collegiate studies in black theater and public art. He often returns to the Deep South with his children, hoping they too will develop a fondness for its quaint hospitality. Even though he feels the Deep South can be brutally racist, particularly during his youth, he misses its scenic landscapes, close family ties, and livelihoods that were supported by small-scale farming.

110. The Regs are described in detail in chapter 7.

Columbia to honor the significance of the Farms community by designating its original 375-acre footprint a historical site.

Although he was of retirement age, John worked contractually as a historical preservation consultant, amateur historian, and tour guide at the time I conducted this research. John's mainstay was leading tours through the Anacostia and Farms communities, as well as the Saint Es campuses, to highlight the area's historical value.¹¹¹ When he was not discussing Farms history, he would usually reminisce about how he had used street theater as a form of public and political protest. He would often visit the Farms during the hospitable seasons of spring, summer, and early fall, but by the end of my research he rarely visited the Farms anymore because the DCHA and other government officials had advised the resident council to stop communicating with him.¹¹² Although Farms residents rarely participated in John's tours, I gathered that the government agencies felt he was radicalizing the residents around historical preservation and possibly leading them to resist the proposed redevelopment of the area.¹¹³ Because of this, I

111. John's tours of Anacostia, the broader Farms neighborhood, the Farms Public Dwellings community, and St. Es were all scheduled rather infrequently, but his St. Es tour was the most difficult to catch of them all. The St. Es tour came with a very onerous application process because St. Es is not just a historical landmark in the public trust, but also the new Department of Homeland Security headquarters (DHS) as of 2005—a level five federal site that grants no public access. The District of Columbia Preservation League (DCPL), which gives tours of St. Es, successfully sued DHS under Section 106 of the National Historical Preservation Act that stipulates that the American public must be granted access, even if limited, to all national landmarks. As an alternative and to avoid the hassle of paperwork, it is easier to use DCPL for guided tours of St. Es, but this means that the patron must take the initiative to connect the history of St. Es to that of the larger community.

112. I remained a steady attendee of John's tours and eventually co-led a few tours of the Farms community with him before ending this field research.

113. John reasoned that residents did not attend his tours because they were challenged by issues of health, weather, safety, and old age. I suspect that they might also have been put off by the fact that his tour patrons were mostly White. Farms residents generally resent White people coming into their neighborhood because of the legacy of racism and the fact that the District of Columbia's administrators zoned the area east of the Anacostia River to concentrate racial, class, and marginalized citizens there, as discussed earlier (*Washington's Far Southeast* 70 1970). To some members of the community, the presence of Whites ominously suggests imminent urban transformation that will again force them to move out of their homes.

consider it important to capture the original voice of this local scholar even though his commentary was not chronological or linear, but rather shaped by the sites visited on the tour route.¹¹⁴ I further supplement John's tour guide commentary and my direct observations of the neighborhood with information from other tours of the area, the work of Patsy Fletcher, and archival research in order to highlight characteristics of Farms social life during the Jim Crow era.¹¹⁵

John regularly began his tours with some variation of the following caveat:

Y'all will be walking through a community that appears valueless and without caretakers—but note that these are sacred grounds, most recently labored by African slaves and before them settled by Native Americans. Moreover, the decadence and disrepair that you will no doubt observe is not simply the result of the people [living] here—rather, they are the results of poor decisions and reckless actions of a racist local and federal government.

John was very transparent about feeling that the local and federal governments neglected the Farms neighborhood and its history—a point around which he organized the entire tour.

To begin the tour of the Farms' area, John would lead those of us assembled at the Anacostia Metro station westward on Howard Road toward the part of the larger Farms neighborhood called Poplar Point.¹¹⁶ John pointed out that Stickfoot Creek (an ancient tributary that traversed the Farms neighborhood from east to west) led to the swampy marshland of Poplar

114. John's knowledge regarding the experiences of Anacostian Natives and African slaves living in the Farms area was limited by the scant coverage these communities receive in the historical record as well as biased coverage by their exploiters. For this reason, I only include points John raised about these past communities where he offered new insights.

115. I also attended a tour led by John Muller, author of *Frederick Douglass in Washington, DC: The Lion of Anacostia* (2012), and took two tours of St. Es with DCPL. I found the DCPL tours informative, but the guides made no effort to connect St. Es to the larger community of the Farms or The Heights, whereas John Brooks, Dianne Dale, and Patsy Fletcher all noted that Farms neighborhood residents worked at St. Es campuses and that St. Es patients and staff often visited homes or attended events in the Farms community. DCPL tour guides did, however, discuss the environmental pollution of the site, which contaminated the area's ground water and air.

116. Howard Road is named in honor of General Oliver Otis Howard.

Point and then into the estuary of the Anacostia River.¹¹⁷ At the actual Poplar Point site, the southwestern portion appeared to be a large uncultivated field with uncontrolled vegetation growing atop an uneven topography while the northern section was cleared and leveled with a few facilities located there that once served as the Naval Receiving Station (NRS). The northern section now serves as a specialized headquarters for the National Park Service, US Park Police, and the Anacostia Operating Facilities. Returning to the southeastern section, it was originally part of the Farms community that served as the District of Columbia greenhouse and the US Department of Interior's nursery where poplar trees were cultivated. This section is cordoned off and lined with signs warning all not to trespass: "Keep Out/Environmental Toxins."¹¹⁸

John would explain to us that many of the senior residents he spoke with when he first expressed his interest in Farms neighborhood history were ambivalent about Poplar Point and the adjacent Anacostia River. They told him all kinds of urban legends such as that Poplar Point was haunted by Native American spirits or had served as a staging ground where blacks were lynched by violent White hate groups. With an amused expression, John would say that he thinks current residents were incorrectly connecting Poplar Point to Beverly Holiday's song "Strange Fruit,"

117. Louis Scisco (1955) describes a small cove that once existed near the western terminus of Stickfoot where the Anacostian Natives would store their canoes. Across from the cove was a ridge where the Anacostian Natives had built a fort out of oak trees, apparently as a defense against hostile tribes and/or the invading European colonizers. This fort presages the Union Army's sixty-eight forts that would later serve as the defense perimeter for the District of Columbia during the war to end slavery, namely the US Civil War. Hutchinson (1977) writes that plantation-era slaves sometimes sought safe haven at this fort before finding refuge among the Natives. Slaves may also have concealed themselves in the swampy grounds of Poplar Point as part of their escape route along the Underground Railroad. Unfortunately, the actual relationship between slaves and the Natives is lost to history.

118. According to the National Park Service, a series of environmental soil and ground water tests conducted on the southeastern section discovered that Poplar Point carried a toxic soup of metals, pesticides, semivolatile and volatile organic compounds, petroleum hydrocarbons, and polychlorinated biphenyls well above the unsafe level for human exposure. Appearing on this site were ominous-looking drums of unknown substances, apparently discarded. (Please see the NPS website for more detail: <http://www.nps.gov/nace/parkmgmt/poplarpoint1.htm>; also see Williams 2001 for a discussion of the polluted Anacostia River and adjacent park).

which describes African Americans hung from poplar trees. On one tour, he stood near a section of Poplar Point and began to recite the song's lyrics with the deep intonations of an African American Baptist preacher:

Southern trees bear a strange fruit
Blood on the leaves and blood at the root
Black bodies swingin' in the Southern breeze
Strange fruit hangin' from the poplar trees

John typically employed dramatic performance to engage his audience or to recapture their waning attention.¹¹⁹ John reasoned, and I concur, that the stories that circulated in the Farms Public Dwellings community regarding Anacostia Park and the river area represented a way for the residents to grapple with their foreclosed access to Poplar Point and their generalized concern about exposure to hazardous toxins in and around the river. While there is no evidence of lynching at Poplar Point, Farms Public Dwellings residents' stories reflect their fear and vulnerability, as well as the haunting legacy of Jim Crow America. Their concerns, along with John's rendition of Holiday's "Strange Fruit," together index the real precariousness of African American lives in the context of the violence of the late nineteenth century through more than half of the twentieth century.

As we were exiting Anacostia Park, John would note how recreational space was a limited resource for African Americans. With very little access to healthy recreational sites during the Jim Crow era, African Americans living in the Farms neighborhood generally pursued two agendas, first by building their own stable, parallel, self-sufficient community and second by fighting discriminatory public policy and laws. Patsy Fletcher writes, "Pleasure is a revolutionary act in the face of pain." In the face of the horrors of Jim Crow, Farms neighborhood residents

119. An interesting phenomenon in the Farms was how residents and other community participants tended to use songs to describe community experiences, as if the music produced a psychic unity among them.

established two leisure parks, Eureka Park and Green Willow Park. These parks were two of the earliest pleasure gardens owned and built by African Americans in the District of Columbia (Fletcher 2015, 14).¹²⁰ However, while Eureka Park was a “source of enjoyment and relaxation for many African American patrons,” African Americans who made use of the park were accused of being a public nuisance and put under police surveillance (Fletcher 2015, 19). Furthermore, according to Fletcher,

the [W]hite women of Anacostia started petition drives to close it, leading to a ruling in 1918 by the [District of Columbia federal government’s] Board of Commissioners to revoke the license for Eureka. In 1925, the National Park and Planning Commission purchased the park for \$4,000.00 to set up the first municipal playground east of the Anacostia River for African Americans. (21–22)¹²¹

This park was re-opened as part of the Farms recreational center’s playground a few years later. It has since been redeveloped as part of the NCI revitalization plan.¹²²

Returning to the tour led by John, we would proceed northward along Anacostia Park Drive to Good Hope Road, east on Good Hope Road to its intersection with MLK Ave, and then south on MLK Ave after stopping at the Big Chair, an area landmark of the largest model chair in the country, which also served as a marker for the Curtis Brothers furniture company. This northern section of MLK Ave, to which African Americans were formerly denied access, had become a hub for government/social and nonprofit services for area residents, particularly the Farms neighborhood residents. Along this segment, John would point out the locations of the

120. Eureka Park was established in 1890 by a consortium of Farms business owners and residents under the Eureka Park Company title to serve as a site of activities such as concerts, dances, dinners, picnics, political speeches, business conventions, and as a civic, religious, and fraternal retreat location. Eureka Park’s entrance was off of MLK Ave and located where the current John Brown Elementary School’s parking lot is located, just before Suitland Parkway.

121. Green Willow Park would meet its demise approximately a decade later due to similar complaints.

122. As of 2015, the Farms neighborhood recreation center and field were redeveloped.

District of Columbia's government buildings and list the services they provide to Ward 8's residents, particularly noting where Councilman Marion Barry's office was located, in a new government building named in honor of Dianne Dale's father, Almore Dale (Dale 2011).

We would next stop at the intersection of MLK Avenue and Chicago Street as John pointed out three structures adjacent to a Big K liquor store. He would note that whereas west of the Anacostia River, brick-and-mortar structures rich with social, historical, and architectural value are preserved and memorialized, here on the southeast side they can disintegrate. Comparing these disparate orientations to historical preservation, he would point out the architecture of these three homes, which had clearly been built during the antebellum period, but were now fenced in and being allowed to disintegrate. John called this "demolition through neglect," meaning that historically designated properties can fall into disrepair through lack of upkeep or any measures to protect them from the environment. Most of these properties end up in the hands of land speculators. He would further explain that most of the historical sites belonging to African Americans were taken over by the government through eminent domain, demolished, or destroyed in the process of development well before the National Historical Preservation Act of 1966 was created to protect and preserve history.

John would next point out the original 11th Police Precinct building, located on the southwest corner of Chicago Street and MLK Avenue, which was built in 1909. Per John, Chicago Street served as a racial fault line between the Farms neighborhood and Union. He would mention that African Americans found north of Chicago Street after sunset without legitimate reasons for being there were accosted, harassed, arrested, and brutalized by Union residents and police during the twilight years of Jim Crow.¹²³ The old precinct now ostensibly

123. Dale (2011) also recounts details of assault and harassment during the Jim Crow era.

serves as the Max Robinson health clinic, but as far as I could tell the clinic had been closed for many years.

Nearly opposite Chicago Street on MLK Avenue, traveling east, is Morris Road. On the southeast corner of Morris Road is the Solomon G. Brown Salvation Army building. John would stop there to lecture us briefly on the political and legal participation of early Farms residents before we proceeded east on Morris Road toward Frederick Douglass's house at Cedar Hill, then to the Lady of Our Perpetual Help Catholic Church (built in 1920) and Fort Stanton's Parks, on to the Anacostia–Smithsonian Institute, and finally to where he believed Mt. Zion School once stood. Returning to the discussion of politics and law, John would tell the tour group about the first Hillside/Farms neighborhood attorney, John Moss, who was appointed Justice of the Peace in the fledgling District of Columbia. What was remarkable about Moss, explained John, was that he became a Farms resident shortly after escaping enslavement. He graduated from Howard University in 1873 with a concentration in law, was immediately admitted to the District of Columbia bar, and went to successfully defend White and black defendants as a criminal lawyer. John usually pointed back down Morris Road toward the old 11th Precinct and noted that Moss “was very likely the defender of many White officers [of the Metropolitan Police Department] from there.”

In 1871, as the Reconstruction Era was ending, Frederick Douglass was appointed and Solomon G. Brown was elected to the District of Columbia's federal government council. Standing near the building honoring Brown, John would list the many services of Brown to the Farms as a resident and leader of the neighborhood. Brown was a poet, storyteller, scientist, administrator at the Anacostia–Smithsonian Institute, and District of Columbia councilman. In the interest of Farms residents and as an act of self-determination, Brown successfully

commissioned a legislative bill that officially renamed the Farms “Hillsdale” in 1874, but this was short-lived as the District of Columbia preferred to keep the older name. Brown, Frederick Douglass, and other local leaders actively pressed the government for “improvement of roads, adequate sewer systems, pipes to carry water up Asylum Road [MLK Avenue] and needed school construction” (Hutchinson 1977, 95). It should be noted that Brown’s approval rates were high and that he was elected by both Whites and blacks to represent the Farms neighborhood and Anacostia district.¹²⁴ However, the lack of public services and infrastructural investments remained a thorn in the Farms residents’ side.

John’s tour would next return to Sheridan Road and MLK Ave. We would travel south on MLK Ave to its intersection with Sumner Road. John would point out the loss of a Sheridan Terrace street mural due to the Sheridan Station HOPE VI redevelopment project then in progress. On the northeast corner stood Campbell’s AME Church, where Frederick Douglass was supposed to speak on the subject of race the day he suffered a massive heart attack in 1895. This church is quite significant in the growth and development of the Farms neighborhood, and it served as a place to organize against Jim Crow. In fact, it was the meeting site for Dr. James Nabrit (Howard University law professor), Dovey Johnson Roundtree (Campbell AME Church deacon and law school alumna of Howard University),¹²⁵ Campbell AME Reverend Samuel E.

124. In 1874, Frederick and Anna Douglass purchased the John Van Hook property on Cedar Hill as their retirement home, thereby racially integrating Union–Anacostia. However, the Douglass’s children remained residents of the Farms’ homestead, organizing independent transportation systems (the Anacostia and Potomac River Street Railroad Company), with one serving as the local school principal and actively participating in District of Columbia Council politics. Frederick Douglass served as assistant secretary to Santo Domingo, ambassador to Haiti, state marshal for the District of Columbia, and recorder of deeds for the same city.

125. Deacon Dovey J. Roundtree, reflecting on her role in the 1954 decision (McCabe and Roundtree 2009), notes that while there were some promising legal victories in 1938 around discrimination in law schools, 1946 regarding transportation and commerce, and 1948 reversing restrictive covenants, the *Plessy v. Ferguson* decision remained intact and became a preoccupation for her during her formative legal studies. She writes, “On the other side of the river, in what people called ‘the real District of Columbia,’ an all-out war was being waged, a war for decent black schools” (106). It was the strategy of Roundtree and the plaintiffs that allowed for the success of the

Guiles, Sarah Bolling (Consolidated Parent Group member) and her two sons Spottswood and Wanamaker who became the lead plaintiffs in the *Bolling v. Sharpe* case, other legal scholars from Howard University, Gardner Bishop and his Consolidated Parent Group (CPG), James and Luberta Jennings and their daughters—Adrienne and Barbara—and Sarah Briscoe (another plaintiff) with her family. The plaintiffs all had strong ties to the Farms neighborhood through Campbell AME Church and some had relatives residing in the recently developed military workforce housing today known as Farms Public Dwellings.

The *Bolling v. Sharpe* case challenged Jim Crow's separate but equal doctrine. It was rolled into the larger *Brown v. Board of Education* Supreme Court decision of Monday, May 17, 1954, rendered by Chief Justice Earl Warren. Pointing to a placard on the front lawn of the church, which verified it to be a historical meeting location, John would note how Farms neighborhood residents helped to integrate the country. He would then repeat the poignant words of Justice Warren, "Separate but equal was an arbitrary deprivation of liberty and justice!" This placard didn't simply mark the beginning of integration as much as it marked the end of a legally supported lie that relegated African Americans to an inferior status as lesser citizens.

Brown case. According to Roundtree, Thurgood Marshall and other legal scholars pursued an equalization strategy following the *Plessy v. Ferguson* ruling, meaning they wanted the government to guarantee equity in all social matters. This strategy maintained the status quo and the socially constructed notion of disparate biological groups: one black and one White. Roundtree discusses how Thurgood Marshall et al. pursued redress under the Fourteenth Amendment, which called for equal protection under the law. This, according to her and her professor, Dr. James Nabrit, allowed the court to hide behind states' rights and their unwillingness to trump them. However, the plaintiffs in *Bolling v. Sharpe* pursued an affirmative charge under the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments. The former stipulates that all citizens have a right to due process and that the denial of equity to guard states' rights was in effect a denial of due process guaranteed at the federal level and by the US Constitution. These plaintiffs aimed to charge the District of Columbia with carrying out the same capricious treatment of African American children of which the states were accused, and therefore being guilty of the same hideous acts, but as a federal city. Roundtree, accounting for Nabrit's spirited strategy, explains, "It was the federal government itself, he told the court, the federal government which had denied the black children of the [District of Columbia] their right to due process under the Fifth Amendment, in the same way the Jim Crow states were robbing them of equal protection under the Fourteenth Amendment." In short, the *Bolling v. Sharpe* strategy was integral to the *Brown v. Board of Education* plaintiffs' victory in overturning the separate but equal doctrine, and the District of Columbia could no longer take cover under state rights.

Our tour would proceed west on Sumner Road to First Sterling Avenue, then south on First Sterling Avenue, east on Stevens Road to Wade Road, north on Wade Road passing Eaton Road toward Sumner Road, and then east on Sumner back to MLK Avenue. John would describe the social life of the original community as we passed the former sites of various social halls such as the famed Douglas Hall that were once located in the area. In the context of “separate but equal” governance,

the black residents of Hillside [Farms neighborhood] and Good Hope, farther from the center of the city, received the barest of municipal services. Transportation, sewer and water mains, electric lines, and other needed services all stopped at the periphery of Hillside. The Barry’s Farm/Hillside Civic Association, led by Solomon G. Brown and Elzie S. Hoffman . . . made the concerns of black Anacostians known to the municipal government. (Hutchinson 1977, 119)

Under these unfair constraints in all matters important to the District of Columbia’s citizenry, the early Farms neighborhood nevertheless soared in the areas of education, industry, politics, economics, and social development. They created successful parallel institutions to those of the mainstream District of Columbia. This parallel society included dance and recital halls, public and private schools, civic associations, legal services, banks, mortuary and funeral services, fraternal organizations, bakeries, churches, graveyards, and much more. All of these institutions flourished on the corridor of MLK Ave from Sumner Road in the south to Morris Road in the north. While much of the Farms neighborhood was sparsely developed during the mid-twentieth century, this section of the Farms neighborhood was developed and became the heart of its commerce and social activity.

On this leg of the tour, John would also explain the restrictive covenants that limited options for housing for African Americans just as housing demands increased during World War II. Union and The Heights refused residence to military, veterans, and wartime industry workers who were African American. Moreover, these neighboring communities aggressively resisted the

emplacement of multidwelling units and high density units (Banks and Banks 2004; *Washington's Far Southeast* 70 1970). Workforce apartment communities like Naylor Gardens were for Whites only. According to John, the federal government then turned to building military workforce housing for African Americans in all black communities, such as the Farms. African American homes and land were seized by the District of Columbia government through eminent domain in the mid-1930s under "slum condition" charges. African American house owners were compensated well below market values. Construction of Barry Farms Public Dwellings and its adjacent park was completed in 1943. As we headed north on MLK Ave toward Howard Road and the Anacostia Metropolitan Train Station (Green Line), John would ask us to take in the views afforded from a short bridge spanning Suitland Parkway. He would explain that "hundreds of homes once existed here but were seized by the federal government and there the government tore the heart, soul, and stability from the Farms neighborhood."

Dianne Dale, a fourth-generation descendant of early pioneers of the Farms, similarly observes "that [the Farms] through no fault of its residents was subject to changes that destroyed its very fabric. Zoning changes, new roads, more people, fewer services all stressed the village like quality of the neighborhood and ruptured their continuity beyond repair" (Dale 2011, xix). She views the razing of the Farms community in order to build public housing projects as the beginning of the end of the neighborhood's sense of community, as the "new construction housed a population some of whom were not inclined to be neighborly. Eventually, we were walled in by seven housing projects erected on the cardinal points of the black community. Implosion was inevitable" (xxiii). In short, redevelopment resulted in the creation of an AAUG where once there had been a thriving African American community. The next section addresses this fourth transformative moment in the Farms' history.

Superimposing an African American Urban Ghetto onto the Farms Neighborhood

In the late 1950s, overlapping with the twilight years of Jim Crow, the fourth transformative moment began to take shape in the District of Columbia. This moment was orchestrated primarily by the federal government. The US Congress enjoys almost exclusive rights to defining and shaping the District of Columbia, largely because its residents are not represented in the legislative body (Congress) that their city hosts (Gillette 2011).¹²⁶ Although the federal government later collaborated with the municipal government through the Home Rule Act of 1973, and clearly, the local government bears some responsibility, the federal government was the principal architect of the Farms neighborhood's transformation into a racialized urban ghetto, which sapped it of its former spiritual and social vibrancy.¹²⁷ Howard Gillette (2011) suggests that Congress took an experimental approach to urban planning, trying out policies on the District of Columbia to see if they would work before recommending them to city governments across the United States. I am skeptical of this characterization of Congress's racially divisive schemes as merely experimental. I argue that Congress deliberately set out to push resident African Americans east of the Anacostia River with no regard for their dignity, tenure on the land, or rights as homeowners.¹²⁸ The federal government destroyed the original

126. The District of Columbia remains a sort of colony that continues to have taxation without representation.

127. The Home Rule Act provided for a locally elected mayor and twelve-member council with four at-large council seats. The District of Columbia is assigned one councilmember to each of its eight wards leaving four council seats for at-large representation. However, the US Congress must approve the municipal government's fiscal budget, laws, and urban planning. A 1974 referendum to the Home Rule Act allowed the local government to increase accountability by creating an Advisory Neighborhood Commission (ANC), with each ward assigned enough advisory neighborhood commissions to cover constituent areas of two thousand members. The commissions oversee a wide range of policy and practice issues including zoning regulations, urban planning, crime, public health, and general matters regarding quality of life.

128. Ironically, the entire District of Columbia has been labeled a "chocolate city" due to its concentrated African American demographic.

Farms neighborhood through the development of racialized zoning regulations, the subsidizing of multiple-dwelling housing developments, the emplacement and concentration of extremely vulnerable residents in an isolated section of the Farms neighborhood, an attempt to concentrate all African Americans east of the Anacostia River (with the exception of a few neighborhoods such as Shaw), and finally, the continued denial of infrastructural, social, and governmental services to the Farms. Denied services included sewage plumbing, street lighting, and the provision of recreational space, as well as clear processes for appeal and remediation.

Perhaps the Farms neighborhood and its public dwellings community could have withstood the effects of the increased placement of public housing and vulnerable residents, particularly given the fact that the neighborhood was teeming with civic organizations, mutual aid and benefit societies, and locally established social service programs by the first quarter of the twentieth century. However, these organizations were located on MLK Ave between Sumner and Morris Roads, so they too were uprooted by the federal government's deliberate urban planning priorities. Most devastating was the federal government's use of eminent domain to take more than a hundred acres of land from the Farms neighborhood—land occupied by single family homes, businesses, and civic institutions—to accommodate construction of Suitland Parkway (1944), Interstate 295 (1958), and the Anacostia Metro transportation system station (1989). Suitland Parkway was conceived in 1937 and opened in 1944 shortly after the military workforce housing in the Farms neighborhood was opened. Its approximately ten-mile stretch connects Bolling Air Force base to Andrews Air Force base. I-295 was conceived six years after the opening of Suitland Parkway, and its 7.25 miles, which connect Maryland's 495/95 to the District of Columbia's Interstate 695 and DC Route 295, opened in the late 1950s. The federal and local governments stated that Suitland Parkway, I-295, and the Anacostia Station were being

placed in vacant lots or the sites of abandoned homes as if to mitigate any perceived harm and potential criticism. Deliberately omitted from their narratives are the number of homes seized and demolished and the number of residents denied market value remuneration, removed from the places that were destroyed, and cut loose of the social ties that bound these places and people. Residents of the Farms neighborhood underwent anguishing pain and frustration at seeing their home village razed to make way for massive governmental development projects. Dianne Dale notes that although Farms residents were able to absorb the installation of workforce housing (i.e., public dwellings) into their close-knit neighborhood, the construction of the freeways destroyed the community by splitting it in two:

In a final blow to the dignity of this historic black neighborhood, the arrival of I-295 and the double span [of] the 11th Street bridge with the SE/SW freeway cut the community off from the park and the river . . . it was eerie. A fitting metaphor for what the community had become, by virtue of decisions handed down from the powers that be by people who never knew us and all that we had accomplished. (Dale 2011, lx)

Starting in the 1950s, the federal government's control over land and zoning regulations further enabled them to expedite converting the Farms neighborhood from rural to urban. They did so by rezoning it as an R-5 zone, which requires new housing construction to be almost exclusively multidwelling units (Thagard 2010; *Washington's Far Southeast* 70 1970). At first, White Washingtonians of the Union and The Heights successfully fended off the installation of public housing in their neighborhoods, but within two decades, they had fled the communities east of the Anacostia River. By the time of the 1968 riots in Washington, DC, which scorched many of the businesses on MLK Ave from Chicago Street north toward Good Hope Road and eastward up Good Hope Road toward 14th Street SE, the infinitesimal percentage of White families that remained proved defenseless against the federal government's interest in collecting most of the District of Columbia's African Americans into enclaves east of the Anacostia River. The overall percentage of White families living in the far southeast region of the District of

Columbia declined from approximately eighty-two percent in 1950 to sixty-eight percent in 1960 and fourteen percent in 1970 (Thagard 2010).

By the late 1960s, according to the urban planner and writer, Aubrey Thagard, the stability and physical environments of communities east of the Anacostia River were seriously threatened by the concentration of high density, two- and three-story, garden-style residential developments. These developments kept within the District of Columbia's height restrictions to protect views of its skyline, but they were so haphazardly scattered on the ground that they disrupted any semblance of controlled, well-designed, and organized development.

New housing construction in the Farms, Union, and The Heights was financed through the Federal Housing Administration's (FHA) 608 program; a program that guaranteed loans to developers at up to ninety percent of their projected cost. Although ostensibly caring for the vulnerable African American demographic, this program proved a financial windfall for developers and government officials, to the misfortune of poor African Americans. To put this in numerical terms, the federal government zoned seventy-five percent of residential construction east of the Anacostia River for multidwelling apartments and twenty-five percent for single family homes (*Washington's Far Southeast* 70 1970). In contrast, eighty percent of residential land-use west of the Anacostia River was zoned for single family homes (Thagard 2010). Thagard notes that not only was the construction of multidwelling apartments shoddy, but their location on the steep hills east of the Anacostia River caused severe environmental degradation and soil erosion.

The federal government's overdevelopment of the area went against the counsel of many urban planners. By the late 1950s, urban planners were reporting to the National Capital Planning Commission that the construction of multiple-unit dwellings east of the Anacostia

River had overreached the area's built, natural, and social environmental carrying capacities (*Washington's Far Southeast* 70 1970). Within ten years, land speculators had extracted as much profit as they could from their subsidized schemes, and they defaulted on their loans without penalty (*Washington's Far Southeast* 70 1970). The properties they had built either fell into ruins or returned to the government's portfolio, with no plans for upkeep.

This process of turning stable neighborhoods into racialized urban ghettos strained and frustrated their increasingly vulnerable African American residents. Thagard (2010, 141, 144) writes of their growing despair and distrust of the government:

By the end of the 1960s, far southeast Washington and urban America in general were powder kegs of raw emotion. A soaring crime rate, inadequate housing and education, and high unemployment in America's inner cities spawned urban riots. This situation was amplified by the growing disaffection [poor African Americans had] with urban renewal programs and the slum elimination efforts.

The federal and municipal governments thus made generous use of urban renewal programs to fashion the capital city into a racially binary landscape. The federal government utilized Housing and Urban Development's (HUD) Model Cities and Hope VI programs, both of which were articulated as antipoverty programs intended to reduce concentrated poverty and crime by improving brick-and-mortar housing and increasing residents' participation in urban renewal programs. The Model Cities program was authorized in 1966 through the Demonstration Cities and Metropolitan Act as part of President Lyndon B. Johnson's Great Society programs. More than one hundred fifty cities took advantage of this five-year intervention program, but the urban riots of the 1960s caused President Richard Nixon and the conservative Congress to reverse course. Instead, Nixon vowed to wage war on poverty and crime. In short, many African American leaders were cultivated in cities like the District of Columbia; Newark and Camden, New Jersey; Detroit, Michigan; Pikeville, Kentucky; Smithville, Tennessee; Oakland, California; and others.

As a recipient of HUD's urban renewal grants, the District of Columbia received more Model Cities and HOPE VI grants than other cities. In fact, the District of Columbia has been the recipient of more than seven HOPE VI grants. HOPE VI's stated aims were to provide local housing authorities with resources to physically and socially revitalize failed public housing communities (Appendix E). According to an official District of Columbia Council hearing, the District's first HOPE VI grant was in the amount of \$25 million and was used to build the Town Homes on Capitol Hill, Southeast (Ward 6). Altogether, the District of Columbia obtained a total of \$180.9 million divided up among seven HOPE VI grants, received in the following order:

1. Capitol Hill, Southeast: \$25 million (Ward 6)
2. Wheeler Creek, Southeast: \$20.3 million (Ward 8)
3. Henson Ridge, Southeast: \$29.9 million (Ward 8)
4. Sheridan Station, Southeast: \$20 million (Ward 8)
5. Arthur Capper and Carrollsborg, Southeast: \$34.9 million (Ward 6)
6. East Capital Gateway, Southeast: \$30.8 million (Ward 7)
7. Glenn Crest, Southeast: \$20 million (Ward 7)

The lack of transparency of residential tracking and nonresponse to official requests for data on residents' return rates made research difficult, but the best estimates suggest that the city's return rate was eight percent. By eight percent, I mean that, for instance, out of the 314 residential units at Valley Green Public Dwellings (which was redeveloped through HOPE VI into Wheeler Creek) I could account for only a twenty-five residents' return and these were mostly seniors. The housing advocates with Empower DC and ONE DC and I determined that this return rate is constant across all of the District of Columbia. It follows then that HOPE VI's mellifluous sounding program title might have inspired its targeted residents with some hope, but

nonetheless eventually displaced them and their dreams. Studying the list of grants received, one might notice that all the grants were targeted and applied to southeast public housing communities, meaning that the District of Columbia's city government was in fact clearing this region of poor African Americans, just as it had done before when it removed the same demographic from the southwest.

So where are those displaced residents? Some residents responded to this question by saying simply, "Here I am!" A significant number of displaced residents from each of the HOPE VI's seven grant sites (and some of the Model Cities grant sites) were relocated into Farms Public Dwellings community. Meanwhile, many Farms Public Dwellings residents told me that others are actually homeless or living in the fictional "Ward 9" of Prince George's County.

Residents have never passively accepted the abuses of the state even though the range of their responses fails to match the scale of a Marxian revolt (Scott 2008). To document residents' multiple modalities and disposition to structural violence is to reveal the true social structure of their social worlds and acknowledge their agency (see chapter four). In 1965, the Southeast White House (SEWH), with the generous assistance of the United Planning Organization, began to organize residents in the Farms Public Dwellings to gain them equal protection under the law and equitable services—to be recognized as citizens. Through the generous help and technical guidance of these organizations, the Barry Farms Bands of Angels was created. These aunts, sisters, and mothers took it upon themselves to challenge the abuses and demeaning treatment they received from the local welfare case managers and social workers. In fact, in 1967 one resident named Etta Homes morphed her organizing into founding the National Welfare Rights Organization and served on its board. Other organizations that were created during this period of a pronounced level of activism and agency were the Barry Farms Tenants Association and two

youth organizations, The Block Boys and Rebels With a Cause. Rebels With a Cause petitioned local officials for streetlights, improved streets, and improved recreation facilities, among other things.¹²⁹

By 1987, Mayor Marion Barry had secured \$21 million for much needed improvements to the Farms Public Dwellings infrastructure. Both some residents and office staff in his Ward 8 office noted that the modernization was also embraced in response to evidence of elevated levels of lead and other toxins in the environment. Although this modernization investment was a fraction of what was necessary to remedy the built environment issues, residents welcomed it. Harriet and Thelma stated to me that, “It was just good to have a responsive government finally!” The modernization project ran from 1988 through 1992, and some temporary relocations off-site turned into permanent displacement, which led to the loss of some community gatekeepers and court captains. Court captains were long-term residents who served as liaisons between their courtyard residents and the resident council. A key long-term aide in the Councilman Barry’s office told me that Marion Barry felt shamed by the constant pathological depictions of African American public housing residents, and he decided that he did not want dignitaries flying into Anacostia-Bolling Air Force and traveling by or across the Farms Public Dwellings community and seeing lazy blacks idling on their front porches. During the modernization process, they removed the modest coverings from the porches that once shaded the occupants, thus exposing the porches to the blistering rays of the sun. This key aide stated, “What residents saw as modernization was social engineering to deter residents from porch congregating.”

129. Sadly, one member, George Goodman, was shot and killed in the early eighties and in his honor, the national summer basketball tournament carries his name.

While some residents adapted to this modification by placing large umbrellas and tents in their front yards, the removal of the porch coverings had the effect of keeping seniors and retired residents from getting fresh air and, while doing so, keeping watch over the streets. These senior residents' presence, inveterate and venerable, had been a deterrent to the activities of community drug dealers and street thugs. The crack epidemic's scourge had been held at bay in places, simply by, for example, the eighty-year-old candy woman who offered kids popsicles from her porch. By 1991, the *Washington Times* was leading their community coverage with headlines such as "Killings Chronicle Neighborhood's Change for the Worst" (March 6, 1991). These news stories, unable to understand the workings of structural violence and keep pace with the range of sensational and vivid forms of violence, summarily painted the entire region—its victims, offenders, and general community—as pathological. On November 15, 1996, the *Washington City Paper* covered a story about Thelma's daughter and pregnant best friend, who were caught in a drug turf war that ended in gunfire. Thelma's daughter was shot and lost one of her kidneys; but the daughter's best friend, pregnant with twins, was shot multiple times and died on the scene. Today, demand for crack cocaine has dropped and it is rarely sold in the community; but its scars remain visible in the zero-tolerance policing that was instituted, resulting in frequent arrests. Further results are subsequent mass incarceration, youthful offenders winding up with criminal records before diplomas, and almost an entire preceding generation absent due to drug overdosing.

Conclusion

The Farms neighborhood and, much later, its public dwellings community have experienced a sharp decline since the promising days of its original homestead. Ushered through four transformative moments, the Farms has proceeded from vibrancy to apathy, from hope to

despair, from security to fright, from vigor to exhaustion, and community to ghetto in less than sixty years—1958 to the present—and not exclusively due to its residents’ volitional practices. The history of its environmental and social evolution suggests that there are willfully hidden details of the historical narrative. Beginning with the federal government’s violent treatment of indigenous Americans and enslaved African Americans, and notwithstanding their effort to sell some land to free and ex-enslaved African Americans, the government’s policies and practices have successfully constructed the Farms community as a contradistinctive and antithetical spatial group. The current residents are mostly transient and unrelated to the many communities that existed here prior to them, but they are mutually ensnared in social forces that sought first to construct racial Others and seek now to construct cultural outsiders. An observance of structural violence must attend to the subtle, chronic, and violent forces that entangle the present residents with those of the past. The Anacostians, the enslaved, Dianne Dale’s community, and the Farms residents of today share in common their lived experiences of structural violence dispensed through the federal government in the interest of the elite.

In the next chapter, I detail how residents grapple with structural violence and the constraining sociospatial binary. Faced by the threat of gentrification and loss of community institutions, residents of Damien Thompson’s (2007) Columbia Heights study unified to fight back. Thompson refers to their collective and uniform response as reflecting a “community of fate.” The NCI manager painted the residents of the current Farms community as monolithically pathological and, given their common status as residents of this community, one might expect similar dispositions among the residents. However, I explain how structural violence fragments the community, saturates it with fear, and thereby produces a range of resident dispositions.

Currently, the District of Columbia's local government, once complicit in re-forming the Farms Public Dwellings and its residents as racial Others, is determined to rectify the problems of drugs, guns, concentrated poverty, and violent crime rates in a partnership with the NCI program. Urban historian Lawrence J. Vale, who examined the history of public housing in US society, writes: "All city leaders understandably share an interest in reimagining and remaking those portions of their cities that damage their reputation, discourage investment, and sustain dysfunctional social environments" (Vale 2013, 33). Those officials might be better informed if they examined the layers and complex history of social life and community development in the Farms neighborhood and public dwellings community to find patterned evidence of intentionality to make both a people and place into ghettoized "Others"—beyond the scope of citizenship. Moreover, such officials might not uncritically accept the imagery of public housing residents as culturally pathological and dangerous if they took the time to study the anatomy of the problem. Instead, they might come to realize how the ideology of White supremacy can lead some to destroy humanity in its perpetrators' self-serving interest.

It may seem that the District of Columbia's municipal government has taken on the responsibility of resolving blight and moving beyond the engineered racial binary of the twentieth century; in actuality, however, its deceptively postracial strategy of highlighting cultural pathology is nothing more than a proxy. The Farms does need redress from accumulative structural violence, but a fifth moment must learn from its past rather than contribute to the continuation of destructive policies.

In the next chapter, I explore the social structure of the Farms Public Dwellings community. Below is the community's history in four pages, which Harriet and Thelma sought to put into the hands of every new resident and every old resident who showed signs of

forgetting the Farms' rich historical past (Figures 9 through 12). I am not certain of the actual origins of this pamphlet, but it has been and continues to be circulated throughout the community.

A HERO FOR ALL TIME

G E N E R A L O L I V E R O T I S H O W A R D

Following emancipation, freedom held exciting prospects for blacks living in Washington. For many it meant the opportunity to experience land ownership and openly explore for the first time educational opportunities.

General Oliver Otis Howard, a devoutly religious man, was prominent in national affairs and in the promotion of the welfare of slaves and freedmen. As commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau in the mid-1860s, General Howard oversaw two major events that even today have lasting effect on people in Washington and far beyond.

In November 1866, General Howard and members of the First Congregational Society of Washington met to discuss educational opportunities for freedmen. That meeting ended in the creation of an institute bearing the general's name - Howard Normal and Theological Institute for the Education of Teachers and Preachers. The name was changed to Howard University in January 1867. Since that time Howard University has gone on to educate thousands of people from around the world.

General Howard's accomplishments went further. In response to the critical housing needs of thousands of blacks who sought refuge in Washington during and after the Civil War, General Howard and the Freedmen's Bureau helped many find shelter.



Source: "Howard University Bulletin" and "The Anacostia Story: 1608-1930."

In 1867 he was able to purchase a 375-acre undeveloped tract of land from Julian and David Barry. For \$125-\$300, a family could purchase a one-acre lot and enough lumber to build a house. This land, in Anacostia, is now known as Barry Farm.

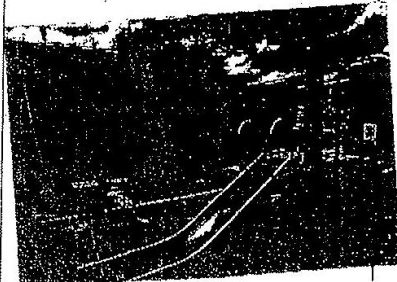
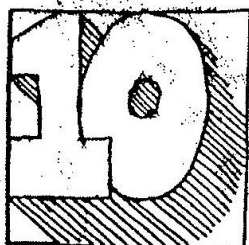


Figure 9. Farms Resident Council's *Community History* Pamphlet: Page 1 of 4.



Hillsdale (Mr. Barry's Farm)



A long time ago, all of the land we now call Barry Farms and lots more belonged to a man named James Barry.

General Howard bought Mr. Barry's farm so that black people, some of whom had just been freed from slavery, could buy land and build their homes. The people later called this community Hillsdale.

It took the black people a long time to build their homes. They had to work hard on their jobs in other parts of the city during the day. When night came they walked across the bridge into Uniontown. They walked through Uniontown to Mr. Barry's farm. When they got there, they lighted bonfires and worked most of the night to build their homes.

Figure 10. Farms Resident Council's *Community History Pamphlet*: Page 2 of 4.

Part VII: The Early History of Hillsdale (Barry's Farm)

Originally known as Barry's Farm, the community later called itself Potomac City and then Howardtown. The name Hillsdale was finally chosen in recognition of the many "hills and dales" that dotted the area.

The history of Hillsdale is integrally involved with the history of these United States and, more specifically, with the history of black people in this country. An early document by Wade H. Carter ³/ summarizes recollections of many of the original Hillsdale settlers.

The oral histories speak of the large numbers of slaves who deserted the Confederacy during the war or who were captured by Union forces; came or were brought to the District of Columbia as contraband; and housed in barracks on Capitol Hill.



A Group Of Blacks Crossing The Union Lines During The Civil War

It became the responsibility of General Oliver O. Howard, who was appointed Commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau, to supply food, clothing, and shelter for these black refugees.

Carter relates that "disease and sickness thinned the ranks (of the contraband blacks) because of their perforce unsanitary barracks, some of the places being little more than corrals used for livestock. It was during the smallpox ravages that General Howard and his associates determined to purchase the old Barry Farm and thereon provide permanent homes for his derelicts of Fate. This appeared to be the wise thing to do. The refugees would thereby become more or less self-supporting.

"The Barry estate, then under lease to one Polk, was in the hands of trustees, and the sale of the vast tract, extending from the river flats to what is now known as Garfield Heights, was imminent. General Howard entered into a contract with the parties in interest and secured control of the land.

"The transactions were conducted in utmost secrecy because of opposition from the whites to the permanent location of colored people." (Note: This account suggests that only former slaves settled Barry's Farm. However, freed blacks also took advantage of the opportunity to acquire homesteading land. These individuals included such men as Jake Moore, an Anacostia cemetery owner born free before the end of the war, and Solomon G. Brown, born free in the District of Columbia in 1841.)

The farm itself occupied 375 acres of land. General Howard bought the Barry Farm with monies earmarked for educational purposes. It was decided that the money would be replaced with funds coming from the purchase of lots by blacks. The farm was divided into approximately one-acre lots and sold for \$200 to \$300 per lot, depending on size and location.

Early settlers tell of those blacks who walked daily from the barracks into the city or from as far away as Georgetown to work through the night by light of bonfire, lantern, or candlelight. Working in an area described as a wilderness, the blacks cut through their own roads. They then put up temporary shacks that were later replaced by two and three room one-story A-frame houses. They emphasize that all work was done by hand by themselves.

Early settlers also tell of the hostility they encountered as they passed through Uniontown on their way to the old Barry Farm. They were frequently assaulted and not permitted to walk on the sidewalks. According to Carter, the settlers secretly purchased arms and held frequent drills in order to be able to defend their small community.

From its early beginnings, the people of Hillside chose to honor those who aided the development of their community, were leading abolitionists, or who fought on the side of the Union. Many of our present-day street names are more than 100 years old and date back to the Civil War era:

| | |
|--------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Douglass Road: | Named after Frederick Douglass, "The Sage of Anacostia" |
| Stanton Road and Fort Stanton: | Edwin McMasters Stanton, U. S. Attorney General (1860-1862) and Secretary of War (1862-1869) |
| Stevens Road: | Congressman Thaddeus Stevens (Pa.), abolitionist |
| Sumner Road: | Senator Charles Sumner (Mass.), abolitionist |
| Sheridan Road: | Philip Sheridan, Union army general |

Figure 12. Farms Resident Council's *Community History* Pamphlet: Page 4 of 4.

CHAPTER 4

FARMS' SOCIAL STRUCTURE AND THE STRUCTURE OF FEAR

The previous chapter demonstrated how structural violence, intentionally created and accumulated over time, constrains the life chances of the Farms Public Dwellings community residents. As a hidden and indirect form of violence, structural violence simultaneously fashions the residents as TTDOs and transforms their community into an African American Urban Ghetto (AAUG). This chapter builds from the last chapter to demonstrate how the Farms Public Dwellings community residents' social practices, often characterized as pathological by outsiders, are rational and adaptive responses to the social strain generated by the Western Superior Cultural (WSC) group's use of structural violence, a form of violence that services the socio-spatial binary between themselves and the Non-Western Inferior Other/Truly "Truly" Disadvantaged Other (NWIO/TTDO).

As this research attempts to show, the social-spatial binary monolithically treats all the community residents as culturally antithetical to the majority of District of Columbia citizens. A corollary product of the social-spatial binary is extreme, generalized, and in some instances irrational fear among White Washingtonians and their African American middle-class counterparts living east and west of the Anacostia River toward the impoverished Farms Public Dwellings community residents. The evocation of fear is reinforced by the local media's circulation of stories and sensationalized imagery of crime and violence in the area. The result is that mainstream Washingtonians adopt dystopian perspectives about the community residents and then engage in acts of spatial avoidance and assume dispositions of extreme indifference.

These responses by mainstream Washingtonians increase the spatial isolation and vulnerabilities of community residents. However, exclusively attending to mainstream fears of public dwellings residents leaves unchecked and unexamined the ways in which fear is produced among the Farms Public Dwellings community residents themselves and their reactions to such processes. This chapter therefore takes on such less understood byproducts of structural violence by addressing: first, how structural violence produces fear within the Farms Public Dwellings community; and second, how residents mobilize themselves through certain modal responses toward outsiders.

Early in this research, I found resonance in the residents' social agency with Robert K. Merton's (1938) instructive treatment of social strain and his five-modal response framework. Merton describes two salient elements of American society: the success of wealth accumulation on the one hand and the means to achieve that success, both of which loom large in American society. The means to achieve success is composed of moral imperatives and technical mechanisms or know-how. Merton notes that while the goal of success is widely shared among all U.S. citizens, all citizens do not have equal access to the means of achieving wealth accumulation, such as ghetto residents. Per Merton, African American citizens, due to racism, experience uneven access to education, an integral means of achieving success. Thus, he notes, the unequal access produces various adaptive strategies: conformist, innovator, ritualist, rebel, and retreator. I modify Merton's framework for application here to include four modalities of survival: innovation, retreatism, accommodation, and rebellion.

Below, I present selected observations of community residents' deep and entrenched distrust and fear of outsiders, including White Washingtonians and of the local government, which they often believe only serves White interests. I connect their disposition of fear to these

four survival strategies to demonstrate their active agency in the underbelly of the socio-spatial binary.

SAMMY WAS A WHITE OUTSIDER DESPITE HIS GOOD INTENTIONS

“It’s all about how long—how much time you invest here to get to know the residents and how well you treat ’em,” (sic) responded Thelma Jenson to Sammy’s complaint regarding his previous research experience in the Farms Public Dwellings community. Sammy, frustrated and seeking guidance, had arrived at the entrance of the resident council’s office an hour before Thelma delivered this conclusion. He came in bemoaning the scarce data he’d collected during a previous 18-month research stint. Venturing for the first time into the deep interior of the community where the resident council office was located on Stevens Road, he seemed to be seeking endorsement from the beloved community organizer.

Exasperated by the fact that he had to return to the Farms Public Dwellings community for supplemental research, Sammy stepped into the resident council’s poorly ventilated but air-conditioned office converted from the Farms Public Dwellings’ garden-styled townhomes. Thelma and I were preparing food bags to be distributed later that day to seniors and disabled residents. We were preparing the food bags with some urgency, as I needed to clear space for my summer course instruction.

Sammy explained that he was unable to develop a good sense of the community’s social structure due to the high levels of distrust he received from the community residents whenever he attempted to locate his research beyond the organized recreational sports activities and/or the recreation center. He lamented, “I was never permitted to become anything more than a “White” outsider despite going above and beyond my voluntary roles and services.” The Regs and long-

term residents on Sumner Road were guarded against outsiders. Sammy had only enjoyed contact with the residents on Sumner Road who were recent move-ins and therefore lacked a full grasp of the community's history, networks, and social structure. Sammy was further frustrated in his research pursuits because he was interested in community violence, which as a social phenomenon was mostly concentrated on Stevens Road. He would have needed a miraculous intervention to access this type of knowledge base. It made sense that he sought out Thelma for such an intervention.

Attentively listening to Sammy, Thelma moved from the kitchen and came to rest at her desk, but only after demonstrating the most amazing feat of multitasking—sweeping, answering phones, directing my efforts, managing food allocation, and separating out certain food items that were known to set off allergic reactions for residents. I observed the gaping cracks in the wall and ceiling above and behind Thelma's desk that framed my view and that belied her sturdy appearance. As she rested in the desk's swivel chair, wiping the sweat from her brow and turning toward Sammy, she flipped the interviewer/interviewee roles and began peppering him with questions. Observing the exchange, what became apparent to me was the fact that she held suspicions of his purpose. Almost an hour into their conversation, Thelma ended what I would call an intense interrogation of Sammy with the following proclamation: "It's about time—it takes time . . . what you are looking for will never happen overnight." She never offered him an explanation as to how much time it would take or prescriptive steps to achieve his research goals.

Time is a recurring theme in the community's governance as the resident council often used a resident's length of residency and strength of social ties, in part, to prioritize their loyalties and resources availability to resident types (long-term with strong social ties, long-term with weak-to-no social ties, short-term with strong social ties and short-term with weak-to-no

social ties). For example, short-term residents with weak-to-no social ties were often the least helped by the resident council as the council often felt/thought/believed they received fully rehabilitated units and other resources already. Despite Sammy already having spent eighteen months in the Farms community, his results were limited because of the suspicion and resentment toward him as a symbolic representation of White Washington.

Thelma simply noted that Sammy needed to spend quality time with residents and be engaged in genuine interactions with them at the Rec. Sensing my sudden discomfort, Thelma assured me that I would be in better standing with the residents in general (and those residents who summarily avoided interacting with the government and newcomers) by volunteering on the Stevens Road side of the community and directly as her aide in the resident council's office. She never mentioned that my racial appearance advantaged me; however, it was clear that Sammy's racial appearance disadvantaged him. Given the legacy of racial segregation and displacement in the District of Columbia, I understood the residents' trepidation about both whiteness and the government. Yet, I still felt for Sammy and his unyielding effort to crack the community's social code.

DON'T BELIEVE THE HYPE: "WE GOT REAL REASONS TO DISTRUST THEM"

Farms Public Dwellings community residents often expressed their fear of outsiders to me, but one example stand out as demonstrations of why and how residents fear the government and White Washingtonians. I became aware of the enormous fear and frustration the residents have with the local government through an early morning conversation with a long-term resident of Stevens Road, Mabelle-Joe Denver. Mabelle, in her late sixties and a resident of the Farms Public Dwellings community for approximately thirty years, articulated a deep distrust for the

local government. As a Witness of Structural Violence (WitnessSV), she blamed them for tearing her family apart.

Mabelle first relocated to the District of Columbia (DC) from a small community near Charleston, South Carolina. After more than three decades of residency in the capital city, she still spoke with a rich Southern accent that made it difficult to understand her impromptu quips and frustrated complaints. The difficulty in understanding her was exacerbated by the noise on Stevens Road, which was bustling with resident activity and simultaneously occurring conversations—typical of the Farms Public Dwellings social scape. Stevens Road residents familiar with Mabelle’s dialect and motherly wit found great delight in her presence. The rich Southern dialect that characterized her vernacular style was typical for most long-term residents living out their twilight years in the Farms Public Dwellings. I grew accustomed to enjoying the congeniality attendant in Southern dialects and enjoyed how these residents took to me as if I were their own kin.

I discovered Mabelle’s early morning ritual of collecting and disposing of debris from the Stevens Road street side and courtyards while I was running my morning errands, which included taxiing residents to and from medical appointments, social welfare benefit hearings, grocery shopping, housing re-certification hearings, and area prisons and jails to visit their loved ones. Whenever I anticipated an early morning encounter with Mabelle, I would purchase a few Newport cigarettes and coffee or an ice-cold soda pop (depending on the day’s temperature) to give her as token of my appreciation for her time. Mabelle usually shared news of previous night’s dice games that had grown too rowdy, stories of young adults drinking and laughing boisterously, and their occasional shooting practice that disturbed the quiescence of the night sky. The Stevens Road men had a habit of firing their guns into the St. E’s west campus hillside

and wall as target practice and at the roaming wildlife (deer, foxes, snakes) that appeared at the courtyard's rear. Mabelle noted that hearing accounts of the young men shooting raccoons and snakes reminded of her formative years as a little girl in South Carolina.

Mabelle's talk about the courtyard men who congregated just a few doors down from her residency was always endearing and never coupled with many complaints. She saw these young men—many of whom were friends of her sons—as extended kin members of her network. She has three biological sons, but two are serving lengthy prison sentences and the youngest son, who is disabled, resides with her. During one of our morning encounters, she revealed that her distrust and fear of the government began with the loss of her two eldest sons to the criminal justice system.

That morning, I told Mabelle that I was there to take a resident to visit relatives at the not too distant DC Jail and then further away to a prison facility in Jessup, Maryland. Mabelle became agitated when I mentioned the Jessup Correctional Institution because it evoked unpleasant memories surrounding her two eldest sons' incarceration. When I asked her to explain her apparent discomfort, she began to recount the origin of her two eldest sons' criminal troubles. During the spring of 1982, two years after she was assigned housing in the community, Mabelle sought the assistance of her District of Columbia Housing Authority (DCHA) recertification specialist, hoping this African American female would help her sons acquire employment. Describing this occasion to me, she rationalized her efforts by pointing out how then Mayor Marion Barry created summer work opportunities for African American youth in the city, and given DCHA was an extension of local government, she thought she would find goodwill with her recertification specialist around employment for her sons as well. She lamented:

Ture, I was just trying to get my two oldest boys into something good and to keep them out of these streets. Hmmm, I learned a valuable lesson in being too trusting of them folk [government]. I should've known not to mess with them. I betcha I won't again—I would advise anyone else to deal with them with caution.

Having grown up in a similar community to the Farms, I was familiar with the linguistic practice of detailing the resulting pain of some situation before sharing the actual problem. It is a linguistic strategy that anticipates and defends against any interpretation of speciousness on the part of the listening audience and assures that listeners will arrive at the teller's sense of injury and indignation. Mabelle successfully piqued my interest concerning her and her sons' ordeal, so I actively probed for more details, asking, "Oh my God, what happened? Can you tell me more about your experience seeking assistance from the specialist and how the results relate to Jessup, Maryland's prison?"

Mabelle told me how the recertification specialist regularly cautioned her against settling in Farms Public Dwellings long-term and told her that she should never discontinue searching for more conventional housing. She explained that the recertification specialist warned her against raising three young African American males in the community, a warning that frustrated Mabelle because, as she maintains, "Despite my objections to being placed here and the availability of other housing options, such as a Section 8 voucher, they [DCHA] placed me here anyway. I started to sense something was off even at that moment."¹³⁰

When she was initially assigned residency in the Farms Public Dwellings community, her African American case manager at that time (different from the recertification specialist) declared in no uncertain terms that it would be a failure of character for her not to seek conventional housing within five years. Mabelle explained, "They acted as if I was some kind of

¹³⁰ When provided the opportunity of public housing, most residents have very little power over where DCHA placement and in many instances, resident families are relocated into rival territories.

bad parent and I didn't want better for my boys. Well I did want better for my boys and so, I'd figured.... I gone to the re-cert lady [recertification specialist] for help." Mabelle was desperate to get her two eldest sons employment and figured that since the case manager and recertification specialist expressed so much intrusive concern for her wellbeing, then perhaps they would be inclined to help her. "I talked about my request as a strategy to pool my sons' resources so we could afford other housing," she explained. And so, she supplied the DCHA recertification specialist with every supportive document she could think of, including her sons' school records.

In short order, Mabelle was contacted by a compliance officer at DCHA (a different official from the original case manager and recertification specialist), who notified her that DCHA had discovered a truancy officer's arrest warrant for her two eldest sons. She learned that this warrant was related to an altercation her sons had had with truancy officers in which she felt her sons appropriately defended themselves. Like narcotic officers, truancy officers drive unmarked police cars and dress in plain clothes without any official display of police insignia. The Farms Public Dwellings community residents refer to these types of police officers as "jump-outs" because they operate in a surreptitious fashion by suddenly springing out on their would be targets. This furtive method of attack is no different from the way rival community members operate against Farms community men, so it triggers either a fight or flight response in the unsuspecting victims. Tyrone, who I will discuss later, notes that several of his friends have criminal records because they fought off unidentifiable attackers, whom turned out to be jump-outs and then were charged with assaulting an officer of the law.

Mabelle's two eldest sons' response to attack was to fight and fight hard. Mabelle, who was not present during the incident, narrated the details as they were provided to her by her sons and other community witnesses. The officers sprang out of a black Impala and grabbed for her

sons—the sons vigorously fought them off until marked metropolitan police officials arrived and aided in taking the two sons and friends into custody. After the fight, Mabelle’s sons discovered the professional identity of their attackers as police officers, who had been severely bruised during the scuffle.

The truancy officers summoned Mabelle to pick up her boys from Ballou High School’s principal’s office where she was notified that they were suspended for playing hooky and assaulting the truancy officers. “However,” she explained to me, “I was sure that they’d resolved the matter with suspensions only.” After the compliance officer apprised her of the arrest warrants for her sons, she communicated with the involved truancy officers and they notified her that official representatives from DCHA compelled them to pursue formal charges due to the incident taking place in the Farms Public Dwellings community. Mabelle exhaled. “The specialist took my request for help and in turn destroyed my family. I should have known better not to trust them. If only I knew then what I know now . . . I think about . . . I miss my boys every day. I mean, to think that they wouldn’t just see that it was a truancy issue. Why would they force somebody to press charges?”

Mabelle found the actions of the compliance officer and other professionals at DCHA to be astonishing. The compliance officer noted that violence against police officers was not tolerated in the community and her sons’ infractions violated her lease. The only alternative to terminating her lease was to evict her sons. After her sons were evicted, Mabelle was moved to another townhome with fewer bedrooms and the sons took up residency with neighbors or their girlfriends. She described these events with deep regret. Keeping the conversation interactive and needing to probe further, I agreed with Mabelle that this was an act of betrayal, of sorts, by someone at the DCHA, but queried how the warrants for assaulting truancy officers amounted to

the thirty-year prison sentence. She responded that her sons could not successfully pass pre-hire screenings due to the incident and due to unstable residency, they eventually turned to crime. Pointing at her courtyard, Mabelle exclaimed, “They eventually turned to selling drugs here in this courtyard and one day they shot and killed a rival drug dealer. Ture, I knew I lost my boys then!” Mabelle felt terrible about the shooting death of the other drug dealer, but blames her sons’ criminal trajectory on the betrayal of DCHA professionals.

As a federal city, DC can send its convicted felons to any prison around the country. Because temporary beds became available in Washington, DC’s metropolitan prison of Jessup, Maryland, her sons were temporarily placed there. Later, one son was moved to a prison in Louisiana and the other was housed in an Arizona prison. When kinfolk are incarcerated too far a distance away to visit and too costly to communicate regularly, kinship ties are severely damaged if not permanently lost.

When the resident I’d promised to taxi to the DC jail and Jessup arrived and took position by the passenger side door of my Volvo, I ended my conversational walk with Mabelle. As I was preparing to leave, Mabelle called out, “I wish my boys were still in Jessup, I’d join y’all.” She continued in a more subdued and reflective tone, “Well it’s probably best that they are not, because I don’t want anything to do with those people [government]. They took my boys from me and that’s about all they gon’ get! If I could do this all over again, Ture, I sure wouldn’t have gone there for help. I got help all right.”

While I was teaching the community course, I heard several other personal accounts from residents, who had befriended various professionals of color in the DCHA or other nonprofits and government agencies in the area, only to find themselves in trouble with law enforcement and/or some other government agency. Those with either personal experience or vicarious

experience all shared a sense of distrust, fear, and sometimes hatred toward outsiders and government officials. Mabelle's modal response to the structural constraints of the socio-spatial binary was to retreat: she was a retreator. Whenever she saw outsiders on Stevens Road, she would withdraw to her residency and get the details about their presence later. The generalized fear also affected the residents' interpersonal relationships with other community members. In effect, structural violence fragmented the community, in part, through fear.

GET YOURS, SON, BUT RESPECT THE CODE

I was in the process of carrying a donated box of books (*Code of the Street* by Elijah Anderson, *All Our Kin* by Carol Stack and *In Search of Respect* by Philippe Bourgois) along with copies of the first few chapters of *James People and Garrick Bailey's Introduction to Cultural Anthropology* textbook from my car into the resident council office, when I heard Tyrone yelling my name from the top of Stevens Road where it intersects with Wade Road. Normally, it's not a good practice to have someone draw attention to you, particularly as you carry a large box of undisclosed items through the community, but he'd garnered a high level of respect from the young men that congregated on Stevens Road. Therefore, I was happy for this public hailing. Equally important, I recognized Tyrone's respected status among the other community males that hung out on Stevens Road so I wanted to give him the chance to study the box's contents and then report back to his friends that it contained academic materials. (These were extra course materials I wanted to make available for any interested visitor to the resident council office.) I was also genuinely interested in catching up with him given that our encounters were so infrequent. Tyrone did a great job in catching me up on all the happenings, both public

happenings and those not so public details that added context. I waited there on the stoop of the office for his approach.

Tyrone, as with most of the young men on Stevens Road, was guarded about his private affairs and adhered to the Farms Public Dwellings' *no snitch code*. It was therefore hard for me to verify his length of residency or when he moved into the community. He often changed the number of years or grew agitated when I asked him certain biographical questions. Even Mabelle was unsure as to when he'd exactly appeared in the community; she adored him nonetheless. She mentioned that many of the young men in her courtyard embraced him and she felt cool with that. She believed that given the breadth of acquaintances he had in the community, Tyrone must have enjoyed many prior community ties before moving in. Tyrone found favor in Mabelle's circle of friends because he was her principal supplier of discounted Newport cigarettes by the carton. Based on all that I could gather, I felt confident in placing him in the category of a short-term resident with strong social ties. He resided in a unit on a courtyard connecting Eaton Road to the parallel Sumner Road.

Sadly, Tyrone and his family had been displaced from Arthur Capers Public Housing and DCHA had resettled them in the Farms Public Dwellings community. As such, I would also classify him as a WitnessSV. The homosocial space of the Stevens Road was dominated by young African American males, some drug dealers, some scouts and other petty offenders. As of the fence line for the Regs, and the Rec for Carter and staff, so would Stevens Road represented key socializing spaces in the community. The latter social space was also an isolated space within the already isolated Farms Public Dwellings community to which the MPD referred as a hotspot and every relative government agency tried to penetrate. Tyrone's response to the structural constraints on his quality of life—like most of other young men of his age's sodality

on Stevens Road—was to engage in innovative strategies of survival and to achieve the American dream. I use the terms innovative, innovator and innovation variously to refer to the pursuit of the American dream through illicit and illegal practices because conventional pathways are unavailable. Tyrone sold everything from drugs to retail commodities to small electronics, and he took a lot of odd jobs in the underground economy.

Tyrone mentioned that he hadn't seen me in a while since my last volunteering role at the Rec and was surprised to learn that I took on a permanent presence on Stevens Road. "I am serious about my research, man," I responded jokingly to remind him of my principal focus. I continued, "Besides, I seen you since then, brother, I was volunteering here at the resident council office the last time you came around with all that black-market stuff." We laughed as I settled the books in the office on Thelma's desk and then invited him to grab some lunch with me. He and I took off to get wings and fries at the Big Chair Coffee, Bar and Grill. I should note, I am certain he'd already known that I'd relocated my research base to Stevens Road, but the pretension of ignorance is an important and common resident strategy. Gossipers, meaning those who talk and those who celebrate knowing gossip, are highly disapproved of and relatedly, there are consequences for snitching. Residents used feigned ignorance as a strategy to probe for details and to supplement already known facts about some phenomenon. In addition, it allows the listener to establish a reasonable distance to some social fact—plausible deniability against reckless gossip and snitching.

Tyrone was intrigued by the fact that I was a doctoral student at American University—a predominantly White institution—and assumed that in a world so rigidly structured through a racial binary, I must have deployed my own hustle to gain admission. So, he pressed for my strategy just as I pressed him for his life story and the coping mechanisms he deployed against

marginalization. Admittedly, he was excellent at leading me into deep introspection regarding the way race and place intersected to impact my life. As we parked in front of the restaurant, I reassured Tyrone that I had zero talent in hustling and that I found predominant White spaces to be filled with just as many allies as antagonists.

The street outside the Big Chair restaurant was buzzing with vendors, corner men, the pedestrian traffic of office workers, and slow moving vehicles taking in the sights. Fortuitously, we found a parking space just outside the restaurant. We checked into the restaurant, took our favorite seats at the bar, and ordered our favorite flavored wings and fries. Settling in the back supported bar stools, we shifted our gaze back and forth between the two-screen television monitors airing CNN and ESPN and the large window front showcasing the passersby, frame by frame. I knew how messy, but delicious, the wings and fries were, so I tried to get in my questions in rapid fire before the food arrived.

I first asked him to explain his sporadic presence, why he disappeared so often, sometimes for months at a time, and whether this was due to his secret matriculation at a local college, a regular job, or something else. I hoped the answer would be “college,” because Tyrone was a sharp young man and observant in the way of an ethnographer. Replying in a matter-of-fact fashion, “no and no” to the first two parts of the question. As for the last part, however—the catch-all phrase of *something*, he explained, “like all the other youngins in the Farms, I got to get that paper too, but I am careful with mines.” By this he meant that he had to hustle to make the proverbial ends meet but carefully evaluated the area for risks. Tyrone went on to explain—in fact, distance himself from the other young hustlers—he only hustled when there was a need. “I hustle when the times are tough [pointing to his pockets] and pockets are rough—but when times are safe to grind, I do get it in, you feel me.” Pointing at a Bank of

America security guard standing outside as a symbolic representation of all law enforcement, “I do it when it’s not hot!” He continued:

If I ever got caught doing some illegal shit here, my family and I can get put out [evicted] with no place to go. I only come on the block on days when I know I am least likely to get caught or something, you feel me! ... You know the wifee [sic] and family want nice shit from time to time and that nice shit cost! Right now, the only way to get is to get on the grind and work that trap. One day we will move outta this hell hole but for now, I am gonna get this paper. It is what it is. This is what I do.

Tyrone was keenly aware of his environment and thoroughly evaluated all who passed through it. I imagined this level of meticulous attention to detail had to do with a real need to screen for potential threats, including the police, jump-outs, and area rivals. However, at the Big Chair restaurant, I noticed that his attentiveness represented an astute reading of middle-class signifiers that adorned the African American professionals and residents that appeared to pick up their pre-ordered lunches. Whenever something caught his eye, he intermittently stopped eating and engaged in small talk with the patron. Sometimes it was to get clarification and other times it was to demonstrate his knowledge. With admiration, I listened to him roll off the various styles of cufflinks, neck ties, and designer shoes. One African American patron entered the establishment from the adjacent building. This patron had on a pair of, what appeared to me to be, plain white derby shoes. Tyrone hurried to clear a wing he was chewing on and wipe his hands, and then he turned towards the patron, who appeared disinterested in any conversation - well at least conversation with Tyrone and me. Tyrone remarked rather loudly to assure he had the patron’s attention and while pointing to the patron’s shoes “those are the latest Salvatore Ferragamo’s, right?” Struck by Tyrone’s knowledge he extended his visit to have a warmed exchange with Tyrone and me.

Although, I never observed Tyrone to wear any of the items he listed, it was clear that he appreciated middle-class taste and style. Unfortunately, given his social location, he quite like

will never get to fully enjoy the quality of life that affords the accoutrements he was so keenly inventorying. After the patron left the restaurant, he turned back to me persuasively noting, “I could fit in with these folks, don’t you think...” He was indeed sharp, but he was also aware of the prohibitive barriers in his way such as the stigmatization of his race and residence. “Ture, I know where I am from is blocking my rise,” he noted. Previously, Tyrone shared with me his many failed efforts at acquiring jobs in the District of Columbia’s white-collar and service sector employment. His most recent job was working at a food kiosk at the Nationals’ baseball stadium. He was fired for giving extra food to his friends from the Farms that came there to check on him. Explaining his idea of hustling, he noted:

Now you see, Ture, you see why I do what I do. I got to get this paper. The same shit they got over there [pointing west of the Anacostia River]. Man, I want it too, I want to make sure my family got all that right there, all that right there I want in my home—you know, beds, mattresses, televisions, living room furniture, a washer and dryer, computer, nice clothes, my wife’s car, food...you know the same shit you probably need and want, shit to be real, the same shit you probably have, Ture. I know you know what I am talking about. You can’t be at American college and not stunt. When you come in my house, it looks like those same condos they have over there near the Nats stadium. I gets no problems from Nathan, the property management here, because his people walk in my spot, they see how we do, they see how we are so decent. They give the ultimate respect. My kids are good, and short of getting the fuck up out of here, I’m good.

To keep the conversation going and make it feel less of an interview, I joked with him about not mentioning nice sneakers in his list of things he wanted, since the sneakers he was wearing appeared to be a recent release of Michael Jordan retros. He said:

I mean, I am definitely a sneaker head but I only cop [purchase] like one or two pair every couple of months. I mostly hustle for my household needs. I want my children to feel just as valuable and worthy as anyone else kids. The only thing, Ture, is that I just got to get stuff I need the hard way. You feel me? But I do my shit wisely and with integrity. Seriously, the reason you don’t see me out there every day because I don’t get greedy. I get what I need and that’s it. Nothing more and nothing less!

Tyrone explained that he wasn't against pursuing less risky and more conventional employment, but he was exhausted by the practice of filling out applications and not receiving even the courtesy response, "Thank you for your interest in our company. Unfortunately, we found a more suitable candidate for the current job opportunity," he explained.

We decided to share another serving of the wings, which allowed me additional time to ask a few more questions. I asked Tyrone about the assumed predatory nature of the Farms Public Dwellings community, particularly Stevens Road where most of the community violence takes place. "Tyrone," I asked, "Don't you fear for your safety?" He responded, "Come on, Ture, you've been here long enough to know what's good and what's Hollywood. You know all that shit you see on the news ain't what we are." I interjected, "But there was a spate of shootings in the community." He continued, "Ture, first, most of these guys out here know each other and we stick together against others from other communities. The simple rule here is: don't snitch, lie, cheat or hustle anyone here. We all are on the grind and we are all trying to eat. What goes on in your house is your business, but in the streets it's everyone's business. So, no, I am not worried because I understand it's about respect. Respect gets respect, Ture."

In slightly different terms, Tyrone explained that the only people who should be concerned about their safety are new residents. "Ture," he explained, "new residents come in here with no ties to no one here and try to prove themselves tough and that will get you hurt. Otherwise, new resident move in with nice stuff and people watched and talk. If you ain't got no one looking out for you, then we gonna get that stuff. That's just how things are here." So I asked what happens if someone breaks with the code and he explained, "No one will fuck with you or you might get *worked up* or even worse, *merked*."

The use of the term *worked up* means that fighters will attack you and to be *merked* means someone will eventually shoot to kill you. The degree of punishment is inversely related to one's length of residency and social ties, so for example if a long-term resident with strong social ties violates the code, the punitive response might be to ostracize him. However, if you are a short-term resident with weak-to-no social ties and you commit some type of infraction to the code, you are in jeopardy of losing your life. Redemption here is achieved by one proving their loyalty over time. He explained that residents take breaking the code seriously because everyone relies on the network of hustlers; they fear losing their housing and they fear going to jail. To be certain, as innovators, the young men engage in illicit and illegal survival strategies to which they develop their mechanism of detecting code violators and the punishments to be assigned to those infractions.

Tyrone described an incident that occurred with a long-term resident's son, who lived near the resident council office. This young man named Byron was one of the key hustlers in the community, but he often lacked integrity and ethics causing him to violate the code. One day, he broke into one of the other community hustler's home and stole all his electronics. The parent of this young man walked in on Byron and although he was fleeing the scene, she made proper identification. Before Byron could make it back to his house, another young man that hustled at the bottom of Stevens Road took pursuit, chasing Byron into his house. He began pistol whipping Byron with his gun and was prepared to shoot and kill him if not injure him severely. Byron's mother Beverly Lou- Lou Lucille and Mabelle came running in and pleaded with the assailant to stop, which he did, perhaps out of respect for Mabelle. Although, the assailant never intended to kill Byron because of Byron's length of residency and strong community ties, he did want to emphasize how significant of a violation the code Byron committed. As a long-term

resident with strong social ties, it is for this reason that the violation was eventually resolved. Ironically, I would take Lucille to visit Byron in jail in Prince George's county, Arlington, Virginia and the District of Columbia.

Tyrone stated in very clear terms, "On the streets of the Farms it's okay to hustle if that's how you gonna make it, if you choose to do it that way, you good only if you follow the street codes and didn't cross other recognized community members." Tyrone took it one step further:

Ture, these streets are good to me, and I am good to them. But it is not easy hustling here and you got to know when to do it. You must know the regular shift changes, the normal hangouts of police officers, measure the safeness by who's present on the block, the shift priorities of the management and property maintenance, if there are any vacancies on the block and where, and most importantly where the block scouts are located.

Like mainstream Washingtonians, innovators desire wealth. Their pursuit of upward mobility is limited by a severe lack of resources and access to licit mechanisms by which to achieve said wealth. Tyrone, Byron, and many other young community men attempt to achieve the American Dream through pursuing unconventional and unsanctioned subsistence strategies in direct response to their real socio-spatial constraints. Because some of these subsistence strategies are illegal, innovators go to great lengths to avoid detection by government authorities and outsiders in general. In the Farms Public Dwellings community, specifically on Stevens Road, they developed a unique system for avoiding outsiders using scouts to surveille all possible points of entrance onto the road. Scouts would signal when police were closing in on their questionable activities.

Retreatism represents another patterned response to socio-spatial constraints in that retreaters similarly avoid detection and contact with governmental and housing officials as well as outsiders in general. However, retreaters do not conduct illegal and illicit activities. Rather they recuse themselves from all official community gatherings such as the Farms Historical

Festival Day and all other points of interface with DCHA housing officials and local service providers as a wholesale rejection of the social constraints unfairly foisted upon their lives.

Unlike innovators, retreaters have long since divested their belief in the American dream; they consider racial progress toward equality, equal opportunity, upward mobility, and the American dream a fallacious idea. Both retreaters and innovators engaged in a constant screening process of outsiders. I often found myself providing evidence of my institutional affiliation or enduring some sort of protracted and repeated evaluation.

WE JUST WANT TO BE LEFT THE HELL ALONE: ACCOUNTS OF TWO TYPES RETREATERS

The retreaters enjoyed a symbiotic relationship with the innovators. Since many of the innovators are the children of the retreaters, retreaters give moral and literal cover to the innovators and make use of the goods and services that pass through the latter's hands. For example, Mabelle never needs to visit local convenience, such as Charlie's red corner store at the intersection of Sumner and Wade Roads to purchase their exorbitantly priced cigarettes because Tyrone regularly provides her with all the retail commodities she asks him for including cigarettes. The innovators thus enable the retreaters to decrease contact even with community merchants.

Retreaters are trying to forge their own parallel society without adopting the structural features common to mainstream society. They just want their own space, free from surveillance and intrusion. If effective, their social practice of retreatism cannot be collected as evidence of the culture of poverty by outsiders and remains unregistered by the District of Columbia government. Most retreaters thus not only loathe having government officials and other outsiders

in their social space, they also fear it, because they recognize that the only way the government can find evidence of pathology is through intrusion, surveillance and misrepresentation. As such the government expends a tremendous amount of energies and resources to penetrate the retreaters' social space, particularly Stevens Road. Given the concentration of long-term residents on Stevens Road—a length of residency that both facilitates the shielding of innovators and reserves separate community space for the retreaters—DCHA housing officials continued to find reasons to intrude into the residents' homes there. The retreaters' resulting and generalized fear of outsiders and government officials sometimes caused internal community fragmentation, as is seen in the next somewhat atypical example of retreatism.

Stephanie Proctor, a fifty-year-old resident, lives across the street from the resident council's office with her son, who was in his mid-twenties. She gave birth to her son prior to moving into the Farms Public Dwellings, but as a toddler in the nineties, he grew up side by side with many of the innovators on Stevens Road and had become socialized to their same culture. He actively participates in the street activities on Stevens Road, so Stephanie potentially had access to the goods and services that circulated through Stevens Road's underground economy. However, Stephanie rejected this access. As a retired security officer who had worked at the DC City Hall building throughout her son's life, she had earned enough to afford a reliable means of transportation and preferred to travel outside the community, to the US 1 Flea Market in ElkrIDGE Maryland and big box stores like Costco, Sam's Club, Walmart in Maryland and Virginia, to obtain all her family's needs.

Periodically, I accompanied her to Costco near Bowie, Maryland, to do joint shopping. I lived a short distance away from Costco, so she would stop by my house to allow me to unload my packages and then off we were, back to the Farms. I would return to the Farms with her to

help transfer her purchases into her home. A fast and efficient transfer of her purchases into her home was significant to her because Costco, for example, sold their items in bulk and packed them into unlidded cartons at the checkout counter. This meant that every purchase was available for inspection by her neighbors. Stephanie wasn't concerned about a possible break-in, but wanted to avoid her neighbors requesting resources in the form of food or whatever else they discovered she possessed. As part of her retreat mode, she never sought out any goods from her neighbors, fearing that by doing so she would become obligated to participate in the reciprocal exchange system and be brought into a larger social network than she desired. Although not a recluse, her atypical retreatism came close to this manner of living.

Other residents would have benefitted greatly from Stephanie's owning a reliable means of transportation, but her fear of being pulled into the system of reciprocity extended to avoiding giving help or receiving favors. Stephanie parked her vehicle in the rear of the community near the St. Es wall and she never asked for gas or help with car repairs from other residents, who would often repair vehicles right on the roadway out of neighborliness or in exchange for transportation. Even though a private vehicle enhanced her status in the community, sometimes in negative ways, she rebuffed the idea that she was somehow trying to be different from other residents.

Stephanie avoided purchasing commercial goods from local merchants. She noted that the Farms community lacked quality and affordable food, entertainment, medical and dental services. She explained, "The local merchants hide behind dirty twelve-inch thick plexiglass and sell us produce and meats that are pricey and stale. Who wants to eat that crap and who wants to be treated like that? It's like they don't respect our money." I asked if she ever thought to take advantage of some of the items sold by the community innovators. She adamantly responded:

No! I would be getting some of the same stuff as I get from these stores. Also, by participating in the purchase these stuff ... these guys sell you ... you are inviting them into your private life and you might be inviting the government authorities too ... if any of this stuff is tracked by the police, then you will have an entirely different problem ... they [MPD] too will be in your house. It's not that I dislike the people here. My son is friends with many of them and Lord knows I could use a discount or two, but I if I can make it with my retirement and social security monies, I'd rather purchase directly from the market.

Then I asked her why she traveled all the way to Maryland to get what she needed, instead of simply shopping west of the Anacostia River. She denounced the hostile treatment she received when she attempted to do any business over there, saying:

The White folks over there [White Washingtonians] don't care for me and I don't care for them. When I am in Maryland shopping, I don't feel unwanted and besides some of the items are cheaper there too. I just feel like I and my money is unwanted and not respected here in DC. It's been that way as far as I can remember. You know you get worried because the problem might be you, you know you might have the chip on your shoulder. But no, all the politeness in the world doesn't get pass the coldness of this and the city and federal workers I came into contact while working at City Hall. They were very mean and nasty toward me. When I went to work, I made it a practice to take my lunch with me and when I was off, I headed right back here.

Although Stephanie had been in contact with a racially and ethnically diverse cadre of professionals through her former workplace, she deemed all mainstream DC to be a racially hostile climate. I suggested classism might have been at play in her treatment west of the Anacostia River, but she was inflexibly invested in a racially binary outlook. In this, she in similar fashion to other Farms Public Dwelling community residents painted all mainstream DC as White. This is always a puzzling observation, but it appeared that the experience of racial segregation, racism and a local political official, Marion Barry, who articulated the injustices residents experience to be the result of White oppression.

Stephanie's retreatism, particularly her avoidance of the reciprocal exchange networks within the Farms Public Dwellings community itself, set her off from other residents. This

became apparent while she was attending the community summer course, which Thelma had persuaded her to join.¹³¹ Although Stephanie seemed to enjoy the sociality of other residents that gathered at the resident council office, she was not a gossip. Her appearance of sociality seemed to me to be a strategic way of remaining apprised of community happenings without opening herself up to reciprocal sharing of vital community information. In fact, she rarely had anything to report to other residents. Her conversational inquiries directly concerned the NCI redevelopment plan, evictions, move-ins, and recent violence, whereas other residents discursively chatted about these subjects, gossiped, or talked about whatever was on their hearts at the time.

Her attention to redevelopment and subsequent enrollment in the summer course allowed me to center the course on the issue of NCI and the effects of gentrification/displacement in the African American community. I wanted to understand the impact of structural violence in the forms of social constraints and urban redevelopment on the collective wellbeing and social networks of course participants and how they mobilized themselves in response to these restrictions. I used Carol Stack's ethnography *All Our Kin* as a primary text for sparking conversations around kinship systems and personal and supportive networks.¹³² Stack concentrated her attention on several African American families and the ways in which their domestic structure, different from nuclear household structures, was multigenerational and exceeded the boundaries of the physical household. Moreover, Stack demonstrated how the

¹³¹ It took a while to build rapport with Stephanie and convince her that I was genuinely interested in Farms community research from a social justice standpoint. Eventually she warmed up to me and I got the opportunity to explain my ethnographic methodology, strict adherence to confidentiality and requests for anonymity, and commitment to ethical research that causes no harm but rather seeks to help the community.

¹³² I issued each enrolled participant his or her own copy and we read this one book in its entirety. In addition, I gave a two-day lecture on the importance of kinship structures and the durability or lack thereof of African American kinship systems in times of crisis. I also talked about why anthropologists, including me, earnestly sought to understand them and the impact of programs like NCI redevelopment on kinship systems and social networks in the Farms Public Dwellings.

understudied African American kinship structure, explained by poverty and isolation rather than cultural poverty, allowed poor African Americans to survive. Stack noted that as domestic networks, rather than western kinship groups, in the African American community are not structured around nuclear household arrangements but rather structured across multiple domestic groups and centered around the roles of female caretakers (Stack 93-94). Citing R. T. Smith to demonstrate the significance of kin and non-kin that exist outside of the nucleic household structure, Stack writes, "...what is most striking is the extent to which lower-class person continue to be involved with other kin." Continuing with a direct quote from Nancie Gonzalez who suggests the nature of loyalty is an inherent condition of African American kinship structures, she writes "the fact that individuals have simultaneous loyalties to more than one such [domestic] grouping may be important in understanding the social structure as a whole" (Stack 103-104).

Throughout the ensuing class conversation on domestic groups, networks, and pooling of resources, Stephanie stuck to her brand of retreatism. She presented three arguments in defense of her choice to remain socially distant:

First, the more people you know here the more you know here. When someone here is caught violating their lease and subsequently fined or evicted, the first thing they ask is, "Who among my friends snitched on me?" I don't have time for that and I can't convince you of my loyalty or even think I can't convince you that I don't want anything to do with the front office nor have a need to go there other than pay my rent, then I don't have time for making friends. I don't have time for the drama. It's all about trust, but building trust takes time.

Second, I don't do anything wrong here, but the more people you know here, the more people are in your business, and [the more] they can misinterpret what you are doing and report you for nothing. Now you in trouble. Shoot, I might want to work a side job and get paid under the table. I don't need someone telling my business and getting the little benefits I received cut off. Isn't that how Florence Manilow got caught and owe so much money?¹³³

¹³³ Thelma interjected, "Yeah, but nobody likes her because the way she treats people."

... Finally, I've been here for, what, almost eighteen years or more. I seen the way those city folks treat us. You can't even get repairs on your units when there is something legitimately wrong like a roof leak. I don't have time for someone trying to convince me to trust them [the government] to do right by us. I've been there and done that. I am happy where I am at and just want to be left the hell alone.

Stephanie felt that opening her network was tantamount to bringing the government into her affairs. She was serious about being left alone or at least avoiding contact with housing officials and general outsiders. Mabelle, who had also enrolled in the course, similarly noted, "When I see them folk coming, I just turn and go into my home. I am sure I can always follow up with you [pointing at Thelma] to get the goods [information]."

Stephanie then recounted a story to explain her distrust of the government and decision to retreat:

When they first started talking about redevelopment here, they said three things: First, one for one replacement, meaning that after we were restored back to this property after redevelopment we would get same bedroom size for same bedroom size replacement. Second, they also said that they would build in place and on Stevens Road first, meaning that we would get treated, well, first. And finally, they said no one would be displaced because they didn't want to ruin people's friendship and support systems and stuff.

What happened? So when they started to change their tune, I went to the meetings and complained as other people did. You [Thelma] know this is true. What happened, [I] suddenly received random inspections. Come to think of it, it's a good thing I didn't purchase any of the stuff these guys be selling here or I might have not only failed inspection, but been evicted or worse. But I keep my house orderly and after the two random and surprise inspections, I guess they gave up. Now, I know these inspections is because I complained. I knew it for certain because no one in my small circle could have possibly said I was or my son was doing something illegal. They [the inspectors] were like, "You pass the inspections," and I was like, "I know and thank you!" It is not you all [that I am avoiding]. I just want to be left the hell alone to figure out what me and my son's next step should be. We don't need to be rich or anything like that. We just need to have a roof over our head and safe.

Stephanie's disposition toward extreme retreatism was at odds with other Stevens Road residents. They pushed back against her rejection of their social networks and what appeared to them as a chip on her shoulder. One course participant, Sheryl Pennington, even drew on the Stack text to challenge Stephanie, as described below.

I LIKE IT OVER HERE BECAUSE I AM FREE FROM THEIR STARES

Sheryl is a short-term resident with emerging social ties, a WitnessSV, and retreator. Sheryl had two young boys, aged 7 and 12 respectively, named Randy and Rodney Pennington. Sheryl also had a live-in boyfriend nicknamed Potato. Finally, she had two large black Labrador Retrievers. Originally, as a short-term resident with weak-to-no social ties on Stevens Road (though her social ties were fast growing due to her personality), dogs were an important part of her home protection system. Sheryl had lived in the community for less than five years but she immediately adapted to the reciprocal exchange system on Stevens Road by watching others' children and sharing her scarce food resources.¹³⁴ Despite her short length of residency and retreator disposition, she had built trust and acceptance far more quickly than other residents of short-term status and without prior community contacts usually did.

Sheryl once visited me at the resident council office after I began a project of cleaning out the second level of the building.¹³⁵ While helping me clear out papers and trash, she

¹³⁴ It was among Sheryl's network of family and friends that I took up temporary residence and rented a room for six months during this research, only ending my residency when it was perceived as a threat to my new landlady's lease.

¹³⁵ The resident council was housed in a building with nine rooms, four on the ground level and five on the second story. The first level included a kitchen where food was prepped and served for events held at the office and the annual Farms Historical Festival Day. A living room had been converted into a front office for Thelma, a back room was used storing food and material donations, and a dining room had been converted into a multipurpose event space. On Sundays, it served as a church, and Mondays through Saturdays it was purposed as a classroom or community meeting space. The second level originally contained four bedrooms, which had been converted into a children's library, a computer and printing room, an office for a historical preservationist/grant writer, and a media

predicted that I would soon discover all the promises broken by DCHA to the residents. Sheryl's initial disposition had been that of an accommodator. She initially felt very vulnerable and yet grateful for the housing provision. She assumed the redevelopment plan that she only heard of after moving into her three-bedroom unit was in the best interest of all the residents. Moreover, not wanting to jeopardize her family's chances to be relocated in a more propitious living environment, she strictly adhered to all DCHA proscriptions and prescriptions of a tenant in good standing.

Sheryl observed there were many residents evicted for complaining about control numbers and how the NCI program was going. She shared with me how she took every counseling class and life skills service mandated to remain in good standing without ever getting employment or something more substantial in return. She stated:

I soon found my[self] shifting my loyalties. I eventually gave up on my dreams of being relocated to Sheraton or Mathews [Memorial Terrace] or even being returned here after redevelopment. In fact, I don't even think they are going to redevelop this community, well not at least for us. So, I figured, let me just raise my sons in peace and separate from them completely. I don't do well with lies and people who abuse you. I just pay my rent and that is the extent of my contact with them [DCHA]. I like being over here on Stevens Road because I am free from their [government] judgment and stares.

Sheryl fretted over the palpable distrust and enmity she received initially from her neighbors. As a new resident, she felt extremely vulnerable surrounded by an established section of the community with residents averaging twenty to thirty years of residency. She was also aware that her neighbors resented her \$20,000 rehabilitated unit when they were sitting on several delayed repair requests. As the DCHA began to falter and their contradictions became apparent to the first-time public housing resident, she realized that she should invest in the

room. I was excited to do clean it out so I could study the office space and old records in detail and identify other ways that I could lighten the burden of the beleaguered council.

building relations with her neighbors. The significance of building one's domestic network was reiterated during the conversation about the Stack's text in the community course. Sheryl agreed with Stack's argument that African American people only survive the brutal conditions of poverty by sharing resources. She critiqued Stephanie's desire to keep her network small, which she saw not only as proof of Stephanie's unfriendly personality, but as an irrational mode of survival.

I understand you [Stephanie], but sometimes people can get the wrong impression ... Sometimes you appear very standoffish and rude. Like, damn! like the other day, I saw you sitting on your porch and as I walked past, I said hello to you and complimented you on how clean your yard was. You were so short with me, I had to question whether I looked like a prostitute or crackhead or something, like I was out to get your stuff. I mean you were short; it was like an evil spirit. My kids tell me the same thing about you. They say you stare at them as if to suggest that they should not mess with you. Now, I understand you a little better, but you also got to understand, like [the characters] Ruby Banks, Magnolia and her husband in Carol's [Stack] book, we need to support each other. I don't want none of your stuff, but do want people here to look out for my two boys.

Sheryl then provided her own example of why she distrusted the government and depends for her family's survival on extending her domestic network beyond her own household to other residents in the community.

I picked my boys up from Savoy Elementary school one day and we were walking home. By the time my youngest son, Randy, got to Wade and Sumner Roads at the corner near Charlie's store, he was like he needed to go [urinate] and didn't think he could hold it. I gave him my key and told him to hurry home. Apparently, he made it to the top of Stevens Road and urinated behind a tree. I turned the corner with Rodney and we saw him sitting on the curb in handcuffs. The jump-outs [who] grabbed him [were] talking about indecent exposure. My poor baby had piss all down his pants legs. I am looking like, what's going on, that's my son: What are you talking about Mister Officer, how can he be arrested for indecent exposure when he is only seven years of age?

Then the officers start getting rude with me and threatening to report me to the housing office, welfare and child protective services. I was like, "For what? You got me mixed up with Lucy Ricardo. Now please take these handcuffs off my child. You scared him enough. We were coming from school and he couldn't hold his [urine] so I gave him my key and told him to run home. At least, he tried to

hide behind a tree.” They let him, me, and my other son go, but not after ruining our day.

I noticed you [Stephanie] was on your porch watching the whole thing. It would have been nice if you said, “Come here, boy, and use my restroom.” Or you could have said something to the officers on my behalf. You know I am always with my boys and they are good kids. Instead, I walk past you and you gave all of us your rude stare. I’m just saying, we need to help each other and most of us do that here on Stevens Road except a few. I don’t like my kids playing outside without my ability to watch them, but I let all their friends come to my house. Sometimes, I even watch other children when their parents need it. I mean, I know we are not all kin, but we all need help.¹³⁶

Many retreaters once dreamed of living in mainstream society, but surrendered the dream after successive waves of disappointment. Now they desire to be left alone. They resent the intrusiveness of the DCHA housing officials, the industry of non-profit services that exploits their vulnerability and sells them dreams that never materialize. They also resent the smothering level of police harassment in their community. While they are not happy with the status quo or the conditions of their housing, their community isolation and deferred dreams, they fear that any governmental intervention will increase their vulnerabilities.

Retreaters are anxious about evictions and the subsequent introduction of new residents into their community. They believe that the presence of short-term residents with weak-to-no social ties, some of whom come from rival communities, increases violence and draws unwanted attention to their roadway. Retreaters also dislike new move-ins because they perceive them mostly to be accommodators. Length of residency and the nature of social ties are insufficient for determining modal responses to the social constraints that circumscribe Farms residents’ lives, however. While accommodators are typically short-term residents with weak-to-no social ties,

¹³⁶ Mabelle, in her deep accent, agreed by saying she wished someone had been there to intervene on behalf of her two eldest sons when the truancy officers jumped out on them.

below I provide examples of diverse accommodators who had been granted an enormous platform to represent the entire community in the NCI redevelopment plan and implementation.

CROOKS, RADICALS AND THOSE INDIFFERENT ARE GOING TO SPOIL OUR ONE
CHANCE TO HAVE A DECENT COMMUNITY AND TO END CRIME

Accommodators were a loosely organized bunch, only recognizable at NCI meetings due to their shared and articulated fears, testimonies of victimization, and common modal responses to the socio-spatial constraints on their lives. This section describes three accommodators who sought to put themselves in good favor with local government officials: Vivian Brown, a short-term resident with strong social ties; Florence Manilow, a long-term resident with weak-to-no social ties; and Jelissa Bryant, a short-term resident with weak-to-no social ties. Accommodators present themselves as highly cooperative, model residents who have fully bought into the expertise of NCI officials. All three women took official positions that would enable them to steer the redevelopment plan toward hasty implementation without any hindrance. Vivian Brown became head of the resident council after Thelma resigned and Jelissa Bryant and Florence Manilow were each elected as the local Advisory Neighborhood Commissioner (ANC) for the entire Farms neighborhood. Accommodators generally believed that the NCI plan could purge the community of unproductive residents and criminal elements and argued that other accommodators like them should exclusively be allowed to return to the Farms after redevelopment. As Jelissa Bryant once yelled at a meeting, “If we keep going at this rate, the crooks, radicals and those who don’t care will cause us to lose out on this opportunity! I want to live somewhere decent and to be recognized as decent.”

In early 2011, the resident council became concerned that the redevelopment plan would be significantly delayed by the activities of competing “rebel” community groups (discussed in the next section). The council convened several informal meetings at their office in hope of speeding the plan toward implementation. One day, while I was setting up my new interview space in the resident council office (second-floor media room), Vivian leaned over the stairway banister and summoned me to participate in a discussion to help the executive council present and other residents determine whether they should accept without contest the NCI’s revised human capital and relocation plan. This plan called for all residents to be relocated and the entire property to be demolished and redeveloped from the ground up. This revision was a major change from the original, brokered agreement between the resident council (represented by Harriet and Thelma) with the district government (DMPED and DCHA) in 2006-2007, which stipulated that the Farms community was to be redeveloped in phases with a single relocation of residents from their dilapidated units to brand new units on site. The rationale had been that if movement was limited within the site through a single relocation, the government could save money and cause less disruption to residents.¹³⁷ Many residents had requested to be kept on site while redevelopment was carried out in phases as opposed to temporary relocation with a guaranteed re-entry process, since the re-entry plan would only return residents in good standing: those who have good credit and no criminal record and are either senior citizens, disabled, or employed.

Thelma, Mabelle, Stephanie, Sheryl, Jelissa, Anastasia Konrad, Phaedra Moore, and several others gathered in the office’s multipurpose room to vigorously debate whether or not the

¹³⁷ NCI had been designed in reaction to the significant criticisms of HOPE VI, particularly the critique that HOPE VI disrupted durable social networks and dissolved collective resources (Greenbaum 2008; Greenbaum et al. 2008).

executive board of the resident council should advocate for temporary relocation off the property during the redevelopment process with an immediate return thereafter. Thelma, bearing the unhealed wounds of urban renewal's past and her recent, forced resignation from the council, adamantly declared that the council should uphold the original agreed plan that she and Harriet had negotiated. Turning to Vivian, Thelma stated, "It's your decision now, you push for what you want." Mabelle, the retreator, then interjected, "It's not up to Vivian. Now Vivian, don't take this the wrong way, but you represent us—all of us. Now for me, I would rather have them just fix up our places and go on 'bout their business." Vivian, the accommodator, then complained about the conditions of the property and stated that she preferred to have her family relocated while the entire property was redeveloped: "If the government is committed to returning some of us as DC Mayor Adrian Fenty (2007 – 2011) publicly declared, residents should consider a temporary relocation off-site as a necessary inconvenience." Vivian feared that delays in NCI implementation would cause the community to lose an opportunity for improvement and leave decent residents vulnerable to the bad elements. She also saw the NCI redevelopment plan as a way to end the community stigmatization and build bridges to the area west of the Anacostia River, thereby incorporating the Farms community into mainstream society.¹³⁸ Accommodators such as Vivian did not see their pliant relations with the NCI, DMPED, and other professionals as capitulation, but as assertive participation in fashioning a productive environment for themselves and other like-minded residents.

Vivian was in her sixties. She often wore a home health aide's uniform—pink or navy blue cargo pants and a flowered top with dark colored scrubs. Her silver and gold hair was pulled

¹³⁸ The stall in the process had little to do with obstruction by rebellious groups and more to do with a struggling economy. The NCI redevelopment plan, as a public and private intervention, was pushed more by exchange value and profit motivation than concern for the wellbeing of Farms residents.

back into a ponytail and her eyes were a deep pink-red with heavy bags underneath that conveyed a weary spirit and perhaps spent hope. I was struck by the fatigue evident in her body, but her indefatigable spirit drove me to want to know her story. While poor, Vivian had never experienced prior residency and displacement from public housing. Vivian was born in DC and had resided in Ward 8 until she came to live in the Farms to care for her epileptic sister and elderly mother. Her epileptic sister's teenaged son and Vivian's younger brother also took up residency with them in a four-bedroom housing unit on Stevens Road. After establishing permanent residency, she became eligible to replace Thelma as the president of the resident council.

All the young men in the community respected and treated Vivian with high regard, referring to her as "Ms. Brown" or "Teacher Brown." When Vivian saw her former students in the community, she effortlessly drifted into nostalgic memories and described very endearing moments with them. She disclosed that she had been a teacher at John Brown Elementary School before taking on full responsibility for her adult sister, mother, and related kin. I later discovered she lost her employment at John Brown when Fenty and the District of Columbia's education superintendent, Michele Rhee, sought to restructure the district's public school system out of budgetary and performance concerns. This re-alignment appeared more like a revanchist attack against the district's poorer communities, and included John Brown Elementary School where Vivian worked. Notwithstanding the remonstrations of the community's parents against this action, the schools' closure served notice to the Farms' residents that their displacement was imminent. Vivian seemed to understand this threat: "Anytime you take a school away . . . shut it down when there are hundreds of our children attending the school . . . our children! Then tell us

that our children must attend another neighborhood's school further away where community beefs would put them in harm's way, you have to question whether the development is for you."

Nevertheless, her disposition toward the District wasn't necessarily one of racial distrust. Rather, she deferred heavily to the government's many experts and assumed these officials to be of good will and good intent, even when residents who attended council meetings relayed examples of having been displaced from public housing under the pretext of redevelopment in the past. As leader of the resident council, she made key decisions regarding redevelopment based on her desire to purge the community of "undesirables," as she referred to them. At first I thought, *who could blame her for this?* In an atmosphere filled with insecurity, crime, and violence, we each pursue immediate remedies to the crises that beset us. For Vivian, crises included obstruction of the NCI plan by emergent rebel groups (discussed below), the aloofness and complacency of retreaters (which Vivian called "irrational" because the Farms would never be given to them), and the criminal behavior of the innovators. She felt that these people (rebels, retreaters, and innovators) worked together to ruin the quality of life for decent people (accommodators like herself). She thought that those residents provided evidence every day that supported government and outsiders' perceptions of the Farms as a culturally pathological AAUG.

While she was leader on the resident council, Vivian's accommodationist disposition led her to turn a blind eye to Operation Take Back (OTB) campaigns. OTB raids are early morning home inspections initiated by the property management office along with DCHA police, case managers, and sometimes MPD officials.¹³⁹ These raids involved searching residences for contraband and undocumented live-in guests. These raids were almost always carried out in the

¹³⁹ Shortly after Harriet Jacobs passed away in January 2012, both general inspections and OTB raids increased and evictions spiked.

early morning hours without residents having been given prior notice. Only the president of the resident council was notified when these inspections were scheduled. Thelma had always tipped off the residents, particularly the retreaters and innovators, but Vivian, in support of the NCI plan to remove negative community elements, never warned Stevens Road residents when an OTB raid was coming.

Vivian's orientation as an accommodator and her influence on the NCI plan and implementation was seismic. Vivian co-authored and adopted the re-entry criteria for residents desiring to return the redeveloped community. This draconian policy ruled out a significant swath of community residents from returning to the property. In addition, given the amount of time the Farms would lie empty during demolition and redevelopment, some of the original community members would have died or become fully settled in the relocated environments.

Vivian also proposed that the resident council office be moved to either Sumner or Eaton roads. As she mentioned to me, "Its location on Stevens Road privileges folk who don't care about the community." The fact of the matter was that the Stevens Road site was deteriorating terribly and the adjacent unit suffered from an aggressive bed bug infestation. However, to relocate the resident council office to a new site would have required the DCHA to take another functioning unit off-line (a unit that should have been available to another potential resident). DCHA eventually granted the move after an advocate from Ward 8 Family First, Government Second, Incorporated (W8FFGSI) supported Vivian's request. Before they were able to move, an earthquake struck in late 2011. It further damaged many structures on Stevens Road, including the council's office, making it unfit for use. DCHA condemned the unit immediately and relocated the office to Eaton Road. All the material documents dating back many decades were lost and the unit was tightly boarded up and the doors bolted shut.

Although Florence Manilow and Vivian often fought interpersonally, Florence agreed with and supported Vivian's major plans. Florence was the resident council treasurer and chair of NCI's human capital board.¹⁴⁰ She had lived on Sumner Road for eighteen years. She lived with her husband and two daughters in a three-bedroom unit. She worked full time for a local transit company and commanded a yearly salary four times that of the average resident. Since her rental unit was subsidized, she and her family could afford to pool their resources to purchase a new SUV and a smaller compact car. They also planned to relocate to conventional, market-based housing. By local standards, their purchases were too opulent for life in the Farms community, which subsequently opened her up to community-wide rebuke—rebuke that Florence seemed impervious to. She explained to me that she saw herself as completely different from her neighbors. She explained that since she was biracial, she was not hung up on race issues and was accustomed to diversity. She did not condemn White Washingtonians for having a role in the area's isolation and felt that White gentrifiers only brought desirable resources to the community, including police protection.

Florence originally moved into the community during the modernization of the Farms property in the early 1990s, where she ended up sharing a courtyard with Thelma. Prior to this moment, the Farms community had enjoyed a stable residency pattern, with most tenants claiming tenures of three to five decades. However, two related aspects of modernization played a significant role in destabilizing the Farms community during the crack epidemic.¹⁴¹ First, a significant number of senior residents were relocated off site, and not returned after the redevelopment was complete. Second, the modernization project removed the modest front porch

¹⁴⁰ After the conclusion of this research, Florence was elected ANC for two terms (2014 and 2016).

¹⁴¹ Crack destroyed much of the district city beginning in the mid-1980s. The attendant effects of crack only became apparent in the mid-1990s in the Farms community.

coverings from the units. Per Harriet Jacobs, Marion Barry (then mayor) tried to conceal any urban blight near Bolling Air Force base from being seen by visiting national and international dignitaries visiting the district city. Marion Barry thought African Americans congregating on front stoops was emblematic of cultural pathology, so he had the porches taken down. Removing the front porches moved senior residents indoors, where they could no longer keep watch over the community. Per Harriet Jacobs many street activities had been visible from the front porches, particularly on Stevens Road. Modernization thus produced the unintended effect of removing capable guardians from the public arena, so drug use and accompanying behaviors increased. Florence observed that the community had grown progressively worse about crime and violence since the mid-1990s.

Florence often bragged about her academic achievements. At one meeting at the Rec center, while waiting for Thelma and Vivian to arrive, she announced to the group that she was about to graduate from a local university with a baccalaureate degrees, then bemoaned that her post-baccalaureate life would be short-lived, because she had been admitted to the same university's graduate program in criminal justice. Florence's accomplishments were worthy of celebration, but her accounting of them was intended to differentiate herself from the community residents and debunk the DCHA and other district officials' monolithic treatment of community members. Such attempts did not disrupt the social-spatial binary, however. At that meeting, a counseling service provider called SEDC (Southeast District Counseling) had sent a liaison to discuss the nature of SEDC's outreach to the Farms community. As the SEDC representative impatiently waited for his turn at the dais, he seemed disinterested in Florence's announcement of her academic achievements. Then Florence responded to a resident's inquiry about the whereabouts of Thelma and Vivian by saying, "They were acrosted [acrossed] the community on

the Stevens Road, but they are heading this way. They aks [asked] me to start the meeting.” Her pronunciation of *acrossed* and *asked* annoyed the SEDC representative, an African American man, who muttered a comment about her diction and speaking style within earshot of Florence and those of us who sat behind him. Later in the meeting, when Florence introduced him, she pronounced his name as “Lah-roy” instead of “Lee-roy.” His muttered comments grew loud enough for all to hear and we were all caught by surprise by his public criticism of her pronunciation. Florence took a justifiably defensive stance and traded a few verbal jabs with him until Thelma brought the meeting back to order. Having been publicly humiliated and shamed, Florence dejectedly relocated to the back of the meeting room. Some of the residents rejected his condescending treatment of Florence, but others found delight in his insults. These residents were retreaters who viewed his insolence as proof of their argument that the government does not respect them.

The SEDC representative took the stage to explain how residents needed to improve their job skills and how the services he offered could help them become fully self-sufficient. Ironically, despite Florence’s demonstration of academic ability and self-sufficiency, he focused on her dialect as evidence of the community’s general deficiency. His attitude toward her demonstrates the contradictory expectations officials have of public dwellings residents. On the one hand, the district government expects residents to present evidence of improved character, goal-oriented aspirations, and having taken steps towards upward mobility, without attendant cries of dissatisfaction with the conditions of their units and treatment by officials. People who fill this role expectation tend to be accommodators. On the other hand, the district government searches everywhere for evidence of pathology, dependency, laziness, and bad morals as justification for interventions such as the NCI redevelopment plan. Residents who typify the

latter construct tend to be innovators. Although accommodators position themselves in opposition to innovators, both types are strategically utilized in official narratives to justify displacement.

Jelissa is another example of an accommodator. She was one of my first acquaintances on Stevens Road at the Farms. Jelissa was in her early forties. Prior to moving to the Farms Public Dwellings, she had owned a house, been married, and had two sons. She then suffered from some sort of undisclosed psychological trauma that eventually lost her her husband, job, and house. Prior to her mental breakdown, she had worked for a prominent federal bureaucrat who could bypass the waiting list to get her into public housing.

She shared a courtyard with Mabelle and they were great friends. Jelissa wasn't liked by the courtyard men, however. She hated their gunfire practice into the St. Es wall and constantly called the police to intervene. She also put up bright neon painted signs on her door warning them not to gather on or near her stoop or she would call the police. Mabelle covered for her and asked the young courtyard men to ignore her, explaining that Jelissa had significant mental challenges. However, the fact that she was a short-term resident with weak social ties only stoked concerns that she would carry out her threat to call the police on innovators and retreaters. Finally, it was too much for the Stevens Road community to accept and the courtyard men told Jelissa that she might be safe, but not her two boys.

I once observed her forcefully asking the men to leave the stoop area she shared with an adjacent housing unit. She fussed, "You all lack good character, out here selling drugs and drinking all day, playing spades and gambling, and simply spending all day in idle time ... from morning to night." The young men responded to her complaints by saying, "We lived here longer

than you, lady,” and warned her again that her sons were fair game. To avoid retaliation, Jelissa moved her sons out of the Farms community to stay with her sister’s family.

Jelissa was elected to the Area Neighborhood Commissioner (ANC) in 2012. This political representative sits just beneath the ward council seat in the overall District of Columbia political hierarchy. Each ANC has a constituency of exactly two thousand residents. The ANC deals with zoning, development, crime, policing and other similar issues. As ANC, Jelissa was expected to lend her signature in approval or disapproval of community policies. Thus, the ANC has a direct impact on government services and resource allocations.

Prior to running for ANC position, Jelissa attended many strategy meetings at the resident council office. There, she joined discussions on the best ways to get all residents to buy into the NCI plan and halt the progress of emergent rebel groups. Jelissa also attended rebel meetings where the subject of discussion was how to defeat Vivian and the resident council and delay the NCI process. At one of the rebel meetings she attended, people proposed to run Linda McCrae for the then uncontested ANC position. They thought Linda was young enough to handle the duties and responsibilities of ANC effectively and would at least delay the redevelopment plans. When the official ballots were published, the rebels discovered that Jelissa had entered the contest. She then won the seat. Some may interpret her assumption of the ANC position as interference, but it wasn’t her intention to betray the community residents. She was like many other accommodators in her willingness to put herself at risk in order to produce a better environment.

Jelissa focused ANC office resources on promoting life skills courses. She did not organize any events to discuss the NCI development plan, her participation on zoning hearings for the NCI was decidedly weak, and she signed off on every request made by the NCI officials

during my involvement with the council. She believed in the NCI officials' goodwill and expert knowledge, but feared further deterioration of the community would occur without immediate external intervention of this type. She also wanted to end the community stigma and tear down the wall of divisiveness between the eastern and western communities along the Anacostia River. She organized ANC meetings for Farms neighborhood residents in neighboring areas such as Congress Heights and Choppa City. Her endorsement of the re-entry criteria co-authored by Vivian and Florence was part of the attempt to sidestep the delaying tactics of emerging rebel groups, discussed next.

NOT GOING DOWN WITHOUT A FIGHT: WE HAVE A RIGHT TO EXIST,
TO BE FULL WASHINGTONIANS

By late 2011, several new resistance groups had come into full bloom in the Farms Public Dwellings community: Farms Investigatory Research Group (FIRG), Farm Tenants and Allies (FTA), Men Against Violence, and Uhuru. I label these resistance groups "rebels" to capture their modal response to the structural constraints of the socio-spatial binary that circumscribed their members' lives. To be clear, however, all four groups fashioned themselves as an insurgency against the local government in different ways. Each group emerged with a different activist agenda, but all were convinced that the community residents were about to capitulate to the DCHA, DMPED, W8FFGSI, and other government and non-profit agencies connected to the NCI redevelopment plan. They were frustrated by the resident council's seemingly weak, chaotic, and disorganized presence in the community and all agreed that the indiscretions of Thelma Jenson, followed by her removal from the council and replacement by the accommodator, Vivian Brown, represented setbacks to the community that could result in

outright displacement. As Linda McCrae lamented, “Without Thelma—and now having Vivian—to advocate on our behalf, we are in bigger trouble. Shoot, we might as well have no one at the helm steering the ship.”

The rebels generally perceived members of the African American middle-class as complicit in their isolation and inequality. While many of them despised Thelma’s hustling and were aware of her addiction issues, they felt that she had genuinely cared for the Farms community and trusted that they would have a vocal presence at the table. Thelma had operated like a seasoned politician. She was sure to use these groups’ presence to peel off small victories even after her removal from the resident council and she made room for these groups at the resident council-led NCI planning meetings. With Thelma gone, however, there was a tacit understanding that these rebel groups could go after the resident council and NCI officials more aggressively. Rebels often disrupted public meetings by breaking out in chants such as, “Whose community? Our community!”

The FTA was the fiercest opponent of the resident council under Vivian’s leadership. It also took most action against the NCI plan.¹⁴² After the brief leadership of Tinetta Baxter, Linda McCrae, a twenty-eight-year-old single parent resident with a daughter, quickly emerged as the group’s leader. Linda was born and raised in the Farms community. She lived with her mother, Loretta McCrae, until she conceived a daughter with her boyfriend when she was twenty-one years old. Having a daughter qualified Linda for her own residency in the Farms. Both Loretta and Linda were residents of Stevens Road. As long-term residents, they had the strongest social ties of all the activists. Linda described her commitment to the community:

This is the only community I have ever known. While I know this isn’t the best circumstance to raise a daughter, when I am here I know that I am wanted, I belong and

¹⁴² For a short time, I assisted the resident members of the FTA and FIRG in getting organized by helping them develop an administrative structure, literature and survey materials.

that I have others here to watch out for my interest when times are hard If these people here love you—and they do love me because I grew up with all of them—they will go ham [hard as a motherfucker] for you.

Linda then explained why she became a rebel, although her mother was a retreator:

I know, Ture, you are probably wondering why I got involved in this FTA fight. I was always frustrated, growing up here poor and I wanted all the things I saw my classmates had in northwest DC. I couldn't understand why my mother, who worked hard, couldn't get me out. But it is okay that she didn't because I love it here. Funny thing is that my mother—my mother—just withdrew from the fight. After all the lies—lie after lie after lie they be selling—she just withdrew. I couldn't do that with my daughter. I can just withdraw no matter how sick and tired I become. Right is right and wrong is wrong and all you got to do is win the argument with them proving how wrong they [government] are.

I went to listen to that panel discussion on gentrification down the street with LeGrange and Parisa [from Empower DC] on the panel. When you listened to them and then the other crazy folk on that panel talk. As soon as they said fight, I was like we got no other choice. Yeah, if you are going to get displaced then, you better at least fight so they know you are willing to put it all on the line. Putting it all on the line cause them to take a second look to see what you are fighting for. Right now, I am fighting for my daughter and my community, who I want to have all the opportunities as others have. They [DC government] know set this shit up like this—set this up like this for us to fail. I am always going to be a Washingtonian until I die. You know I don't want to live in an apartheid city and neither do I want my daughter to live that way.

Rebels are like retreators and innovators in distrusting government interference. Linda pointed out that the dreams of a better life were never achieved by accommodation or accepting the status quo:

Some of these people believe the crap DC keep saying like “This development, I promise is for you.” These people are still waiting years later for DC to make good on her promise. Others here be like, “I am going to get it the best way I know how, like hustle.” [They] be like, “I am going to work full-time,” and later they are still waiting for those things. I don't want to do that. I reject the isolation of the Farms and I know my daughter will need to function in a diverse society. I need that chance to raise her in that kind of environment. So yes, I want to do different for my daughter than my mother did with me.

Other rebels similarly distrusted any redevelopment plans proposed by the government.

For example, FIRG, led by Julia Snow, conducted research on the effects of HOPE VI

redevelopment projects on public housing communities and examined implementation of the

NCI plan. FIRG in turn, published and widely distributed their findings. Julia Snow, a short-term resident with weak-to-no-social ties, claimed that she had been forced out of her Farms Public Dwellings house as retribution for activism and resistance. She told me that she and her household were constantly targeted for inspection. When her eldest son was jumped by other community members, Julia assumed it was at the instigation of the property manager.¹⁴³

Jason Banks was the leader of Men Against Violence, a group that sought to resolve community conflict without the intervention of government authorities. His rebel organization was an attempt to involve innovators and retreaters in stopping the conflict that often transpired on Stevens Road beyond the reach of the Regs on the Fence line, who were known to actively resolve community conflict. Such conflict often led to violent interactions beyond the sight of the police, who did not intervene until after the fact (sometimes only with investigation of death scenes). The result of attempts to resolve conflict with what amounted to street justice led to Stevens Road becoming the site of many violent duels. Jason Banks, a former long-term resident with strong social ties in Sumner Road, a WitnessSV, Truly Stressed-Out Offender, and Rebel, had himself been embroiled in community conflicts that almost took his life. He was shot seven times and stabbed nine times over the course of his young adult life. He points to his battle scars, including a colostomy bag, to demonstrate the permanent effects of violence. Jason is referred to locally as the “coffin man,” because he parades with coffins throughout the community and discusses violence and death with people. As Jason mentioned to me during one conversation over lunch, “We spend a significant amount of time focusing on death. When you die, the only cost is your funeral. However, take my case—if you survive, you pay for the rest of your life, mentally, emotionally, and physically.” Jason and I organized vigils and therapeutic

¹⁴³ As a young adult, male resident without ties to Farms, he may have been attacked because he was assumed to be from a rival community.

circles where residents could come and address the problems of violence and death in the community.

Uhuru members worked with all the organizations and resident types discussed in this chapter, including the resident council. Uhuru was a self-described grassroots freedom-fighting organization that focused on educational and daycare issues in the community. They organized afterschool programs for Farms youth and organized discussions about the official benefits agreement that residents could use to pursue their rights in the redevelopment process.

The rebel groups feared that community crime undermined their fight by serving as evidence of pathology to justify displacement. They also feared that the action and inaction of the accommodators and retreaters would result in residents' homes being turned over to the government for disposal as they saw fit. The resisters rejected NCI's plan to redevelop the community because they understood that most of the residents, new and old, had previously been promised the right to return to another community, but had been permanently displaced. Their strongest argument against redevelopment was that all public housing redevelopment projects since the late 1980s had seen only an eight percent return of originally displaced residents, particularly east of the Anacostia River. This number was difficult to validate because DCHA never responded to the FOIA request, but the rebels had much anecdotal evidence to support this claim, including stories collected from residents.

To bring home this argument and demonstrate that residents who had been temporarily placed in the Farms Public Dwellings community were likely to be permanently displaced, the rebels cleverly inserted themselves in the Farms Historical Festival Day events, where they encouraged residents to acknowledge the communities they came from. They had to be careful in persuading residents to admit they originally came from another community, because no

resident wanted to lose social capital by appearing to have lived in the Farms community for less time or to have fewer social ties than was the fact. Such a misconstrual would jeopardize their physical safety and their access to the goods and services circulating among their domestic networks.

All four resistance groups saw themselves as the last possible stand against community displacement. They all shared similar concerns about the innovators' participation in local crime and violence; the accommodators' uncritical and dutiful compliance to the redevelopers; and the retreaters' abdication of social justice. I call these groups "rebels" to emphasize how differently they approached their circumstances compared to the other residents. Unlike the innovators, they didn't engage in crime. To make ends meet, many members of the rebel groups took regular jobs and/or supplemented their income with various funding grants.¹⁴⁴ Unlike the accommodators who willingly abided by the demands of the government, rebels refused to take the antiquated life skill courses promoted by the government as a means for upward mobility. Instead, they demanded upward mobility without conditions laid on them. Rebels also rejected the idea that retreaters sought to create their own parallel, albeit poor, society side by side with wealth. For example, they felt that U Street belonged to them just as much as to encroaching gentrifiers.¹⁴⁵ In the end, rebels demanded that all barriers preventing upward mobility be torn down.

CONCLUSION

¹⁴⁴ Grant monies have been misappropriated by some rebels, but those instances are rare.

¹⁴⁵ The rebel groups were sponsored by two U Street corridor groups, Organizing Neighborhood Equity in DC (ONE DC) and Empower DC, that focused on fighting gentrification in DC.

This dissertation is meant to develop a pragmatic solidarity with those who suffer from the structural violence deployed to maintain a socio-spatial binary between the WSC and NWIO/TTDO. There is an active effort on the part of WSC groups to exoticize public dwellings residents by naturalizing their social practices as flaws inherent to their constitution. The apparent contradistinction between the WSC group and the NWIO/TTDO is portrayed as a natural difference. This ideological framing of the residents amounts to a biologism little different than the depictions of cultural poverty in prior generations. For example, Oscar Lewis' infamous culture of poverty thesis characterized the impoverished as pathological carriers of an inheritable, intergenerational, and distinguishable set of characteristics that are self-perpetuating, self-destructive, and maladaptive to conventional society.

This chapter represents an attempt to de-exoticize the social practices of Farms Public Dwelling community residents as a TTDO group. Their discernable, patterned practices should be understood as mobilizations against the oppressive weight of the socio-spatial binary that circumscribes their lives. As I have discussed throughout this chapter, Farms community residents utilize four modal responses to survive and/or push back against constraints: innovator, retreator, accommodator, and rebel. These responses are constituted on a complex set of factors that include length of residency, strength of social ties, and historical experience with structural violence or prior displacement. The four modal responses provide distinct outcomes in the short term for the NCI redevelopment plan and in the long term for the socio-spatial binary.

Innovation and accommodation generally sustains the binary, while retreatism and rebellion undermines it. Accommodation simply leaves the status quo of the binary intact. Innovation represents a means of subsistence and an attempt to achieve the American dream, but when the practices of innovators are detected, it provides evidence of cultural pathology and

justifies redevelopment. Retreaters reject both the American dream and mainstream society by closing themselves off from surveillance by the government and other outsiders. Retreating enables them to resist serving as a reference group for the binary. Great effort is then expended by the government to penetrate their social world, but the government and other outsiders who attempt to mine this section of the community for evidence of cultural pathology wind up empty handed. Rebels differ from retreaters in demanding to be fully included in mainstream society without conditions put on their inclusion. This leads to integration of the two constituent categories of the binary. Both retreaters and rebels profoundly distort the socio-spatial binary by refusing to allow themselves and their social practices to be held up as evidence of contradistinction to mainstream society. Without the contrast of cultural pathology, the antithetical relationship between the WSC and NWIO/TTDO falls apart.

Despite these varied modes of survival and resistance, Farms Public Dwellings community residents continue to be depicted as exotic misfits who should be barred from mainstream society, especially the privileged spaces belonging to the Western Superior Cultural (WSC) group. In the next chapter, I explore the ways in which this depiction continues to be perpetrated in NCI planning meetings.

CHAPTER 5

CALL THE MEETING TO ORDER BUT IN WHOSE INTEREST AND TOWARD WHAT ENDS?

There are enough meetings taking place monthly in the Farms Public Dwellings community to satisfy the interest of every resident type. Of particular note, the New Communities Initiative (NCI) monthly meetings are specifically purposed to increase resident participation in the District of Columbia (DC) government's housing and urban development decision-making process, particularly those urban redevelopment decisions impacting their community. The NCI program's guiding principles, negotiated between the DC government and the Farms Resident Council in 2006, call for the DC government to provide residents with a direct means to interface with the various government agencies involved in the community's proposed redevelopment, to embrace participatory governance and transparency, and to sponsor a reasonable site proximate to and open for community deliberations as well as other necessary resources. The Rec satisfied this last requirement and was the key meeting location for the resident council and the NCI meetings. While these guiding principles may evoke the romantic imagery of government accountability and resident empowerment, in practice, the NCI process only reminded the residents of the vast distance between themselves and Washingtonians west of the Anacostia River. It confirmed the expanse of inequality that both saturates their lives and brackets them off from other, more-valued DC citizens (Biaocchi 2016, 2004; Pfeiffer 2006).

Ironically, the District of Columbia Housing Authority (DCHA) and other local level bureaucratic officials demanded monthly attendance from Farms Public Dwellings community residents. I've heard officials from the DCHA counsel residents on the essential characteristics of an ideal resident-tenant in good standing. For example, one DCHA/Sheridan Station HOPE VI

coordinator, Peggy Wilson, explained at an April 2011 meeting, “a resident in good standing means more than paying one’s rent on time and keeping one’s apartment neat and clean. Rather it includes participating in all planning meetings to redevelop the community and the re-entry process to improve [their] very lives.” In the context of the Farms Public Dwellings community’s proposed redevelopment, the NCI plan places significant claims on residents’ time. In fact, the NCI meetings along with the other various and regular community meetings served as a sort of social metronome that lent a temporal order to the Farms Public Dwellings community’s social life. Thus, my research was ordered with a rhythmic ethnographic pace by the various scheduled meetings.

In this chapter, I frame my central and composite treatment of the monthly NCI planning meetings with a sketch of the resident council meetings on the front end and then a discussion of the activist (rebel)-based meetings on the back end, including Farms Tenants and Allies (FTA), Farms Investigatory Research Group (FIRG), Empower DC, Uhuru, and ONE DC. In accordance with Paul Farmer’s prescription for anthropologists conducting research in the context of structural violence (described in chapter 1), this research is concerned with bringing structural violence and its perpetrators into view and relating this hidden violence to the sufferings evident in the community residents’ lived experiences. The NCI meetings represent a key moment where government, African American middle-class neighbors and professionals, and the Farms Public Dwellings community residents share a deliberative meeting space. These meetings are sites where power, discourses of pathology, confrontation, and select modal responses to structural violence are evident. Within this space, the residents’ testimonies deny the perpetrators the spurious cover of plausible deniability concerning how their policies and practices impact residents’ lived experiences. To be sure, a significant number of rebel residents were consistently

present to challenge this deniability through their personal accounts and direct confrontations. The NCI meetings served as a site for the discovery of facts, such that all stakeholders involved in these meetings could realize that the community's disrepair and abject poverty were the result of deliberate government actions and inactions. Stated differently, the NCI meetings represented a community site for developing a more complex understanding of the community's social life that should prove the claims of cultural pathology and all their attending myths to be woefully inadequate.

Finally, the NCI program was developed, in part, as a critique of its nonparticipatory predecessor, namely HOPE VI. For this reason, the NCI meetings were important to this research because through NCI's adoption, the DCHA and DC government officials, in theory, adopted a pro-urban redevelopment stance that called for and valued democratic, civic, and participatory governance in the redevelopment of public housing. Considering the shared and negotiated principles the resident council helped to establish, the NCI program served this research as a site of substantial promise for social justice.

Resident Council Meetings

I scrambled through my Volvo searching for spare change that might have fallen beneath the driver's seat to add to the twenty-dollar bill I had to pay Kinko's the \$22.57 I owed them. Since 2009, I had taken on the full responsibility of designing, printing, and distributing resident council announcement flyers throughout the community for upcoming meetings and events. I usually included the dates of the next four to six meetings and other related events in order to save on design tasks and printing costs. Sadly, the resident council's executive board operated without the guaranteed annual budget promised by the DCHA's Human Capital service division because the same agency division considered the resident council's executive board to be

inadequate or defunct. This charge came particularly after Harriet Jacobs removed herself from the leadership due to declining health. In addition, the executive board had difficulty recruiting residents for leadership positions. The Farms Public Dwellings community was always in flux and there often seemed to be sudden spikes in questionable evictions. Long-term residential tenures would be brought to an abrupt end and new residential tenures would soon begin. The eviction of old residents and their replacement by new residents with rehabilitated units seemed to generate a palpable antipathy of the long-term residents for those they considered short-term and those with weak-to-no social ties. The rate of new move-ins and evictions destabilized and fragmented the community.

I gladly accepted the design, printing, and distribution tasks as they increased my contact with long-term and short-term residents, provided me the opportunity to inventory the conditions of the housing, allowed me the chance to actively recruit new residents into the council's ranks, and provided me a protected status on the community streets. As long as I was associated with the resident council, once shepherded by Harriet, I was not to be messed with or treated as an outsider. So I paid the photocopy bill at the Kinko's in the northwest, and scurried off across the Anacostia River with the flyers.

The resident council's five-member executive board remained rather consistent over the course of my research. Thelma Jensen was the council president who took over the leadership from Harriet. She was a long-term resident with strong social ties and social practices that characteristically moved her back and forth across the categories of witness of structural violence (WitnessSV), traumatically stressed-out offender (TSO), and perpetrator of structural violence (PerpSV). Additionally, Thelma was uniquely capable of switching among all the modal responses to structural violence, shifting effortlessly from innovator to accommodator to rebel

and retreaters. She lived on Sumner Road but spent most of her social time on Stevens Road at the resident council office on the top of the hill or at her daughter's home at the bottom of the hill. In fact, Thelma spent most of her residential tenure assigned to a housing unit located on Stevens Road, until then-mayor Marion Barry modernized the property and relocated her to Sumner Road. Before her death, she was relocated to Mathews Memorial.

Vivian Brown, the council's vice president, was a short-term resident residing on Stevens Road, but one with strong social ties. I classified her as a WitnessSV and almost exclusively an accommodator. Florence Manilow, the treasurer, was a long-term resident with weak-to-no social ties. I also classify her as a WitnessSV, but add that her modal response to structural violence was that of an innovator and accommodator. Florence sold a wide range of goods and other items from her home, which the property manager, Nathan Bookman, labeled as "contraband." Florence allowed residents to establish lines of credit but her efforts to exact repayment alienated her from the rest of the community. Her customers' raspy knocks at the back and front doors often interrupted my visits. She installed thick metal storm doors at the front and rear entrances of her housing unit, and these rusted fixtures gave off a screeching noise when opening and closing—early warning notice of a person at her door(s).

Nathan conducted several unscheduled inspections of Florence's unit based on other residents' complaints but was never able to find any evidence of contraband beyond the many stories of the anonymous tipsters. Toward the end of my research, Nathan however, discovered that Florence had underreported her wages over several years. He assessed her several thousand dollars in fines and back rent and threatened her with possible eviction. When the eviction threats increased, Florence emphasized an accommodator stance and publicly attacked the rebel-based groups and anyone seeming to challenge the NCI plan. Florence's symbolic performances, which

included publicly outing Thelma's drug addiction and misappropriation of council funds, as well as a challenge to the resident council secretary's legitimate standing on the executive board, demonstrated her allegiance to the property manager, DCHA, and DC government, and caused the threat of eviction to be relaxed. This role shift demonstrates how dynamic and situational the uptake of certain roles are for the community residents. The NCI officials used Florence's innovative, albeit illegal, hustle to their own advantage.

Tinetta Baxter and Margarette Jeminson rounded out the resident council's executive board. Tinetta, the resident council's secretary, was a short-term resident who lived on Firth Sterling Road near its intersection with Stevens Road. Although she lived near the close-knit Stevens Road section of the community, she had weak-to-no-social ties. Tinetta explained to me that she got involved in the resident council with the hope of making friends and making a difference to the community. However, when she emerged as a rebel, Florence challenged her participation and legitimacy on the council, and the DCHA Human Service division declared Tinetta's participation invalid. Finally, Margarette Jeminson, the parliamentarian, was a long-term resident and retiree, who lived on Stevens Road and enjoyed strong social ties.

When residents went to tender their May rent at the property management office on Sumner Road during odd years (2007, 2009, and 2011, for example), they were invited to cast their ballots for resident council executive board members from the published list of DCHA-approved candidates, who were resident-tenants determined to be in good standing. Each category's majority vote recipient was awarded a two-year term or, as in the case of those above, an additional two-year term. In many instances, the above board members' candidacies went uncontested and the no-contest victories included voting tallies that never exceeded a dozen or so votes.

The resident council held regular formal meetings at the Rec as well as irregular informal meetings at the resident council office on Stevens Road. The formal meetings were scheduled for the second Tuesday of each month from six to eight in the evening. The entire executive board assembled around a folding table that served as the community information and leaflet table during the day, a lunch program and food-serving table while the summer camps were in session, and a prop for the resident council and NCI meetings during their respective monthly gatherings. The Rec participants would have preferred the resident council, property manager, and NCI officials to find another venue for their monthly meetings rather than disrupt their community center's activities, but as the meetings were not too frequent, they were tolerated. On each second Tuesday, coach Dean Bilal and Mecca Johnson would organize outdoor activities. When it was too cold, they would either cancel events or coordinate activities with Phaedra Moore and her Camp2NoWhere. Sammy was also on hand at times to assist and excited to do so. They typically allowed the children from Stevens Road to stay on that side of the community and watch a movie with snacks at Phaedra's home on the same street.

The resident council's meeting agenda concentrated on plans for the Farms Historical Day festival; services for seniors and shut-ins; updates on the NCI plan; reports of new births, deaths, and hospitalizations; and finally to announce updates on the CHOICE alternative high school program. I volunteered with the resident council so I will refer to it in the first person plural as I go forward. However, I should note that I limited my involvement at the resident council meetings to that of an errand runner because it was important to keep the residents' voices central. We used the blank back sheets of information leaflets as makeshift sign-in sheets. The Rec staff kept metal folding chairs in the adjacent shed, so we would assume the

responsibility of setting the chairs up for no more than fifteen to twenty residents. I originally would set up for thirty or more but soon discovered the light attendance and adjusted.

When no money was available to print flyers, the meetings had near zero attendance. In addition to the flyers, the resident council's executive board made it a practice to provide all new residents with a small welcome packet that included the community's history and a memo reminding new residents of the NCI, resident council, and property management meetings along with the most recently approved constitution and bylaws. When the posted announcements and resident council welcome packages would garner a few more participants, a meeting was deemed a relative success. The residents that attended the formal meetings were mostly women, short-term residents, and almost entirely from Sumner and Eaton Roads.

At the opening of the meetings, Vivian offered a prayer, Tinetta read the last meeting's minutes, Mabelle outlined the ground rules for engagement and discussion, Florence normally covered any fundraising and budget concerns, Thelma would cover any additional matters, and Vivian would return to adjourn the meeting in prayer. The resident council meetings created space for a lot of open-ended dialogue, meaning that it was acceptable for participants to veer away from the meeting's agenda items and introduce discussion topics from the floor. In fact, participants rarely stayed the course on the agenda. These digressions were expected and added an edge of excitement to the meetings. For example, Thelma, having been recently outed by Florence, chose to disclose her drug addiction in a resident council meeting and explain how a recent drug binge had caused her to exhaust the resident council's cash reserves of nearly eight thousand dollars. To Florence's chagrin, this disclosure of personal failure was met with a redemptive embrace by the residents and, after tears and the sharing of Kleenex tissues, the meeting returned to the business at hand. To understand the embracing response of residents, it is

important to understand that new and old residents were made to feel as if their terrible decisions and personal failures caused them to need subsidized housing. Rarely did the DCHA note that the District of Columbia was increasingly unaffordable for its residents. Stated differently, they rarely made the case that it was logical for residents to seek subsidized housing after having been priced out of their city by money-grubbing land speculators. Hence, many of the resident council participants appreciated the honest disclosure of what might be considered personal failures, and even more so, enjoyed sharing their failures. For short-term residents with weak-to-no social ties, the resident council meeting appeared to be a perfect means to gain entree into the insular and isolated social world of the Farms Public Dwellings community.

In predictable fashion and with no real budget or resources to account for, Florence appropriated her allotted time to discuss her progress in her graduate program. She studied criminal justice and I, as a former police officer and student and professor of criminology, used this shared interest to build rapport with Florence. On the occasions that she and I met for planning or for me to run an errand, we would briefly catch up on her studies. In discussion and wherever her knowledge regarding criminologists and related concepts seemed sketchy, I would note it and return the next day to provide her with a few free criminology textbooks on the related subject matter. Despite Florence's boastful practices regarding her academic progress, I appreciated her efforts to pursue her goals. Stories like Florence's could have easily been substituted for the narratives that monolithically assigned pathology to the community, but this would not have served the government's larger agenda of justifying the NCI program.

Notwithstanding the general experience of civility and congeniality at the resident council meetings, there were moments when the tension between long-term residents and short-term residents that roiled under the surface erupted. At one resident council meeting, a few long-

term residents appeared at the Rec to sign their children up for a program lead by Mecca on fashion. As Thelma solicited the assembled participants for their concerns and any new business, a few new residents disclosed how their homes had been burglarized/vandalized. Moreover, they complained that their doors and locks were flimsy and requested that the resident executive board advocate on their behalf for reinforced doors or the permission to allow residents to secure their own. One of the long-term residents that entered the Rec to sign up her child interjected jokingly, “Yeah, my unit still needs damn repairs, Thelma!” The assembled residents turned frowning in the direction of the remark to see who was rudely interrupting their gathering. Thelma, who recognized the long-term resident and was the least threatened by her disruption, took the opportunity to mention that, unbeknown to many of the new residents, they lived in units that had cost some ten to twenty thousand dollars to rehab:

You all come to this resident council meeting with requests for minor repairs, but I got a whole community of people who lived here before you and longer than you, who didn’t get the new stove, refrigerator, tubs and other stuff that you got and sitting on a whole lot of control numbers for repairs!

This particular incident caused the meeting to devolve immediately into an open-ended discussion, but one that was hostile and uncivil toward the new residents. Later, I discovered that many of the burglaries were committed by both long-term and short-term residents with strong social ties—and most long-term residents were aware of the details of these crimes. In fact, the long-term residents knew that members of their own community were behind the home invasions and burglaries. However, as innovators and retreaters disliked interacting with local authorities, they quietly counseled perpetrators where and when they saw fit instead of calling the police to intervene. Adding to the moral complexity of these property thefts is the fact that long-term residents benefited from some of the stolen goods entering into the off-the-books economy because they were sold at a fraction of the original cost. Quite often a resident and young man

named Tyrone, who was instrumental in my research efforts early on, would appear with all kinds of goods from deodorant to cigarettes to mobile devices. It was tacitly understood by residents on Stevens Road and throughout the Farms Public Dwellings community that Tyrone sold stolen items. No one complained, however, because these stolen items subsidized their need of basic consumer goods.

Despite this upheaval, the short-term residents returned every month to the resident council meetings to advocate for responses to their housing concerns and insecurities. Likewise, the resident council executive board documented the meetings and sent that documentation along with the residents' sign-in sheets to the DCHA Human Service division as evidence of their productivity. In effect, it was one of the only two community meeting spaces to value the subjective knowledge and experiences of the mostly female group of residents. The other space that allowed for this type of engagement was that of the rebel-based activist meetings, such as FTA and FIRG meetings. However, the spirit of confrontation that permeated the climate of those meetings made them high-energy and tense, which highlighted how much more enjoyable the resident council meetings were.

The resident council also held undocumented and informal meetings at their office on Stevens Road. As I continued to volunteer at the office, I noticed at times that groups of residents stopped by to talk with Thelma, Vivian, Mabelle, or whoever happened to be there. These group sessions normally occurred after the formal council meetings were held, but sometimes occurred the Monday before. I observed that many were long-term residents who lived on Stevens Road and in a few instances Eaton Road residents. I can say for sure that I never observed these residents at the formal resident council meetings. A typical informal resident council meeting involved various residents coming into the office with greetings and then inquiring about any

community happenings—for example, news on local crimes or details on the next Historical Day festival. The executive board member present would then ask whether the residents had attended the most recent council meeting, all the while knowing that they had not. Then the executive board member would fill them in on what they had missed. If the visitors' group was large enough, they would lead them directly into the multipurpose room where there was enough metal folding chairs. Before or after the informal gathering, visiting residents were requested to sign the general visitors log.

One early Thursday afternoon in September 2011, I came into the office when Thelma was addressing about twenty residents in the resident council office's multipurpose room. Thelma and Vivian were catching the residents up on that week's Tuesday meeting as well as the upcoming agenda for the NCI meeting scheduled to occur a couple of weeks later. I was shocked by the number of residents collected there and immediately checked in with Mabelle, who was preparing brown bags in the kitchen. I whispered, "Mabelle, did something terrible happen that I was unaware of?" Simultaneously, I studied the wall of recent events where MPD posted reward announcements for information on recent crimes and homicides. Mabelle perched herself on the nearest chair after laboring over the brown bags lined three in a row and seven in a column and without glancing in my direction noted that "this was the unofficial resident council meeting."

As I overheard the residents pepper Thelma and Vivian with questions and concerns regarding the relocation process and one-for-one housing unit replacement, it occurred to me that Stevens Road residents only attended meetings at the Rec on the occasion of the NCI meetings, the Farms Historical Day festival, the Goodman League Basketball Tournament, and/or some major Rec-related event. However, they rarely attended the property management meetings or the resident council meetings.

Stevens Road did not have a monopoly on long-term residents, but the majority of them did reside on this street. The informal meetings were infrequent, random, and as open-ended as the formal meetings. The residents discursively moved through the discussion topics of evictions, new move-ins, home invasions and burglaries, the need for unit repairs, the beautiful interiors and appliances of the rehabbed units, and back to the NCI program at dizzying speed.

One Stevens Road resident who attended that informal meeting in September, Beverly Lou Lou Lucille, requested that I give her a ride to the new Giant supermarket. As Beverly and I travelled to Stanton and Alabama Road, I asked Beverly quite frankly why residents always gathered at the office days after the official resident council meeting instead of joining everyone else at the Rec. As I proceeded to explain how the attendance rosters from the meetings are copied and sent to DCHA in their annual reports to demonstrate their level of productivity and justify the council's request and need for funding support, I realized the visitors log was also sent to DCHA in their annual report as a means of demonstrating their relevant services. I continued, "I did notice that Stevens Road residents did attend the NCI meetings." Beverly emphatically answered, "No way, we don't mess with them people over there at those meetings." I asked what people she was referring to. She replied,

New residents, property managers, DCHA officials, DMPED—all of them want to get into your business when you are over there. As soon as they find out that you are doing something they disagree with . . . like being yourself, they are forcing programs on you, threatening you with arrest or even eviction. Some residents here [Stevens Road] easily develop a distrust for you if they see you attending meetings over there as they will assume you are snitching [and thus are] the source of their increased scrutiny by the property management, MPD, and DCHA.

Beverly and many other Stevens Road residents spoke of themselves as a distinct group of residents within the larger Farms Public Dwellings community.

I continued, "But I see you all attending the NCI meetings, what's the difference?" By this I meant that the government and all the others Beverly mentioned were present at these

meetings. Beverly answered, “Enough of us residents from Stevens go as a group to the NCI meetings and we can witness for ourselves and as group against anyone whether someone from here is telling on anyone to the authorities. Besides most of us go to collect those \$25-gift cards to Giant food store.” Beverly pulled her \$25-dollar gift card out and smiled. I smiled too and shook my head to indicate that I understood the hustle. What Beverly didn’t share with me during that conversational ride is that residents on Stevens Road were being subjected to far more draconian home inspections, community fines, towed cars, police harassment, and Operation Take Back (OTB) campaigns than any other section of the Farms Public Dwellings community. OTB is a multiagency collaboration consisting of MPD, DCHA, W8FFGSI social workers, and property management; they enter a resident’s home without notice or a search warrant. OTB was a campaign to discover contraband, namely drugs, guns, and unauthorized live-in guests.

The single women who are often granted leases for the homes believe that these early morning OTB raids are to check and see if they have any unauthorized males living in the residences. Nathan has been very transparent about OTB’s searches for unauthorized male residents. He stated to me during the first of our two interviews, “If a man is living in the house, his income must be calculated into the eligibility and rental cost.”

One such raid netted a senior resident, Granny the Floetress, who was accused of forgery and fraud. (I discussed Granny the Floetress in the previous chapter.) In fact, she had been a victim of identity fraud and had begun to stockpile documents of financial accounts fraudulently opened in her name. She explained that she thought she could discover who was doing this to her by attempting to study the patterns of spending practices manifested on the accounts receipts. So she collected the statements while at the same time mounting a defense to exonerate herself. She

explained, “During an early morning OTB raid at my home during the summer of 2008, the OTB entered my home and took my documents that were spread out over my kitchen table. They then accused me of engaging in fraud and forgery. After a year,” she continued, “with going back and forth with MPD and the property manager, as well as providing them old letters I wrote to Equifax, I gave up.” Shortly after my interview with Granny the Floetress and listening to her original poem, which discussed teenagers avoiding drugs and guns, I observed furniture and other personal items of hers strewn on the roadside. She had been evicted.

I later asked Nathan why it was that the DCHA focused so much punitive energy and surveillance on Stevens Road, to which he replied, “Turè, we don’t know what is going on over there but we know it’s not good. We can only do something about what’s not good if we know about it, so in order to find out what that something is we take a very proactive stance with our children there.” Then he nodded his head and displayed a sardonic smile for approval. I found it difficult to smile, but I nodded my head to indicate that I understood, and we parted company.

The truth is there is no private space in public housing and as one’s home should represent a separation—a reprieve—from the general public, the intrusions experienced by the residents only reminded them of their social difference and lack of citizenship. Furthermore, the raids were intended only to discover wrongdoing to gather evidence of pathology that upholds the contradistinction that this community provides within the sociospatial binary—that is, between the Western Superior Cultural (WSC) group and the Non-Western Inferior Others (NWIO), whom they represent as the latter’s subset group of the Truly “Truly” Disadvantaged Others (TTDO). These intrusions were punitive in nature and examples of an amplification of structural violence toward those who engaged in retreatism.

NCI Meetings

Despite the moments when the convivial relationship between the long-term and short-term Farms Public Dwellings community residents was strained, the resident council meeting's open-ended, flexible, and inclusive approach had the potential to serve as a heuristic model for the NCI meetings. That is, they could have if DCHA and DMPED officials, who were mostly African American middle-class professionals and the constituent members of the NCI officials, had found value in the resident council's meeting style and loose structure. Unfortunately, they did not. Instead, they lumped the resident council into the emblematic basket of all that was wrong and unproductive about the Farms Public Dwellings community.

The NCI meetings were highly technical and rigidly focused around hermetically sealed agendas that were determined well before the officials arrived at the Farms Public Dwellings community resident council's office. The denial of an opportunity to contribute to the NCI agenda bothered the resident council's executive board, but given the fact that board members were allowed to play highly visible roles in the NCI meetings and were responsible for distributing the meeting's agenda, the appearance of having some control was sufficient. Adding to the social distance between the resident council's executive board and by extension the overall community, and the NCI officials was the latter's use of abstruse professional and jargonistic language with which they interspersed the rhetoric of the disempowering discourses of pathology to describe the residents' cultural values, attitudes, and behaviors. The very deterioration of the built environment, including the almost-seventy-year-old, cheaply constructed Farms housing complex that was now in severe disrepair, was blamed on the residents' social practices. Even where and when the residents attempted to appear knowledgeable and articulate, even using similar technical terms to offer an alternative perspective, they were publicly shamed for such things as trivial mispronunciations.

In one NCI meeting, a resident, Anastasia Konrad, rose to the floor in protest of the accusation that residents, monolithically depicted, destroyed the community's physical property. Anastasia declared, "Uh, no! You got to *disagrate* (diz-uh-grate) this list of problems you [referring to the NCI official] are describing about us because you are mixing apples and oranges, besides lumping all of us in one big basket." Anastasia was a short-term resident with weak-to-no-social ties, accommodator and a single parent of two beautiful little girls. Her protest was rare given that she supported the NCI plan and often spoke very disparagingly of her immediate neighbors' poor cultural habits. Anastasia's few friends in the community were Jelissa Bryant and the director of W8FFGSI. The DCHA official and director of development, Beverly Goldwater, embarked on a twenty-minute shaming exercise, even cajoling Anastasia into participating, by requesting her to repeat the mispronounced word three times over. Then, like a parent chastising a child, she pronounced the word "disaggregate" correctly, provided the definition, and then proceeded to instruct Anastasia and the audience on word choice. Aware of how humiliating this public harangue was, the audience nervously laughed to lessen the blow to Anastasia's dignity, and someone yelled out, "I thought it was pronounced that way too and I would've said it that way too."

Skirmishes such as these were frequent, and for the residents participating in the NCI meetings it was like trial by combat—except at stake were the residents' immediate pride, sense of belonging, and long-term displacement. However, in this single moment, Beverly effectively muted the residents' criticism that Thursday evening on March 24, 2011. Sadly, Anastasia's conceptual usage was correct for the context and application, albeit mispronounced. Like a seasoned bureaucrat, Beverly avoided the essence of Anastasia's argument, side-stepped the call

for critical discourse, and reified the stereotype of public housing residents as inarticulate, uneducated, and the cause of their community's degradation.

Similar confrontations occurred between NCI officials and residents around the issue of control numbers. Control numbers are reference numbers provided by the housing authority to residents who report needed repairs in their housing units. DCHA assigns each individual repair request a control number, so a plumbing issue and a rotted floorboard, although reported in the same call, would receive separate numbers. I had many chances to observe the condition of housing units, and I saw leaky roofs, tree roots coming through floorboards, black mold, shifting foundations that created breachable doors and windows, nonworking HVACs, drywall erosion, bedbug and flea infestations, eroding pipes that spewed brown and discolored water, and much more. Residents came to the NCI meetings with a list of control numbers dating back several years reporting problems that had gone unresolved. The DCHA officials at the NCI meetings would constantly reply, "We promise to look into that, but we must move on with the agenda." When the DCHA officials were overwhelmed by an avalanche of resident complaints, the DCHA's executive director would appear at the meetings to address the unrest. The executive director admitted, "There is not enough money to repair this property [referring to the Farms Public Dwellings]—to bring it to a livable code. It is more cost efficient to demolish this complex and start from the ground up." In her rare appearance at an NCI meeting, she also noted that, "I am a business woman and as the director of DCHA I must carry out my fiduciary responsibilities with the budget in mind first and foremost." A resident and I later discussed how defeating it is to have legitimate complaints dismissed, to be blamed for the disrepair, to be told that your living condition is not a priority, and that any improvement to the property is contingent on your displacement.

This disrepair, therefore, seemed to be by design. Land speculators purchased many properties in and around the Farms neighborhood in anticipation of increased land values with which they could realize immense profits by cashing out. They let the standing properties disintegrate through weather-related factors and no upkeep. In the Farms Public Dwellings community, what was happening to the built environment was similarly a case of disrepair by neglect. Without proper knowledge of the DCHA's property management practices and incapacity to keep pace with wear and tear issues, it is easy to arrive at the conclusion that the residents destroyed the property. However, once one knows that the disrepair is caused by dereliction in maintenance, the NCI officials' approach appears uninformed or intentional.

NCI officials continued their rhetorical maneuvers and residents grew increasingly aggravated to the point of explosive confrontation. The NCI meetings were not open-ended; it would be more accurate to call them open season, given their style of attacking the residents' pride and intelligence. What follows is a composite sketch based on the NCI meetings I attended. The NCI meetings typically addressed two broad goals, namely demolition/redevelopment and social services/relocation. The meetings' agendas began with a short prayer from Vivian or Reverend Brockport if he was present. Thelma would call the meeting to order and call off items on the agenda. DMPED officials would speak first and very briefly. They would note their progress in securing subsidies to attract developers and two resident council members' progress in reviewing developers' Request for Qualifications (RFQs) submissions, and give status updates on the building of the new recreation center.

The NCI meetings were the only meetings that both long-term and short-term residents attended. The minimal nature of the DMPED officials' remarks agitated residents trying to determine what the most immediate disruptions to their networks and social support systems

would be. In particular, short-term residents desired information to determine if they should plant their roots and engage in community life as permanent residents, or disinvest and prepare for relocation. The rebel-based activist groups would protest the DMPED officials' brevity as inconsiderate. In addition, they rejected the densely technical nature of the RFQs and the nondisclosure forms forced upon the resident council executive board that barred them from discussing the potentially selected developer with the broader community. Mr. Foldier, a retired member of the armed forces, rebel and one of the longest tenured residents in the Farms Public Dwellings community, protested the insanity of having a few members of the resident council's executive board make a decision on behalf of all residents without the opportunity for residents themselves to participate democratically. Mr. Foldier also noted that because the RFQ deciding board was composed of two DMPED officials, two DCHA officials, and two Farms Public Dwellings community residents, the community was numerically disadvantaged because the overwhelming interest and decision-making power went to the District of Columbia government. In response, Mr. Foldier, a southerner from the Gullah Islands off the South Carolina/Georgia coast, was easily dismissed as just an eighty-year-old drunk. DMPED officials would signal to W8FFGSI social workers to come and take Mr. Foldier out of the meeting and again residents would nervously laugh.

The second item on the NCI agenda was the matter of public safety, and it was my task to collect and present the concerns of community residents regarding street lighting, police harassment throughout the community in general and on Sumner and MLK Ave as well as Stevens Road, officers sleeping in their cruisers while on duty, and inter- and intracommunity rivalries, particularly with Choppa City. In addition, it was my task to invite MPD, DCHA Housing Police, and the Department of Homeland Security Police to address the community on

crime and other public safety concerns. The police would typically begin by presenting crime statistics that always seemed to indicate a decline in crime. However, they usually expressed an enormous amount of concern about phone snatchings, drugs, and unsolved homicides. For example, the MPD lieutenant often discussed the ongoing suspicious activity of groups of African American males hanging out on Stevens Road. He mentioned how his agency had performed several sting operations that netted zero evidence of criminal activity. He felt that somehow the males were being tipped off by scouts, who informed them that the community was being besieged by officers. In response, the men would scatter as the police were closing in. He would then go through past homicides and reiterate his agency's rewards for information. Every month, the take away from the MPD's report on area crime, irrespective of the noticeable decline in crime, was that the specter of criminality was always present, even if it was well concealed and not actually active. His officers aggressively policed resident males and when these males in frustration pushed back against stop and frisks, they were variably charged with assaulting an officer, resisting arrest, or disorderly conduct.

W8FFGSI staff would invariably chime in that if residents truly cared about their community as they said they did, they would report what was happening in the community in general and on Stevens Road in particular. These staffers then would contrast the residents' lack of cooperation with the police to the effective community engagement with policing west of the Anacostia River. In response, some residents would yell out that MPD continually harassed them and their children. Other residents would note that the reduction in area crime was not the result of police activity but rather of the efficacy of the Regs and long-term residents, the Rec staff, and other local figures. And finally, other residents would push back and note that the DCHA was creating crime by moving rival turf members into the community. Without offering evidence of

crime, the MPD's monthly reports only relied on suspicion of crime and their observation of idle men. They took their suspicion and observations to create a generalized alarm. They thus helped to strengthen the manufactured image of hypercriminality. Interestingly enough, intractable crime is a constituent factor that justifies the DCHA disposal of public housing property into the hands of private developers. Additionally, neighboring African American middle-class residents appropriate this imagery and employ it to advocate for the removal of the Farms community.

Florence managed the third item on the agenda, which was the issue of human capital needs. This portion of the meetings was always the longest, and she never failed to blame the residents for their isolation and community conditions. She would ceremoniously call the DCHA officials to the lectern and request them to introduce themselves formally while addressing residents' concerns. Residents would relate their particular concerns about relocation, one-for-one replacements, and their right to return. Peggy Wilson would give an inspiring pep talk centered on a concept such as hope, empowerment, or encouragement about residents finding motivation in change. She would discuss all of the job skills training resources that had been made available to residents through the NCI program and through W8FFGSI and note how these resources were underused by Farms Public Dwellings community residents. In turn, some residents would push back and testify how they had done more job training than the DCHA authority cared to acknowledge and how they possessed the certificates of completion to prove it without ever finding a job. The NCI officials frowned upon interruptions, but saw no hope of ending them. In response, Peggy Wilson would advise, "Don't focus on what you did in the past or on what didn't work for you, focus on what you can do now and what will work for you." She would remind residents that they [DCHA] had gotten rid of the past program providers and contracted with entirely new providers through W8FFGSI. Service providers are normally

contracted on a one-to-two-year basis, so there is a transient character to the cottage industry of nonprofit social service agencies that congregate on the MLK corridor. One day, a storefront displays the name of a service provider, and the next day its awning has the name of a carry-out fast food business.

After her motivational soliloquy, Peggy brought W8FFGSI staff to the floor to discuss the human capital services. W8FFGSI social workers and case managers would take the floor and paint a dark picture of drug addiction, child neglect, parents with criminal records, school dropouts, and more. The residents would look around the room to ascertain who they were referring to. This, as you might imagine, was very difficult. Then, in a shaming exercise that runs against the ethical practices of social workers and case managers maintaining client confidentiality, W8FFGSI staff would call the names of residents who were excelling in the job training programs, programs to get police records expunged, and parenting/life skills courses. Most of those who used W8FFGSI's services were short-term residents from Sumner and Eaton Roads. For example, Jelissa and Anastasia made a pact to take advantage of these programs. Frequently, residents, particularly from Stevens Road, accused the social workers and case managers of being intrusive and taking them through draconian processes to justify the decision to relocate them to off-site housing. These were typically residents who had withdrawn their participation from W8FFGSI and NCI. Other residents would accuse them of spying for DCHA, who supplied them with two-year contracts to provide services in Ward 8 and the Farms Public Dwellings community specifically. Peggy would usually chide the residents for withdrawing from the W8FFGSI programs.

Peggy regularly noted that there was a process in place to determine the fitness of residents to move into new off-site housing and/or to return to the new Farms community. This

official fitness test became known as the re-entry criteria (see appendix). Vivian was said to have co-authored the criteria with attorneys from Bread for the City, a nonprofit legal services and grant recipient of the DC government. Florence was tasked with advising W8FFGSI on the best way to implement the re-entry criteria for residents. Approximately one hundred residents from Sumner Road (mostly seniors) took advantage of the W8FFGSI services and prepared themselves for re-entry. As a result, they were relocated to the off-site housing. According to Florence, whether residents liked the W8FFGSI staff or not, they would need to work with them in order to receive priority during the redevelopment. Problematically, the lion's share of grants went to W8FFGSI through the NCI program for human services, and W8FFGSI was the longest contract service provider for NCI. This fact proved tricky for the residents because the social workers would hold food, clothing, and other gift giveaways, but they gave priority to and earmarked certain funds for the Farms Public Dwellings community human capital development. W8FFGSI encouraged the resident council to avoid outside help (i.e., from nonresidents), claiming that those who offered it were all agitators. The casualty list included Patsy Fletcher, John Brooks, Trayon White, Brian, Gretchen LaGrange, ONE DC, Empower DC and myself. Because of my activism, this blacklist eventually became a shared and enforced standard between DMPED, DCHA, Farms property management, and the resident council themselves.

The NCI officials determined that as part of the re-entry criteria, adult residents without a medical condition could no longer remain on a lease, particularly if the lessee planned to return to the newly built property. They stated that the claimed need for multidwelling units no longer matched the newly determined need after ineligible adult residents were subtracted. Moreover, Beverly noted that DCHA would not recover an equivalent amount of affordable housing unit size in the new property development despite having published a claim to that effect. Stated

differently, Beverly declared that the fourteen hundred units of housing to come in the new Farms community site would be mainly composed of one- or two-bedroom units, with a few three-bedroom units.

The W8FFGSI staff repeatedly reminded residents of this fact as they stood with DCHA staff whenever they spoke at the NCI meetings. The residents vigorously pushed back against both DCHA and W8FFGSI staff, as they saw the unit size reduction and limits as a sure and intentional plan to divide their households and destroy their support networks. W8FFGSI encouraged adult children and siblings who were above the age of twenty and without medical concerns to apply for their own subsidized housing unit if they determined need. This meant that if they applied they would be at the end of a queue of more than seventy thousand other applicants. The prospect of families being divided proved enough of an issue that long-term residents turned against NCI officials including W8FFGSI and any resident council executive board member who supported this action. After Thelma resigned from the council (but not the NCI planning board), Vivian, as the new president, took a supportive stance for the aforementioned action. As a result, her strong ties with community members began to sour. The NCI plan and the inflexible, paternalistic, and authoritarian manner in which it was administered opened the doors for activist-based groups to come in and organize. W8FFGSI would regularly bring to the floor a series of subcontracting service providers, who would introduce their services. By the end of the NCI meetings, the agitated residents would be shifting about in their seats or would simply walk out as a sign of protest. This was a signal to Vivian to return to the floor and close the meeting in prayer. In a final attempt to control the agitated residents, the officials would either conduct a raffle or give out gift cards.

Activist (Rebel)-Based Meetings:
It's Time for Inclusion

By the end of my research, the confrontations between the NCI officials and residents had grown more frequent and more hostile. In two or more instances, Gretchen of Empower DC almost came to blows with Beverly. Beverly and Gretchen had to be restrained. In another NCI meeting held at the local school, Gretchen and other members of Empower DC and the FTA were in a near physical altercation with NCI officials and short-term residents who supported the plan. Most residents expressed suspicion that they were soon to be displaced through the NCI proposed redevelopment plan in the interest of White Washingtonians' desire to relocate east of the Anacostia River to work at the new Homeland Security site. The residents would refer to the NCI process as a "White process" as if to imply that the officials themselves were White. This was initially confusing to me because ninety-five percent of the NCI officials were African American professionals.

Well after this research, I contacted Julia Snow, the president and founder of the Farms Investigatory Research Group (FIRG), because I heard she was to appear as an expert witness for an upcoming municipal hearing on the zoning out of affordable housing and its residents. I enjoy a good fight for social justice and was prepared to offer anything I could to help her prepare. I asked her about the characterization of the NCI officials and their process as "White." Julia replied:

You could clearly see that the officials were people of color, I mean [Beverly Goldwater] is about as dark as they come. It's just—Turè, the way they do things—that felt White. Like the meetings felt stiff and cold. No one laughed, joked, or even farted. I mean, Turè, if you tried to make yourself feel at home at those meetings by saying or doing something out of the ordinary, they would frown at you. They are just too uptight. And the fact that we know the results of all this is to get us out of here . . . isn't that what White gentrifiers do?

I probed further: “How do you think framing this as a White process affects people’s understanding of the connections of race, class, and social justice involved in the process?” After a pregnant pause she responded:

Turè, the people here have been displaced by Whites or at least those complex owners who evicted these people—they did so mostly on account of making money and that they felt White people were [less of a risk]. These black folks here [referring to the NCI officials], they are just Oreos. They are dark on the exterior, but White to the core. Nobody got time for them and, trust me, they will learn soon enough. You see Obama catching all that hell and he was the first to tell us that racism was in the rearview mirror and he was everybody’s president. By the way, he did more for others than he did for us and we are in his backyard. Well, you can still see racism in the rearview mirror and either our engines have stopped running or racism was always in our blind spot because it’s right there tailgating—excuse my French—like a motherfucker. They’ll learn soon enough.

Recognizing that I wasn’t just some fly-on-the-wall ethnographer and that objectivity is a myth, I pushed back and demonstrated that there were White professionals and White students appearing in the Farms Public Dwellings community all the time to fight this apparent injustice.

Julia Snow, a former academic honors student in college, was meticulous in researching displacement from public housing in the District of Columbia and was well versed in the history of urban development policy. Unfortunately, she was a short-term resident with very weak social ties and lived on Sumner Road. However, as a WitnessSV turned rebel, she garnered the support of many long-term residents who also operated as rebels, as well as the external social justice organization of ONE DC. Though FIRG was normally a one-person organization with Julia as the only organizer, I actively participated with her in collecting details about the NCI officials and their plans. I must say, it was gratifying to see Julia using her encyclopedic memory to challenge the NCI officials. There were many attempts to combine the efforts of all activist (rebel)-based groups internal and external to the Farms community. However, Gretchen’s aggressive organization style alienated many.

The second activist and rebel-based resident group, Farms Tenants and Allies (FTA), was led by Linda McCrae. Linda was a long-term resident with strong social ties. She lived on Stevens Road and had observed her mother's retreatism most her life. She asserted to me, in a November 2011 interview, that she had the right to demand integration and access to all the amenities offered to White Washingtonians. Linda explained:

Living here my entire life, I grew accustomed to the practice of avoiding those folk over there [gesturing toward the west of the Anacostia River]. Yet, I was always interested in what they had. We would take field trips in school and I would be like "Dang, these people got it good." Then I would feel terrible because I reflected back on my situation. Don't get me wrong, I love my mother and I know she did the best for me, but I still would be like damn, I wish I had what they have over there. Then, I guess, over time . . . I thought, well, they don't know what I have going on over here such that I would be ashamed if they knew. Well around 2006, these city folk did come over here and with the backing of the mayor began telling us how we were living bad. They wanted to come into our homes and all that stuff. Blaming us for being poor and making us, well at least me, feel like I wasn't worthy of anything better. Most people I know stayed the hell away from them. Shoot, nobody needed to be made felt less than human. Yes, I hung out with my peoples [sic] here and had a lot of fun, but quietly, I longed for what they had over there. I became defiant and refused any longer see myself as a failure but rather to see myself as denied. I guess it makes sense that I am leading the FTA, because we deserve what they have too.

Linda resented the NCI meeting structure and style and moreover, the resident council executive board's acquiescence to the NCI officials. FTA meetings were well attended by long-term residents from Stevens Road, some of whom were close acquaintances of Linda and other residents that were frustrated and recruited by the FTA from the NCI meetings. Linda felt that the NCI plan should have been to build in place or rather perform an intensive rehabilitation of all the units beginning with Stevens Road and then phasing in development leading to Sumner Road.

FTA allies included ONE DC, Gretchen LeGrange from Empower DC, and UHURU. ONE DC and Empower DC were two locally based social justice organizations that organized residents against inequitable, racist, and classist economic development. These organizations

fought economic development that disadvantaged and or displaced residents from public housing, which they both argued was deeply racialized. International grassroots organization UHURU's US affiliates saw their principal goal as fighting American imperialism from a domestic position. Displacement of people of color, according to UHURU, was a global phenomenon experienced by African people due to the United States' racist and imperialist policies. Within the District of Columbia—the US capital—the Farms Public Dwellings community was ground zero for redevelopment and it was logical for UHURU to get involved. Linda and the FTA organization believed, with the support of their allies, they not only had a mandate to resist the NCI planned redevelopment, but also had a right to fight for all Farms Public Dwellings community residents to be treated as citizens—and citizens that belonged to the District of Columbia. FTA's active membership was decidedly younger than the resident council's active membership, and they rejected their forced isolation and the pathologizing discourse outsiders imposed on them.

The FTA felt that if the resident council was unwilling to mount a capable defense for their dignity, then they themselves would do it. They envisioned themselves as the legitimate alternative to the resident council and with the support of their allied organizations, they moved aggressively to delegitimize the resident council. They conducted their own housing inspections, taking note of disrepair, control numbers, and other complaints as well as developing their own welcome packet for new and old residents. The FTA held several meetings, although inconsistently scheduled, with the intention to use each meeting to persuade residents away from retreatism and accommodation and toward outright rebellion. They successfully organized a conference on the NCI plan to establish a Farms Community Benefits Agreement (CBA). The first conference was well attended but key people such as short-term residents and/or

accommodating residents were not present, including Jelissa. In addition, the resident council's executive board, undergoing a leadership transition, was absent. It was determined that sustained change would require all resident types to be present and equally invested in the crafting of a Farms community CBA.

The FTA was a serious group of residents and they used Phaedra's Camp2NoWhere to provide single parents with childcare so they could participate. In order to achieve the participation of the full range of resident types at the second scheduled conference, the FTA recruited resources from councilman Marion Barry's office staff to purchase food and gift cards. They even had the councilman himself directly encourage Thelma and the rest of the resident council's executive board to attend. Julia suggested that we hold our meeting at Campbell AME church given its historical value as a site for community organizing around the *Bolling v. Sharpe* court case that helped to win *Brown v. Board of Education*. In short order, we hammered out a CBA document that was later vetted by UHURU's staff attorney. Those assembled, both short-term and long-term residents, demanded that the resident council's executive board, who were present, adopt and advocate the Farms community CBA in the interest of the residents present. There were at least one hundred residents in attendance, including many who had participated in the informal resident council meetings, which was more than had ever attended the resident council's formal and informal meetings together. Thelma predictably favored the historical and heritage preservation component of the Farms community CBA. However, it took a lot of persuasion to get Vivian on board.

Vivian withdrew her support without explanation a few days later. FIRG soon discovered a plausible reason for the withdrawal. First, the Bread for the City attorney, who had represented the resident council's executive board, dismissed the CBA as poorly written and conceived and

as an unenforceable attempt to ensure equitable development. The attorney refused to offer the council legal support in revising and strengthening the document. Second, FIRG discovered that shortly after Vivian had reluctantly agreed to represent the community-drafted CBA, her brother and son had been accosted and then arrested for trespassing and a few other miscellaneous charges by DCHA police while sitting on their own front porch. Whether coincidental or not, these arrests frightened Vivian and she subsequently pulled her support. FIRG and FTA both determined that these were DCHA intimidation tactics.

When the NCI officials and W8FFGSI noticed what they labeled the activities of outside agitators, they begin to restrict admission to NCI meetings to Farms Public Dwellings residents only. FTA grew very frustrated, and while their confrontational style was justifiable given the circumstances, the NCI officials exploited it and painted both FIRG and FTA as cantankerous community elements whose members were untrained in civility. One NCI official stated to me at one of the NCI planning meetings that they couldn't even begin to consider the grievances of FTA and others, due to the group members' bad tempers and ill-conceived demands. As I was coming to the end of my research, the FTA adopted a new strategy, which was to disrupt any and every NCI proceeding where the community, as they saw it, lacked a voice. This was tricky as some residents, both long-term and short-term, supported the NCI plan and so the strategy meant confrontation with residents as well. It is regrettable that an undemocratic, punitive, and pathologizing process would generate extreme frustration to the extent that the vulnerable would fight each other. Unfortunately, the Farms CBA, including its historical and heritage preservation proposal, was never ratified.

Conclusion

The African American baby boomers who serve as the low-level bureaucratic officials and constituent members of the NCI urban planning team matured during a civil rights era when marginalized citizens in US society and throughout the Western world demanded participatory and shared governance (Jennings 2004). Jennings (2004), for example, notes that community participation in the field of urban planning, often termed equity and advocacy movements, was first sought in the 1950s through early 1960s and emerged alongside the civil rights and black power movements. The current NCI officials and many of the long-term residents are of the generation whose socialization oriented them toward the demand for inclusion and social justice. The guiding principles developed between the resident council and the NCI government officials stemmed from this orientation. As such, the NCI represents a key moment in the proposed development of the Farms Public Dwellings community that could have reversed the history of structural violence and unified a fragmented community. However, the process reveals that the NCI officials and W8FFGSI manufactured and maintained social differences between the dominant society and the Farms Public Dwellings community residents. Stated differently, the way in which the NCI project has been conducted thus far has revealed the government's integral and intentional role as a facilitator of the sociospatial binary between the WSC and the NWIO, particularly its subset group of the Truly "Truly" Disadvantaged Other.

The NCI officials engaged in the symbolic work of distancing and establishing the contradistinction between the two groups of WSC and NWIO/TTDO through rhetorical strategies and pathologizing discourses that ignored counterevidence. They seemingly intentionally participated in the Farms Public Dwellings property degradation through neglect after they rezoned the area for concentrated public housing, located extremely vulnerable persons there, and created an environment for disinvestment. In essence they devalued the area and its

people, symbolically attributing an antithetical relationship to the dominant society and the Farms residents, while the latter were trapped and isolated through public policy and DC governmentled practices. The NCI plan then represents an amplification of structural violence to ensure the integrity of the sociospatial binary. It also attempts to grapple with the potential spread of retreatist residents who, through their practices, deny the state's use of their lifeways as evidence of cultural pathology, as well as to dismiss the demands of rebels for inclusion. Retreatism and rebel activities distort the sociospatial binary.

Finally, the NCI collaboration with coercive state apparatuses such as the police, who themselves both overpolice and underpolice the community, demonstrates that public housing is a constituent institution in the carceral continuum. DCHA—through OTB, their housing police, or coordinated activities with MPD—overpolice through harassment, surveillance, intrusive stop and frisks, and home “invasions,” thus representing key perpetrators of structural violence. Their concentrated focus on groups of African American males in general and these males on Stevens Road specifically caused residents to further self-isolate—to retreat. In the context of the Farms Public Dwellings community, the unfortunate consequence here is that a local and rough form of street justice prevails and violence becomes possible. In return, the media and other popular venues seize this information and reproduce it in sensational forms that stigmatize all of the east of the Anacostia River communities. This is exactly the general depiction necessary for the binary, but it saturates the residents—all residents—with stigma. In the next chapter, I will discuss how the African American middle-class neighbors living near the Farms Public Dwellings community respond to this stigma. As I shift to discuss some African American middle-class neighbors in the next chapter, I want to point out some important considerations. First, an ethnographic research must document the social reality that manifest in his/her

ethnographic view and attempt to discover the taken-for-granted, less obvious and hidden dimensions too. In the case of the Farms Public Dwellings community, the hidden dimensions of structural violence must include all of the actors and perpetrators of structural violence. Second, what should be understood here is the fact that while African American middle-class neighbors are provisional members of the WSC group, their inclusion creates binary distortion for members of the WSC group who still hold on to the antiquated racial binary. Consequently, these African Americans are subjected with amplified forms of structural violence. It is, in part, this reason that many members of the African American middle-class members have chosen to take up residency east of the Anacostia River and have high ethnographic visible in my research. Second, African Americans middle-class are not singularly or the principal actors of structural violence. The dominant White Washingtonian elite are shielded from ethnographic visibility by the complexly layered and bureaucratic convoluted government. Finally, as proximate neighbors to the Farms Public Dwellings community, they increasingly sense the binary distortion and react.

CHAPTER 6

BUPPIES, THE AFRICAN AMERICAN MIDDLE CLASS, AND STRUCTURAL VIOLENCE IN THE FARMS

I first encountered Ashley Fagan, a prominent member of the African American middle class living east of the Anacostia River, in 2011, when I attended a preview of a documentary film on the Farms' area history and social life. The documentary was being shown at the Arc Theater, which had opened in Ward 8 a few years before I began my fieldwork (THEARC 2016). I attended the preview with two community leaders, Thelma Jenson and Phaedra Moore, and participants of Phaedra's Camp2NoWhere, a program to introduce Farms Public Dwellings youth to cultural sites around the metropolitan area.

Once those I accompanied were seated, I excused myself to scout out some resources for Phaedra's program, as well as to acquire a general understanding of the Arc's history. After a few phone calls by the receptionist seated at the welcome desk, I was met by one of the Arc's administrators, Ashley Fagan. Once I shared my research agenda with her, she began to explain, with great enthusiasm, how the Arc was part of an area-wide arts revitalization effort to restore Ward 8 to its former greatness. I was immediately alarmed by the idea of returning something to its "former greatness," a culturally constituted idea that suggests a very narrow perspective tied to one's cultural taste.

The Arc was the first major investment in music and arts education east of the Anacostia River. It was quickly followed by several fine art and photography galleries and a playhouse. With the exception of the Arc, they were mostly located within the Union neighborhood near the intersection of Good Hope Road and MLK Ave. They presented a stark contrast with the public art—street murals and graffiti—for which the District of Columbia is known. Ward 8 enjoys the

lion's share of these types of public art, in part due to the efforts of Brian, the Farms Public Dwellings artist who had also opened an art gallery in the area. In contrast to the enclosed and often private feel of art galleries, Ward 8 residents share their expressive culture in the form of street art with anyone willing to visit and peruse their public space. During my initial visits to the Farms neighborhood when I asked passersby for directions, they would invariably use murals as reference points—both murals present and those long gone due to development—to get me to my destination. Time allowing, the chance contacts would share their interpretations of these murals and their complaints about, for instance, a Uniontown Bar mural being painted over or the erasure of the Sheridan Terrace mural.

The artscape of the Farms neighborhood denies visitors the privacy of the flaneur caught in his/her own web of ruminations. The sights, smells, and sounds of the social scene there penetrate deep into one's contemplations, whether from a sudden burst of discussion coming from the Regs on the fence line, the neighborhood's street corner crowds, the aroma of hot wings and fries in the air from the many carry-out restaurants, the go-go sounds that emanate from fast-moving Chevrolet Impalas, or the aesthetically rich murals. These stimuli all come together to create a cornucopia of sensations that does not allow private solitude to extend into this public space. Instead, it demands at least modest social awareness and participation. To be sure, both art galleries and street art contribute to the neighborhood's texture and character, but the public art is more accessible and is a collective form of place making that counterbalances the visible signs of urban decay.

The literature on the intersection of arts and gentrification is wide ranging and complex, yet there is some agreement that the aestheticization of neighborhoods in decline, for example through art galleries, speeds up a neighborhood's regeneration and smooths the way for capital

investment that carries with it gentrifying and displacing effects (Cameron and Coaffee 2005; Hackworth and Smith 2001; Mathews 2010).¹⁴⁶ Galleries are not an endemic feature east of the Anacostia River. They are foreign to the Farms neighborhood residents who travel to Union for business and pleasure. Most Farms Public Dwellings residents assume that their perpetual displacement occurs at the hands of the District of Columbia government and continues to serve the interests of White District of Columbia residents. Thus, as the number of galleries increased, many Farms Public Dwellings residents pointed to them as evidence of the District of Columbia's White residents' interest in expanding into the south and east sections of the city.

Ashley explained, however, that the push for revitalization east of the Anacostia River has been championed not by Whites but by a group of young African American urban professionals living east of the River. She is a member of that group, which calls itself Professionals Rising in the Southeast (PRISE)(pseudonym).¹⁴⁷ Ashley fervently believed the changes underway in Ward 8 were the direct result of PRISE's efforts, and she passionately framed neighborhood revitalization from that perspective. Other individuals and factors undoubtedly play a role in the changes occurring east of the Anacostia River, but PRISE's members and their activities are extremely visible. Their involvement complicates the notion that change to the community always comes from outside interference. In addition, PRISE's presence in communities east of the Anacostia River debunks a monolithic belief that all African Americans share a single, unified sociopolitical perspective. Finally, PRISE activities

146. Gentrification is mentioned here to highlight the change in the nature of the brick-and-mortar businesses and the usually gradual—but sometimes rapid—residential replacement. What is not implied through the usage of this term is the redevelopment of public housing or an invasion of White urban pioneers. (See chapter 1 for further discussion on the gentrification concept.)

147. Although such a group exists, the name has been changed here.

demonstrate that the application of structural violence occurs across African American communities of different classes.

To my benefit, Ashley openly expressed her feelings on the art projects underway east of the Anacostia River and the proposed urban renewal projects targeting the Farms neighborhood. To exemplify the positive potential outcomes of urban renewal, she contrasted the prior Mississippi Avenue community, which according to Ashley was once “infested” with public housing units and other low-income housing apartments, with the new community generated by the Arc campus’ emplacement. She announced proudly:

Now we have a residential subdivision with homes valued at half a million dollars under construction just a stone’s throw down the street—this state-of-the-art theater with room to accommodate music education and local youth recreation activities; a grand auditorium suitable for town halls, dramatic performances and mini concerts; the Arc’s planned expansion phases soon to come; and finally, a former and shabby apartment community [Parkland Apartments] under new management, exclusive, and soon to be remodeled, too.

Ashley’s exuberance regarding the future of the communities east of the Anacostia River was not shared by all. Staring at a silent screen monitor just beyond Ashley’s right shoulder on the Arc’s inner atrium wall, I observed a video-displayed time series that captured the site’s transformation from a patch of swampland. I thought about how the collection of photos served as a wonderful metaphor for the elite discourse on redevelopment east of the Anacostia River that I’d observed up to that point in my fieldwork. In summary, this discourse suggested that there was nothing of cultural or material value worth salvaging in the Farms community. Stated differently, the targeted area was treated as culturally uncultivated and thus available for more productive use. One can easily infer from the dominant discourse about Ward 8 and Farms Public Dwellings that residents’ land-use made no meaningful contribution to the greater city. Rather, this disclosure increases the stigma of the communities east of the Anacostia River and thereby prevents the area’s full incorporation into the core of District of Columbia society.

Ashley reiterated throughout our introductory meeting that she served a leading role in the nascent, though historically rooted, transformation sweeping across the eastern side of the Anacostia River. Explaining to her that I didn't want to miss the film, but that I certainly wanted to know more about her and PRISE's role in the proposed development of the Farms Public Dwellings community and Ward 8, I persuaded Ashley to participate in a later sit-down interview with me.

The following section summarizes my interview with Ashley and selected interviews and encounters with other PRISE members and events. I then analyze how some of the African American middle class living east of the Anacostia River contribute to the structural violence experienced by Farms Public Dwellings residents and their categorization as TTDOs in the social binary. I describe only members of PRISE who were highly visible and actively involved in the Farms and Ward 8 urban redevelopment processes or expressed "Otherizing" discourses when referring to Farms Public Dwellings residents.

My analysis follows Paul Farmer's suggestions to anthropologists who conduct research in contexts characterized by structural violence, as discussed in chapter 1 (Farmer et al. 2004). Farmer's writings urge anthropologists to make every effort to demystify structural violence and its appearance of agentlessness by identifying the complex assortment of participants and beneficiaries that propagate it. In addition, I understand from Farmer's call for pragmatic solidarity that anthropologists should identify possible resources and networks that will ameliorate, if not eradicate, the harm produced by structural violence (Farmer 1999, 2003b; Farmer and Gastineau 2002; Farmer et al. 2006).

PRISE Board Member Ashley Fagan

Ashley has deep political roots in the District of Columbia.¹⁴⁸ Throughout the last quarter of the twentieth century, her relatives held appointments in the District of Columbia government. She attended an elite private university just outside of Philadelphia, earning an undergraduate degree in arts management and education; and at the time of my interview, she'd matriculated into a graduate program with a concentration in arts business management at an elite District of Columbia-area college. She had chosen to retain her childhood home east of the Anacostia River despite possessing the financial means to live elsewhere.

Ashley was a long-term resident with significant social ties among the professional and political class, but very few ties to the lower-income residents of the Farms Public Dwellings community beyond those she served through the Arc's programming. Ashley adheres to a postracial and pull-yourself-up-by-your-own-bootstraps orientation. As a result, she is not very invested in supporting public policies that might help the poor. Instead, she supports policy programs such as NCI that she believes will free up residential space for other similarly situated urban professionals to relocate to the area. A brief encounter with Ashley would not reveal this ideological stance, however; her public profile is suffused with expressions of love for children, enthusiasm for education and the transformative power of the arts east of the Anacostia. Although I classify Ashley as a propagator of structural violence, she is African American and middle class, and her life is deeply intermixed with the stigmatized east of the Anacostia region. Ashley and other buppies in the area strongly consider her efforts a social good.

For example, Ashley stated that PRISE was leading an effort to rebrand the neighborhood that includes the Farms Public Dwellings site as "River East" because the phrase "east of the

148. The interview was conducted in December 2011.

Anacostia River” was “stigmatizing.” She considered rebranding the area an essential part of revitalization. “In corporatist terms,” she emphatically explained, “corporations do this sort of rebranding thing all the time to rid themselves of stigma . . . for example, look at Coca Cola.” We discussed Coca Cola and a few other corporations such as Firestone, which the latter knowingly manufactured faulty tires that injured many lives. I challenged her to consider whether rebranding effectively resolved the underlying wrong of any corporate strategy that prioritizes profits over people. Uncomfortable with discussing the human condition in such impersonal business terms, I then directly asked her whether rebranding the communities east of the Anacostia River would effectively resolve the cumulative effects of the discriminatory political, cultural, and economic practices of the District of Columbia’s elite. Persuasively, she declared, “There aren’t many alternative actions that would yield revitalization of east of the Anacostia River communities without a complementary rebranding strategy.”

I pointed out that a substantial segment of the local citizenry, such as those living in Farms Public Dwellings, had become isolated and vulnerable. Ashley quickly retorted, “Addressing the racist policies of the past [isn’t] a PRISE priority, or my particular interest, so much as making River East a viable community for those who are forward thinking.”

Anticipating that I would probe further on the topic of racism, as I had on the topic of rebranding, she interjected, “It may not be racism that is holding us back today . . . perhaps you need to look at culture, the culture of this place.”

By “culture of this place,” Ashley was not referring to the “upwardly mobile practices” of her buppy peers, but rather singling out the practices of poor African Americans living in the Farms Public Dwellings community, people “whose attitudes were opposite to mainstream society.” “Forward thinkers” were people like her, who had unmoored themselves from

yesterday's racial strife. According to Ashley, "To acknowledge the fact of being raised east of the Anacostia River is a sort of self-sabotage." Leaning forward, Ashley said:

Well, that's our adversity. Culture! And some local residents have accused us of not knowing what we are talking about or doing? But all I know is that if you tell people you are from southeast, they think you are going to get shot up. . . . Growing up in southeast and telling people that you are from east of the River is like telling them you are from the wrong side of the tracks. We need to change the impression of this area and to change the mindset of these people here. But it seems harder to change the people's mindset here, so I invest where change is possible. I can try to change the mainstream people's perception of this area by changing the very area itself. If we can't change the mindsets [of the people here] then, well . . . we need to get rid of them.

I attempted several times over the course of the interview to widen the scope of our conversation beyond Ashley's implied "cultural devolution" of the communities east of the Anacostia River, hoping for a discussion that would include an analysis of historical and contemporary racism and the hypersegregation that may have contributed to the current conditions she was laboring so tirelessly against, but Ashley continued to politely rebuff me. It seemed she was completely convinced that the cultural attitude of the extant residents was the culprit preventing Ward 8 from being included in the core of District of Columbia society. She believed the era of racism was long gone and warranted no further inspection.

Much of our conversation centered on PRISE's urgent desire for change. She expressed the need to keep the forward momentum of urban revitalization and praised PRISE's efforts to improve the current and future viability of "River East."¹⁴⁹ Ashley said that President Barack Obama's historic election inspired the members of PRISE to believe that it was possible to change the conditions east of the Anacostia River, even if the changes were not popular and

149. Over the course of my research, I joined and volunteered with PRISE and became familiar with many of the organization's active members. After interviewing and associating with a number of PRISE members, I believe it is fair to say they were mostly oriented to present and futurist perspectives with little interest in the history of racial oppression.

could only be effected by a committed bunch of organized citizens such as themselves. Citing Obama's edict on social change, Ashley explained, "Change will not happen by him or the government, but rather through people's realization that they have to initiate it—that people have power to create a world of their choosing."

The connection she drew is apt, given Obama's empty overhaul of Housing and Urban Development's (HUD) public housing redevelopment initiative. The program formerly known as HOPE VI received nothing more than a name change, to Choice Neighborhoods, without any substantive reform. Ashley mentioned that she did not know the full details of HOPE VI, NCI, or Choice Neighborhoods, but she felt a fair interpretation of these federal programs was that they encouraged rebranding as part of community development.

Ashley went on to say that some veterans of the African American civil rights movement who lived at The Heights had criticized PRISE members for being too young and too uninformed about the civil rights struggle to be able to chart a revitalization agenda for the entire range of the east of the Anacostia River communities. Laughing, she said, "They often tell us how we need to sit at the feet of the elders first before we move forward with our ambitious plans to change the world. But I kindly respond that my mother is one of those elders and she also is a guiding member of PRISE." Ashley's mother was a witness to the rise of Ward 8 councilman and former District of Columbia mayor Marion Barry in District of Columbia politics. Because Barry lambasted many of the African American political officials who had worked in government before him, he probably alienated Ashley's family. In any event, Ashley considers Barry a possible source of criticisms of PRISE.¹⁵⁰ She believes he and other elders attempted to manipulate PRISE members into currying favor and requesting guidance from Barry so as not to

150. Councilman Barry was a resident of The Heights until his death on November 23, 2014.

threaten the status quo or the power and privileges of the old civil rights vanguard in The Heights. PRISE's dislike for Barry's politics eventually led to an unsuccessful campaign by one of PRISE's founders, Chase Hamilton, to unseat Barry as councilman. In many ways, PRISE resented Barry and what they regarded as his racially divisive politics; and, by extension they resented other civil rights-oriented residents, who held fast to what PRISE considered the antiquated remonstrations of identity politics.¹⁵¹ Ashley explained, "Marion Barry's staying power rests in his deft ability to manipulate his constituency's emotions around identity politics and the bygone era of racism." Ashley explained that most PRISE members shared the opinion that Barry used his council seat to misguide his constituents' perceptions around issues of equitable development and social progress. "Moreover," Ashley explained, "Barry participated in race baiting rhetoric and abused the government as a safety net to help residents unwilling to make a change on their own. In part, Barry's rhetoric generated the stigma that everyone in Ward 8 is terrible"

Later in the interview, Ashley referenced the 14th and U Street corridor in the District of Columbia's Shaw neighborhood as an illustration of the type of progress that would come to River East if it overcame its stigma and more African American professionals relocated there. She described the "push and pull factors" for young African American professionals who might move into the area:

West of the Anacostia River is congested and the real estate there is cost prohibitive. However, people are smitten with the cosmopolitan feel of 14th and U Street, Georgetown, Columbia Heights, etc., and at the very notice of revitalization to occur in River East communities, they want to come and take advantage of the cheap real estate,

151. Councilman Barry initially agreed to meet with me for an interview on the status and development of the Farms. He arrived two hours late on the day of the interview. When I asked about his position on the Farms Public Dwellings community, he stated that he needed more time for that type of interview. He said his aide would reschedule with me, but this never happened. In fairness, the Farms Public Dwellings redevelopment was a highly politicized process and Barry, who often took contradictory stances on the proposed redevelopment, was careful to avoid the gotcha moments.

panoramic views of the District of Columbia, and the green and open space and suburban feel of the area.

I asked her in so many words whether the revitalized communities these African Americans enjoyed west of the Anacostia River were really cosmopolitan canopies free from racism or were they becoming exclusive White spaces that would be only temporarily welcoming to African Americans professionals with disposable income (Anderson 2004b, 2015; Page 1999b). She paused reflectively and then responded:

U Street does have a slight exclusive feel to it, but I don't think it's race—race is not the issue. U Street was once known for prostitutes and drugs before it was revitalized and not its current chic and bohemian bars and restaurant scene. In order to keep that [past] culture from returning and contaminating the area, the prices and cost of living had to be set high, so no . . . it's not race as much as it is the culture of the people. Likewise, we need to rid this area of public housing so that people know that they are not moving into that type of area.

Ashley may be unfamiliar with the social science discourse on the culture of poverty that has been articulated and rearticulated by several generations of social scientists, but her assessments and pronouncements against poor public housing residents east of the Anacostia River demonstrate a tendency to blame them for their poor living conditions and an unwillingness to consider other structural factors that would explain those conditions. She seemed determined to depict and treat poor and working class African Americans as cultural outsiders.

According to Ashley, PRISE's desire for a black, middle-class community is not a reification of old racial boundaries, but an enrichment of the District of Columbia's cultural pluralism at the neighborhood level. She viewed the creation of a predominantly African American and middle-class community as a two-part process. First, the public housing communities and their poor residents would be distilled out of the communities east of the Anacostia. Second, home owners and business proprietors of PRISE's liking would be recruited to move in. PRISE wants Union to become the District of Columbia's next "happening"

neighborhood but also wants it to retain signifiers of a distinctive African American heritage. Ashley's single concern about redevelopment was that sometimes it took away from a local neighborhood's culture, charm, and character. She disliked the formulaic redevelopment scheme of strip malls and big box retail stores such as Target and Walmart that anchor new redevelopment sites in the District of Columbia metropolitan area.¹⁵² At one point during my affiliation with PRISE, I floated the idea of relocating to "River East." A member of the organization who was a real estate agent then offered me discounted services and listings of properties on the market, explaining that both "the organization's and my personal hope is to see more young African American professionals relocate to the area rather than allowing the redevelopment to proceed as usual and Union to become White like U Street."

Ashley felt that mainstream District of Columbia residents didn't want to blame everyone living east of the Anacostia River, but the fact was that it was hard to distinguish the upwardly mobile residents from others because "the residential types were so integrated." "This integration," she explained, "diminishes people's perspective of me, increases my risk of loss and injury, and leads to the devaluation of my property." I asked Ashley how this supposed crisis of integration could be ameliorated. She answered that the [physical] boundaries between different types of residential areas must be clear and policed: "People are not going to purchase

152. She and I share no disagreement here as I loathe Walmart's business practices and their potential treatment of Ward 8 residents who would receive pay far short of a living wage. PRISE members were collectively concerned with the city's deal to bring a Walmart to the area, as they envisioned a revitalization that would render River East more like Georgetown. I spoke with an economic development specialist in DMPED who made it clear that the District of Columbia government does not envision economic development without big box retail stores as anchors. This DMPED official explained to me that stores like Walmart give the quickest revenue returns and would reduce the unemployment levels that plague the east of the Anacostia River communities. In other words, Walmart was a politically expedient choice. Councilman Barry supported the Walmart store. Grace Johnson, Barry's constituency office manager, claimed it would bring much-needed jobs and increased revenues for the area. Some PRISE members I interviewed as part of this research suggested that Walmart would contribute to area crime and that the tax revenues would be negated by the decades-long abatements Walmart would receive.

property here as long as they and their homes are mixed up with people here—and I am not trying to hate on people here, rather I am trying to be safe.” Apparent in her remarks was a real concern for physical safety and property values, but her remarks also reflect an ideological concern.

Ashley also complained about the punitive orientation of the local police and the lack of police protection as well as other city services in the area. She attributed this to the overwhelming presence of crime east of the Anacostia River, which had exhausted the available police resources. PRISE members believed they could solve this problem by recruiting peers, family, and other professional friends of color to relocate to the area. I asked Ashley what kind of businesses she would like to see come to the area. She enumerated businesses such as the restaurant and café Busboys and Poets—businesses that would give the area a bustling and happening profile. Well after my fieldwork concluded, PRISE’s efforts helped to secure a new Busboys and Poets location for MLK Ave (the fourth sit-down restaurant to come to Union). While concerned that some neighborhoods would lose their unique culture, Ashley was convinced that there was nothing worth salvaging in certain neighborhoods known for high crime, drugs, violence, and poverty, like Farms Public Dwellings. According to Ashley, the former Mississippi Avenue community that the Arc replaced, and the similarly situated Farms Public Dwellings community, were “swamps of nothingness” and suitable for redevelopment.

She explained that cultural pathology was everywhere in the Farms. For example, Ashley described the need for a Thurgood Marshall Academy student to wear a hoodie and sagging pants in order to fit in and appear cool so he wouldn’t be accosted by Farms Public Dwellings community youths during his commute to and from school. Thurgood was a successful charter high school in the Farms community located on the northwest corner of MLK Ave and Howard

Road. “This culture is not good for anyone. . . who would want to be over here?” she asked as she pointed in the direction of where the Farms redevelopment would be located. Like a saleswoman hoping to close a deal, Ashley declared,

Look, there are a lot of good things and elements in River East communities . . . decent people live here in Wards 7 and 8, but because of the stigma . . . all that is decent is obscured from visibility. Sometimes redevelopment might lead to the fourth-, fifth-generation families feeling like they are being pushed out, torn away from their roots. But I am sure there are people even there [Farms Public Dwellings] who want to do something better . . . something has to be done!

I suggested to Ashley at the end of our interview (and frequently thereafter) that PRISE take up the Du Boisian call for the “Talented Tenth” and facilitate opportunities for upward mobility among Farms Public Dwellings residents (Du Bois, Anderson, and Eaton 1899). Ashley responded,

PRISE is not interested, as an organization, in becoming role models, such as Du Bois proposed with his concept of the Talented Tenth . . . rather, we are just advocates for real change. Now perhaps some PRISE members may mentor on a personal level, but there isn’t interest at the organizational level. Some kids in the [Farms] may see that we get things done and realize they can do it too, so I guess that might be an example of role modeling.

When I close my interviews I always ask the interviewee to suggest a song that expresses their perspective about the soundscape of their community or desired community. So I asked Ashley, “What song or music genre best characterizes your community and/or the community you imagine here?” Ashley responded that when she thinks of her Ward 7, she thinks of the green grass, the beauty of living in a neighborhood without sidewalks, and a desire to hear classical music. She then said that, in contrast, “When I think of the Farms community, I hear the boom boom bam of hip hop.” This alliterative onomatopoeia wasn’t a nostalgic recollection of the 1980s through early 1990s progressive hip hop that she and I had listened to growing up, such as Gang Starr, Slick Rick, Eric B & Rakim, and Public Enemy, but rather the rap music of the Farms community’s OY Boyz and gunshot-filled drum tracks with boasts of drugs, sex, and

turf wars. For Ashley, the trappings of the working-class and poor African Americans living east of the Anacostia River were not only culturally dissimilar from those of her neighborhood, but actually stigmatized the decent people and the entire region. She actively lobbied for an art renaissance that would lead to revitalization but would also displace most of the area's public housing communities and their residents. The Farms Public Dwellings community was one of her main targets because it was such an important feature of the landscape east of the Anacostia River.

Creative Capital and Community Revitalization

Ashley and other PRISE members were determined to redevelop the communities east of the Anacostia River whether through the arts or through outright residential redevelopment. The District of Columbia government took a similar approach to transforming the area. This approach was spelled out to NCI in a 2010 District of Columbia Office of Planning (CCOP) report with the title, "Creative Capital: The Creative DC Action Agenda."¹⁵³ Such reports are intended to provide clear sets of actions to be implemented across District of Columbia government agencies in targeted neighborhoods. Among several District of Columbia regions, Union was named as a suitable neighborhood for the report's outlined revitalization strategies. The report suggested that the creative arts and those who engage in them were vital to the city's emergent identity as a global, cosmopolitan city:

The city's "creative sector"—a phrase referring to enterprises in and for which creative content drives both economic and cultural value, including businesses, individuals, and organizations engaged in every stage of the creative process—acts as a local economic driver creating a significant number of jobs, income, and revenues for the city and its residents. Those creative enterprises, ranging from well-known cultural venues and

153. Washington DC Economic Partnership (DCEP), "Creative Capital: The Creative DC Action Agenda" (DC Office of Planning and the Washington DC Economic Partnership, 2010). Available at <http://www.wdcep.com/wp-content/uploads/2010/09/creativecapital.pdf>

enormously influential media to vibrant visual arts and theater communities, innovative design, and emerging world-class cuisine, are helping to create a new identity for [District of Columbia], independent of the established perceptions and potentially of far greater importance and value in the lives of [District of Columbia residents] themselves. (p. 7)

Specifically, the report noted that the creative sector could lead to the regeneration of downtrodden areas, establish a sense of place where there wasn't one, create livelier and defensible streets, and allow for greater intercommunity and agency cooperation, among many other positive effects. The creative capital sector, the report claimed, employed more than seventy-five thousand individuals and contributed five billion dollars in wages to the District of Columbia economy. By taking full advantage of this ideological and material culture producing sector, District of Columbia officials intended to make the city a destination for tourism, career professionals, residents with disposable income, and consequently, attractive to other service-oriented industries that could take advantage of the concentration of high caliber professionals assembled within its borders.¹⁵⁴ As explained in the report:

Creative industries, including performing arts and culinary enterprises, not only contribute to the city's overall appeal to tourists; as those activities gain a higher profile, they help make [District of Columbia] a more attractive destination for the sort of high-value "knowledge workers" on which local economies increasingly depend. The emergence of creative endeavors also has begun to transform neighborhoods across the city, heightening their character and appeal that might have been previously overlooked. (p. 8)

It is important to note that while the District of Columbia has always been a postindustrial juggernaut in a region filled with industrial cities, the service sector has yet to

154. The "Creative Capital" report is consistent with Richard Florida's (2004) conception of the creative capital class. Florida argues that municipal regeneration is strategically sought through investment in the arts and other entertainment forms to which high caliber professionals in postindustrial industries are attracted enough to spur them to relocate. Florida maintains that the flexible forms of late capitalism and postindustrial industries are extremely mobile, unlike those of the industrial era. By this he means that during the industrial era laborers moved to be near brick-and-mortar industries fixed in place. However, the postindustrial industries of finance, intellectual property, and consultancies can move easily to where people already are.

spread its opportunities to the east of the Anacostia River communities. If the report's—and Ashley's—creative vision were to be realized, it would in effect bring arts and postindustrial opportunities to a section of the District of Columbia in desperate need of jobs. Yet this is a Faustian bargain, given that these opportunities are contingent on resident displacement. Ashley, along with Naomi and Chase, the two PRISE members I discuss in the sections below, maintained that the Farms Public Dwellings were a significant stain on the area and prevented residential and business investment. Therefore, they and other members of PRISE reasoned that the solution was to relocate the residents of the Farms Public Dwellings community and other sites like it and to demolish the sites. The NCI proposal prompted PRISE members to focus on the Farms Public Dwellings community. However, even this proposed process was not possible unless PRISE could reframe the message of development in nonthreatening ways to prevent the residents, already anxious from past HUD-sponsored HOPE IV programs, from revolting.

Framing the Message: Naomi Glenn and PRISE's
End of the Year Awards Party

Naomi Glenn, a PRISE member with extensive public relations skills, particularly in framing corporate media messaging, was integral to PRISE's framing of redevelopment for the east of the Anacostia River communities, including the proposed redevelopment of the Farms Public Dwellings community. Naomi was a very active and quite effective behind-the-scenes organizer. At the time of my interview with her, she had just purchased a home in the Union area. She had no significant contacts among Farms area residents. Her activities around development lead me to categorize her as a propagator of structural violence, although like Ashley, Naomi saw her efforts as positively contributing to a better future for all of the communities east of the Anacostia.

Naomi and I had our most significant encounter at PRISE's annual end-of-the-year party and awards ceremony, at which I provided deejay services. Naomi had acquired her baccalaureate degree in communications seven years earlier, from a prestigious Historically Black College or University (HBCU) in the District of Columbia, where she had been a legacy student.¹⁵⁵ That night, PRISE members mingled with distinguished guests, awardees, city officials, and developers and together they took in the gallery's exhibit of portraiture by local artists. Ashley served as the master of ceremonies, announcing the award recipients and other details, while Naomi managed logistical details such as lighting, the guest book and admissions, and music selections. When Naomi dimmed the venue's lights and signaled to me, I started my music set with 1980s and 1990s dance hall reggae, rhythm and blues such as New Edition and Troop, and old school hip hop of the empowering type like the Jungle Brothers, De La Soul, Queen Latifah, and MC Lyte. Naomi approached me with a list of twelve song requests from some of her college friends who were attending the event. This list included a couple of the "boom boom bam" songs for which Ashley had expressed distaste. Although playing Kanye West and Jay Z's "Ni**as in Paris," "The Motto" by Drake, "Sardines" by Chuck Brown, and a few other unmentionables didn't please Ashley, Chase Hamilton, and a few other PRISE members, it did secure me an interview with Naomi.

Naomi and I arranged to meet for an interview at the Big Chair Coffee Bar and Grill, located equidistant between the Honfleur Art Gallery and Naomi's recently purchased home.¹⁵⁶ We met on the more secluded second level, where I had conducted a substantial number of my interviews with Farms Public Dwellings residents in the past. I normally discuss music at the end

155. "Legacy" means that one or both of her parents had attended the school.

156. The interview was conducted in February 2012.

of the interviews, but observing Naomi's shoulders moving to Usher's song "Climax," which was playing at the restaurant, I jokingly said that she struck me as sort of an enigma given her musical taste. I explained that "Climax" contains sexual overtones that didn't strike me as stylistically urbane for a typical PRISE member. Naomi made it clear to me that she did enjoy some popular music, but mostly for the musical composition and not the song's lyrics and thematic content. I asked her what song best represented the sound of Ward 8; she responded that the area sounded like disorganized and chaotic music. She explained, "It sounds like a thousand radio stations on volume ten playing simultaneously, where every once in a while you can catch the groove of a steady rhythm. Don't get me wrong, I love black music, but I love organized sound. This sound I hear here reflects a chaotic community, which I hope to improve."

Aware that I was particularly interested in the Farms Public Dwellings community, she made it a point to distinguish her taste in music from the residents' tastes. She stated, "Unlike public housing residents you may meet here and particularly those of the [she pointed in the direction of the Farms Public Dwellings] community there, I am educated enough to know, to discern and to discriminate against exaggerated, violent, and sometimes misogynist music lyrics." We discussed how the music has changed during the first decade of the new millennium compared to the 1990s. We disagreed about the depth and significance of this change, but we both agreed that it has been substantial. She added, "We can dance and all but don't come at me with that nonsense," contrasting herself with someone that might take the music for reality.

Naomi explained that she felt terrible that her song requests had caused some conflict between me and other PRISE members, but noted that she was only trying to convince her college friends of the hipness of the young urban and professional PRISE group. She relented, "I should have realized that PRISE board members tend to closely scrutinize things like that. You

know the board hopes to keep the PRISE brand to a respectable standing.” I replied that she must know she had sacrificed my brand name, which made us both laugh as we began the main part of the interview.

After graduating from college, Naomi worked in the media communications industry, first in New York and then in Atlanta, Georgia, before returning to the District of Columbia to launch her own public relations consulting business east of the Anacostia River. She explained that she took pride in being flexible and mobile, as these were indices of having achieved success.

Naomi’s travels allowed her to develop a perspective on African American poverty. She noted that whether it was the District of Columbia’s Farms community, NYC’s Harlem, Brooklyn’s Bedford Stuyvesant, or Atlanta’s southwest neighborhoods, poor African Americans seemed to “frolic in their own self-produced misery, poverty, and crime.” She found it difficult to blame White racism for the lack of African American progress, and she used the Farms Public Dwellings community as an example of what she considered to be such communities’ cultural problems. Naomi felt that the low education and literacy rates, high incidence of teenage pregnancy, low employment, and high violence and homicide rates of the Farms Public Dwellings community demonstrated that “there might be an issue of culture pathology rather than racism.”

Despite Naomi’s feeling that the social scene in the District of Columbia was terrible, the revitalization of Columbia Heights, Georgia Avenue, and U Street corridors gave her hope that she could find a career, a home, and a social life here. Naomi explained, “The love I have for my alma mater and the aspiring urban professionals I met there became a beckoning call too strong for me to resist. Well, and now I am back!” She suggested that an additional matter that drew her

to return to District of Columbia was information circulating within her social network about redevelopment coming to the east of the Anacostia River communities along the MLK Ave corridor. She explained:

I knew the homes here [east of the Anacostia River] were spacious, affordable, and proximate to major sites in the metropolitan area. I wanted to get in before prices got too steep so I purchased my home in [Union]. I also wanted to be part of a growing community of African American professionals. However, as soon as I got here, I realized that this place needed a drastic social change if others like me were going to invest here. Moreover, if my property was going to appreciate in value, I needed to become a community engineer of sorts. In other words, I needed to build the community I wanted for myself and my property. Every time I turned on the news, somebody was shot in the Farms Public Dwellings or some other public housing area here. These incidents can turn a good investment bad real quick. Wow, I didn't realize how bad it was here until I got here. But I refused to just wonder what life would be like if all the public housing properties were removed.

She emphatically declared, "Since I invested in my home, I am committed to this fight for social change." I was curious as to what change meant for Naomi and how this change would increase or alleviate the structural violence experienced by Farms Public Dwellings community members.

Naomi expressed a sense of empowerment knowing that she was relocating to what she described as a "hopeless area within [District of Columbia] during the inspiring and historical presidency of Barack Obama." She waxed enthusiastic about the historic moment being a prime time to revitalize "River East communities and to give African American professionals a place to live and participate in the larger [District of Columbia] and to be connected to the core fabric of the city without the congestion that comes with neighborhoods west of the Anacostia River."

Given the rapid changes to the District of Columbia over the last decade, I asked Naomi to make sense of it all, including the possible effects this change will have on the east of the Anacostia River communities. She explained that during her undergraduate studies she rarely left the campus, which was a self-sufficient enclave. However, when she did venture out for entertainment, she would travel to the Shaw neighborhood's U Street corridor, an area the

college officials cautioned students to avoid. She noted that the U Street corridor she returned to seven years later was starkly different. Naomi described the former U Street as a site for vice, crime, violence, drugs, and welfare dependency. Likewise, she mentioned that her college had warned students to avoid travelling to the east of the Anacostia River communities and that those communities were ten times worse than the U Street corridor. Naomi's first visit to the Farms neighborhood was when she was in the market for a home.

Amazed by the U Street community's turnover to predominantly White residents, she pointed out in a tone of disbelief that there were even "tanning salons at the intersection of U and Ninth Street." She continued, "Now, there is more development . . . well, I don't want to say that there are less people of color, but there are certainly more White people here . . . on U Street, which feels different." Naomi evaluated the change as progressive, interesting, and even enjoyable, although she lamented the loss of the cultural feel of the U Street corridor, which had been home to an African American cultural renaissance in literature, cultural activism, and jazz similar to Harlem's renaissance. When I asked her about the poor African Americans who used to live in the Shaw area, she shrugged her shoulders and said that "perhaps the time might have expired for helping the poor." She said, "Look, most people like me can no longer afford to attend to others who have no volition to improve themselves. I know this may sound callous, but I am trying to help myself right about now!"

I asked Naomi whether the revitalization she and PRISE were advocating would come with similar community racial attrition. Naomi responded that she grew up in a big city in western Pennsylvania that was plagued with issues of racism. She described a police brutality incident that resulted in the death of a young African American male, which caused a riot. She explained,

My parents made me aware of racism, but we were sheltered from issues in the community regarding racial violence and taught to work hard despite racism. I am proof that racism no longer is an obstacle to Black dreams. This type of racial violence [police violence] does cause the attrition that you speak of inasmuch as police related death is final and a preventable loss of a community member. But, what we have here is not racism or attrition. The Farms Public Dwellings residents may get relocated but not killed by change.

She continued with one caveat about neighborhood change:

The real concern should be about affordability and not racism. I relocated to the South Bronx when I left the District of Columbia and I witnessed gentrification in Harlem and the South Bronx. I want change and love what Harlem has become, but I am just worried about the culture leaving out of those places. I am also worried about the affordability of a place like Harlem that was once home to African Americans and should always be home to African American professionals who want and deserve to be there. However, gentrification is no longer a racial thing as it was in the past. I think now it is simply that neighborhoods go through socioeconomic changes and the so-called gentrifiers are far more economically diverse than racially different.

Naomi worried about the affordability of gentrification and its effects on specific types of residential group retention. She rationalized that change should benefit those who work hard to establish themselves and not those who do not take advantage of opportunities to improve themselves. Naomi explained:

Revitalization, I think overall it is a good thing. I think gentrification is progression. . . . I am a progressive kind of person. I like different things. I like things to get better. I think if revitalization makes things better, I am for it. If it is to help a few or to push everyone out, then I don't agree with that. But what I am hopeful about in River East is that this young insurgency, these young college educated, those advanced in their careers or just starting out in their careers, and who want to be involved in their community, will not just bring in more of their own but help out some of the people who are already here, namely those who are decent, industrious, and want to remain here. I'm hopeful to see that with the development coming to River East.

Curious about her characterization of PRISE efforts as an “insurgency,” I asked her to explain her use of the term and the key strategies that would win the fight. She explained:

As invested home owners. . . it's urgent to bring about the area's social change—to in effect sustain the momentum of change for a new Ward 8 while the spirit of hope is in the air. PRISE members can help move revitalization forward—a revitalization that is urgently needed—by changing the discourse . . . changing the nomenclature, like rebranding the area as River East rather than east of the Anacostia River; or using

revitalization rather than urban renewal or simply characterizing this fight with terms of urgency. You see, what I have learned through my college studies and more so during my last seven years is that messaging is important. Characterizing PRISE as an insurgent group gives off several important signals. First, to mainstream District of Columbia residents west of the Anacostia River, they will see that we are a group of determined professionals different from the typical east of the River, Ward 8 residents. Secondly, this term signals to the residents that no one will save this community but us. Thirdly, it signals to our rank and file membership that we see ourselves in a struggle that we could win . . . that can make a meaningful difference—that can give us a decent place to live and raise families. . . . We are on the right side of history, as President Obama would say, and given the continued inspiration we can draw from his presidency, we can do this thing.

She smiled gleefully and gave me a high five, and then went on:

Finally, it signals change to the political class enabling this environment to exist. Simply put, the term insurgency signals to the current political establishment that we will no longer do business as usual; we will no longer support the status quo or career politicians. We are serious about making this place better. PRISE is trying to make that change. That is exactly what we are trying to do and this is an ideological battle. We are in a cultural war!

Naomi appeared eager for more conversation. She explained that her particular efforts were to shape PRISE's messaging and to debunk the myth of revitalization as something inherently terrible. Naomi enumerated:

First, I contributed various op-eds to debunk the idea of gentrification as a process constituted by wealthy White people coming to take over Black neighborhoods. This is important because there is a lot of anxiety . . . that gentrification will happen, and that anxiety might cause the people here to actively resist change writ large. So a public relations campaign must include local media, particularly written press. We used to call it urban renewal because to renew something is good, right? Well urban renewal refers to a time when Whites did come into African American communities and remove them, so a term like this might create anxiety for anyone with a long memory. To avoid this unwanted effect, we call it revitalization.

She continued:

Secondly, we hold community forums with the hopes of creating some generalized understanding of what revitalization means and to specifically change the terms by which we discuss it. We even cautioned the government officials coming over here and using the terms urban renewal and gentrification as if these terms were something to be proud of; yes, the process is welcomed, but not the terms. We continually have to educate government officials and in doing so we prove to them that we share the same objective.

I was rather amazed at Naomi's attention to language as a strategy for urban renewal. Naomi saw her attention to this detail as important but nothing more than managing a natural process. In fact, it might be fair to say that she understood the Farms area's neighborhood change from a Darwinian perspective. She explained:

Neighborhood change represents a natural succession of a new economic and cultural class coming into a community and the resulting effects are that they will increase services, the look and feel of a place. Change is inevitable and natural and would you not want change situated in class rather than race? If it was the latter, then we would surely have returned to the days of the civil rights movement. By class I mean people, African Americans, who are more mainstream and possess the economic means to purchase properties and rehabilitate and renovate them . . . this is a good thing.

For Naomi, the social cleavage developing east of the Anacostia River with regards to class was epiphenomenal of the change under way, and a price of progress. In fact, she noted at the end of the interview that when African Americans chose to move into the broader Farms area, the term "gentrifier" should not apply because they were African American, too, and not White. Clearly, Naomi misunderstood the term "gentrification"; nevertheless, the realization of her vision would mean displacement, not gentrification. As she said, "We are trying to bring in more people like us!" Again, she affirmed: "I have been working to change the very terms we assign to this process of change. . . . Development of anything means to improve it and revitalization means to restore vigor—to restore life to something. I think gentrification is the process of developing of something terrible into something good. It's like making progress and that isn't bad."

Naomi declared that the stakes were so high that development required a strategic framing to deflect the area's stigma and to attract PRISE's desired residents: "and you know . . . you got to get the sales pitch right, a pitch that works against the stigma of the place." She mused about the number of friends that she had encouraged to purchase homes and how her most formidable challenge was the Farms Public Dwellings community. She explained:

I have been to the Farms Public Dwellings, and I was with a friend coming from a [PRISE] meeting and we turned the corner and I was like omg! It was like there wasn't any life there. I can't even describe how horrendous the feeling was when we turned into that community. There were clotheslines out in public view and the little homes and projects there were . . . little kids on the street kind of . . . they were playing around being kids, but I realized it was not a place where I wanted to be. I thought this might be one of those unsalvageable places indeed. I don't like to say any people or place is unsalvageable because it is like throwing the baby out with the bath water. Maybe it needs some kind of development, but of what type . . . ?

I was aware from her own description that Naomi had been sheltered—both from racism and communal life. But this depiction of the Farms Public Dwellings community surprised me, as nothing in it seemed too outside of mainstream life; yet it was clear that Naomi experienced a strong aversion to the community.

This aversion was again made evident when Naomi delightedly told me how, at a recent community meeting, a government official used the term “CHASE Corridor” to explain the District of Columbia government's unified vision of the area's development. Naomi exclaimed, “The government officials are finally getting it!” CHASE is an acronym for “Communities of Heights, Anacostia, and St. Es”; in other words, it includes three of the four communities that abut MLK Ave, excluding only the Farms neighborhood and the Farms Public Dwellings community. According to Naomi, this term was adopted by PRISE as part of their repertoire to recruit new residents to the area; she felt that it signaled to prospective homebuyers that the area was targeted for an infusion of development funds. While the Farms neighborhood and the Farms Public Dwellings community were also situated along this corridor and slated for redevelopment, she felt that “Farms anything” was too toxic and would sully the new term.

I explained to Naomi that the Farms community was one of the first communities of color in this region, and that its pioneers contributed quite extensively to the making of her HBCU. She chuckled and remarked that when she sees the Farms she sees everything that history is not.

Naomi and Ashley were no insignificant advocates for the redevelopment of the Farms community, and they were strategic and forceful in their efforts. Moreover, their contributions helped to concretize the description of Farms Public Dwellings residents as culturally different from mainstream society. Naomi framed the message and Ashley sought out the arts to change the texture of the area, but there were other significant PRISE members who pushed to demolish and displace residents from the Farms neighborhood, including Farms Public Dwellings. In the sections below, I attend to PRISE's gentrification and myth-busting forums, to Chase Hamilton, and to an analysis of how some middle-class African Americans contribute to the social binary of a Western Superior Culture group (WSC) versus Non-Western Inferior Others (NWIOs) and the latter's subgroup, the Truly "Truly" Disadvantaged Others (TTDO), through the use of structural violence.

PRISE Gentrification and Displacement Myth-Busting Forums

As a dues-paying member of PRISE and at the urging of Naomi, I attended one of PRISE's myth-busting forums on gentrification and displacement.¹⁵⁷ I was keen to observe settings where Farms Public Dwellings residents interacted with members of other social groups and how they advocated and recruited help for their cause. Thelma's interest in accompanying me to such forums provided an additional incentive. Thelma knew that I would gladly provide transportation for her and any other resident she could convince to accompany her. The forum was held on Thursday, January 31, 2013, north of the Farms neighborhood at the District of Columbia's Department of Housing and Community Development (DCDHCD), located at 1800

157. In the appendices, I include announcements for this four-part PRISE series; however, I removed all identifying organizational logos and email addresses.

MLK Avenue. This location isn't particularly far from the Farms Public Dwellings (less than a mile), but because it is in Union, a rival community, and the forum was held in the evening, transportation was necessary in order to ensure the Farms residents' safety.

The meeting space was a large room, where home-buying and counseling workshops were also regularly held.¹⁵⁸ At the sign-in table, there was a brightly colored pamphlet that listed homes for sale in the Union, Farms, and The Heights neighborhoods. The seating appeared to accommodate a little more than one hundred attendees, and was about half filled with middle-class African American residents of The Heights and members of DCHA and DMPED.

I also noticed that Ward 8 Family First Government Second Incorporated (W8FFGSI) agency members, Councilman Marion Barry office staff, Brian and John Brooks, and local news media press members were present. I was excited by the fact that there was representation from many grassroots organizations, which by then had established themselves in the Farms Public Dwellings community and mobilized residents against the NCI process. Naomi and Chase Hamilton had thought it fair to invite Parisa Norouzi, the director of Empower DC (a grassroots public housing and social justice organization based in the District of Columbia), to be on the panel; she had sent her organization's public housing coordinator, Gretchen LaGrange, to sit on the panel in her stead. Present also were Farms Public Dwellings residents who participated in two alternative community organizations that I had helped establish, namely the Farms Investigative Research Group (FIRG) and Farms Tenants and Allies (FTA). I turned to Thelma, and commented that this should be a fiery discussion. Thelma nodded her head in agreement and we proceeded to scout out seats that would give us the best vantage point.

158. Some Farms Public Dwellings residents had criticized PRISE for scheduling their events at times and locations that made it difficult for them to attend. As a result, PRISE held a subsequent forum on the myths of gentrification at a Farms neighborhood school.

In addition to Gretchen, the panel included a representative from the H Street Playhouse, which was being courted to relocate east of the Anacostia River by PRISE and others; the director of the District of Columbia's Office of Planning, Harriet Tregoning; a member of the Washington Post newspaper staff; a resident from the H Street community where a street rail and redevelopment project was underway; and finally, Teri J. Quinn, an Area Neighborhood Commissioner (ANC) of Ward 5's Bloomingdale neighborhood.¹⁵⁹

Naomi moved around the room, requesting all in attendance to sign a roster. Chase got the panel discussion underway with a definition of terms and the motivation for organizing the forum series. Chase explained that he thinks people incorrectly conjure up images of past gentrification and displacement when they consider efforts to revitalize the communities east of the Anacostia River. Chase admonished, "Development isn't like a 1980s horror film boogeyman," and then gave us the rules of the discussion and participation, finally instructing each panelist to provide a brief biography and definitions for the terms "revitalization," "development," "displacement," and "gentrification." Everyone on the panel did so, with the exception of Gretchen LaGrange from Empower DC.

When Gretchen's turn came, she instead discussed how the big developers that are involved in redeveloping the east of the Anacostia River communities are not looking to purchase a home here and there, rehab them, and slowly improve the community for the people there. "Rather," she explained, "they are looking to get their hands on large tracts of land in wholesale fashion to turn them over to condos and other high priced residential types." Using the Farms Public Dwellings NCI project as an example, she declared that while some people get

159. Bloomingdale, adjacent to the Shaw-U Street Corridor, is a historical bedroom community featuring Victorian row houses. The redevelopment in the Shaw-U Street corridor spilled over into this two-mile wide neighborhood, accenting it with little boutiques, cafés, and exclusive entertainment venues.

excited about seeing a new community—new brick-and-mortar—they needed to know what the hidden costs are. She outlined reasons that all should be concerned, saying,

These new developments, particularly those that will replace public housing communities, disregard community ties, waste residents' attachment to their homes and community, destroy history and heritage, erase residents' resources networks, and they adversely impact children's school enrollment. . . . These new developers and their developments do not allow residents to participate in the redevelopment even though while they use government subsidies they promise to do so and neither to do [they] . . . return residents as promised. And insultingly, when they do return residents, they only provide one and two bedrooms for families that once had four and six bedrooms. This tears families apart.

Gretchen, who is known by most Farms Public Dwellings residents as passionate and sometimes aggressive, said, "Many of the Farms community have already been displaced by the same types of development schemes and they all were promised to return to H Street, to Sursum Corda, to Southwest, but they are still here in the [Farms Public Dwellings]." Gretchen's remarks created somewhat of an uproar in the room and revealed a hidden fault line in regard to class. For example, Teri J. Quinn, who had earlier discussed her drive to finish law school, become an ANC representative, and pull herself up by her stilettos, wondered out loud whether residents' problems were really the result of their own cultural decisions, such as having children too early, rather than of the developers' interest in public housing. Teri's ruminations reflected a significant criticism roiling to the surface and invited others to become vocal.

Chase intervened, attempting to return the focus to redevelopment. He brought up three historic structures owned by the Big K liquor store located on the 2200 block of MLK Avenue where Union meets the Farms neighborhood at Chicago Street and Morris Road. These three structures had been officially designated historic, which meant they could not be demolished. The owner then allowed the properties to fall into disrepair—a process called "demolition by neglect." Chase complained about the symbolism of this disrepair at the southern entry point of the Union neighborhood on MLK Avenue. "The first thing you see is blight," declared Chase.

“And what does that say about this neighborhood? St. Es on MLK—all you see is blighted structures.”

Chase continued, “Development doesn’t always mean that people will be kicked out, because these three historic eyesores were vacant.” He charged the audience and panelists to imagine what the historic structures could be converted into. However, his efforts were unsuccessful; the audience seemed fixed on discussing the Farms Public Dwellings and the cultural behavior of its residents. Naomi and other PRISE board members gestured to Chase to bring the meeting to a close. I am not certain if the discussion had exceeded its allotted time or if the heated exchange and tumult was too much for them, but Chase abruptly brought the discussion to an end.

Gretchen, while dismayed at the turn of the discussion, appeared satisfied that she had disrupted a discussion on gentrification and displacement that would only continue to obscure its effects on the most vulnerable and exaggerate its assumed benefits. Thelma, as well as members of FTA and FIRG, seemingly felt the same as they congregated around Gretchen to thank her for her remarks. I greeted all the panelists and then asked to meet with Chase for an interview shortly thereafter.

Chase Hamilton, Founder and President of PRISE

Chase agreed to meet with me and discuss PRISE’s interest in development east of the Anacostia River in general and the Farms Public Dwellings proposed development in particular. Chase was a new homeowner in Union, the founder of PRISE, and a past WARD 8 council candidate.¹⁶⁰ He had attended a preeminent HBCU in Virginia before going to law school. In

160. The interview was conducted in February 2012

general, Chase is deeply analytical and measured in his public comments, which seems fitting for a trained law school professional and aspiring politician. We met a few days after the forum at the Big Chair Coffee Bar and Grill restaurant, which is conveniently next to his office. As with other PRISE members described here, it is difficult to see Chase as a propagator of structural violence. He was careful in his articulations regarding development and always framed it in ways that conveyed his best wishes for the east of the Anacostia River communities. However, his campaign to rid the area of public housing, particularly the Farms Public Dwellings, and his efforts to emphasize the borders between Union and the Farms is boundary work, meaning labor to keep the two categorically different communities and the space that divides them legible.

As a child, Chase globetrotted with his US military parents and eventually graduated from a Ward 9 high school. His parents' example caused him to consider industriousness the best antidote to poverty. He described his formative years as free of racism—and moreover, free of institutional racism. While he acknowledged that obstacles such as racism exist in society, he expressed his belief that people who want success must commit to pulling themselves up by their own bootstraps. I liked Chase and found him charismatic. As we gazed out of the first floor window at the iconic Big Chair monument, Chase noted that he loves the fact that River East has such rich history, which is only now becoming apparent. Chase loves history and particularly historic preservation, so we chatted a bit about the history of Union and the Farms neighborhood. I hoped to get him to appreciate the fact that the Farms neighborhood was losing its history because the developers saw no value there. I mentioned that the current design plans for the new Farms Public Dwellings community included a statue of General Oliver Otis Howard. Unfortunately, this didn't strike his interest as much as the prospects of razing the community.

Chase told me that when he was looking for a house, his real estate agent warned him to avoid the area east of the River at all costs. He eventually purchased his first property in the northeast section of the District of Columbia, but he said there was something intriguing about an area that almost everyone cautions you against visiting. Chase explained that one day he was listening to a news story on Councilman Barry's tax evasion and decided that he would go visit. As he drove through the area, he fell in love with the picturesque charm of Union and the general low density and panoramic views. He had heard about the development interest in the area, including Union's historic designation. Imagining the area's potential, he soon purchased his home and some investment properties.

I asked Chase about development elsewhere in the city, whether U Street and other areas were racially exclusive, and about the desire to make the east of the Anacostia River into an African American middle-class area. Chase noted that while the development of the places I had mentioned was attractive, they were indeed exclusive. For Chase, there was something dramatically disturbing about the Shaw and U Street neighborhood and the Georgia Avenue corridors, which were once distinctly places of color, but were now predominantly White. "I am not racist and neither do I think about the racial make-up of neighborhoods or engage in racial politics; however, I just want this area that was once a historically black and middle-class area to become that again," he said. We discussed how the sight of Whites running or walking dogs along MLK Ave or Good Hope Road in a carefree manner both shocks and incenses African American residents, because this is a social liberty essentially unavailable to them; it leads to harassment by the police and conflict with members of rival communities. In any event, this fact—interpreted as evidence of White gentrification—added urgency to Chase's efforts to recruit other professional African American homeowners. We also discussed a local Bank of

America advertisement about low interest mortgages for anyone willing to invest as homeowners east of the River. We both acknowledged that the commercial features distinctly White consumers.

I asked Chase why he felt so much ire about the Farms Public Dwellings and what policies he thought would improve the area to his and PRISE's liking. Chase responded that aside from HOPE VI, NCI, and the bridge development, he wasn't too sure about public policies, but he did have firm opinions on issues of political crisis, visibility and stigma, and crime. Careful not to name any politician, he simply noted that conditions have been deplorable in the area for far too long, which should suggest to any reasonable person that there is a crisis in political leadership. "As for perception, think about what you see here," Chase said. "In every prominent entry point here, there are vacant houses, methadone clinics, litter, or men idling on the corners—and more."

"Take the methadone clinic on Good Hope and MLK Avenue. Right there, smack in your face, they have a meth clinic where children commute to school and other decent adults come to do official business, drive through to peruse the area, and others to house hunt," reasoned Chase. At lightning speed he began to list his concerns:

Put [the methadone clinic] somewhere where it will not take away from your crown jewel [Union]. Litter, you can clean your side of the street one day and come out and the trash is back in east of Anacostia River communities. People want to be able to have a safe neighborhood and drink lemonade on the front porch. The schools are terrible. I love east of the Anacostia River, but if I had children, I wouldn't want them playing here. I don't want them playing with other kids here, whether outside or elsewhere. I grew up in the military and I was able to feel safe and explore.

I remarked that surely everyone here isn't terrible in the way that he described. Chase was very forthright about his concerns and the anxiety he feels about poverty:

I've met folk with good values. I would offer them the opportunity to move forward with us—but we are moving forward. You have had years of opportunity to take advantage of, there are plenty of resources here. At a certain point you got to say you got to move

forward. Despite the harsh backlash Bill Cosby faced [for chastising poor African Americans], I believe we need to be brutally honest and come forward; we don't need to be afraid. Just like Teri said: Why do you have five kids so young living in perpetuity in the public housing? I was raised with the value that you nurture children in the way they ought to go. This was a biblical scripture in my household. The fact is crime—crime decreases prop values; in Capital Hill you feel safe. I would never walk from my house to the metro train station in the Farms neighborhood. There are people hanging out on the corner, haircuts, dress, talk, tattoos, they look scary. Tear drops and tattoos on your neck. You are limiting your opportunity just from that; can't speak the English language or put a sentence together. . . . You can [give good counsel] to one young lady, one young man—but here there are thousands of them in the Farms neighborhood and that's far too many to tell.

People don't want to patronize the businesses where these people are employed because of the experience. I personally go to Target in Crystal City. The point is I want to enjoy my shopping. I can go in and out and feel safe, rather than go to the Giant [supermarket on Alabama Road] here and feel uncomfortable—the conversations that some people are having. . . . One verb one noun and a whole lot of profanity. It's just the whole shopping experience. I know they are trying to bring big box stores here [Walmart], but big boxes, while they do bring jobs, they don't add value to the local and River East neighborhoods like these east of the Anacostia River. Here we need small scale industries and local owners. More small business. Community . . . I want to live next door to people who share my values and love their house like I love my house. I want to be able to walk and enjoy walking in the neighborhood; it's the experience.

Chase offered me an example of the political leadership's failure. According to him, the Big K liquor store and its three adjacent and rotting historical homes were purchased by the District of Columbia for just under one million dollars. The District of Columbia government promised to develop these sites immediately. Chase noted,

I helped to organize public interest meetings to allow the community to weigh in with proposals for the site. We are here many years later and nothing has become of those eyesores. I remember when the Eastern Market burned down, the District of Columbia mayor [then Fenty] was out there standing atop the smoldering ashes and he declared they would rebuild immediately. Mayor Fenty along with the District of Columbia Council invested thirty million dollars to rebuild that site and it was done immediately. It would take a fraction of that to develop this footprint.

With clear frustration, Chase asked, "So why isn't it being done here?" He reasoned that it is more than a political crisis; it is also a cultural crisis. "Look," he said, "it's because the residents and consumers of the Eastern Market care, vote, and spend money. The three homes and that liquor store could easily be converted into another Eastern Market. To build a market

from these houses would add charm . . . but the city doesn't care and the residents don't scream loud enough." So the problem, as he explained it, was with communities like the Farms, who don't see the fact that "the train has left the station and we are on the move."

Chase and PRISE were not the only ones interested in the redevelopment of this site. However, they were the loudest, most persistent complainers and they ensured that, at the very least, the topic was on the table. Chase believed that both the people and the government had reached a state of complacency that made disorganization and decay the status quo. A fan of history, Chase also noted that the Big K liquor store represented the boundary of Union—the particular neighborhood that many PRISE members had relocated to and where they hoped to develop a critical mass of new homeowners that would push revitalization outward into the adjacent Farms neighborhood. Chase felt the government was ineffective, and while it was a good idea to redevelop the Farms Public Dwellings, it wouldn't happen quickly enough. But he figured that developing the site into a market would bring greater attention from the local police, which in turn would solidify it as a symbolic boundary marker.¹⁶¹

My interview with Chase was short, lasting just about thirty minutes, but I would serve on many panels with him in the future, and he remained consistent about preserving not just the history but the spatial boundaries of Union until the entire Farms neighborhood could be safer and "redevelop with charm."

161. The old 7th District Police Department, now repurposed as a health clinic, sits just across the street from the Big K liquor store. This police precinct was strategically placed at that site from the mid-nineteenth century until the mid-twentieth century to protect White Uniontown residents' property and life from the presumed dangerous black males.

The Ideological Climate of Middle-Income
African American Agents
of the Social Binary

The proposed redevelopment of the Farms community under the New Communities Initiative program represents an amplification of structural violence and an important form of Western ritualism intended to uphold the superior status claimed by the WSC group against their imagined, manufactured “Others.” In the context of the Farms community, this ritualized structural violence is carried out through the repeated construction of the NWIO/TTDO as a haunting and pathological threat to the dominant society. WSC groups attempt to manage the threat through housing policies that directly affect the way residents make use of their community space. The manufacture of this threat and the attendant ritualized practice of resolving it, as a practice in and of itself, is a constitutive factor of the WSC group’s identity.

By labeling the Farms community a dangerous hotspot, the WSC group of the District of Columbia treats the community as intractable and its ghetto walls as insufficient for the functional containment and boundary separation demanded by members of WSC (“New Communities Initiative” 2015). This point is vigorously made by some African Americans of middle-income status residing east of the Anacostia River who claim membership in the dominant society. As (provisional) members of WSC, some middle-income African Americans extend the boundaries of WSC into the Farms area, thereby distorting the WSC–NWIO binary. They are then pressed into conducting boundary work of their own to return the binary to optimal spatial proximity (OSP).

The myths of cultural pathology set up the Farms community as a suitable target for ideological and coercive intervention by the government, but marginal groups have always engaged in various types of resistance to oppressive conditions. The oppressive social and cultural binaries in the United States are not immune to such resistance (Abu-Lughod 1990; Scott

2008). The civil rights movement, for example, represents one documented moment of organized resistance to the inhumane impact of the US racial binary. Relevant here is the fact that the civil rights movement forced the WSC group to expand its privileged status and incorporate NWIOs as members, albeit provisionally. This inclusion, the result of a hard-fought struggle, has increased the field of social opportunities for the African American middle class. However, promotion of the myths of cultural pathology by the African American middle class only ensures that the state-led practice of taking over working-class and poor African American communities continues. Their acceptance of the myths enables the NCI redevelopment program to appear judicious even though it displaces residents, demolishes their housing, redevelops their community according to the tastes and interests of the WSC group, incorporates the redeveloped community into privileged WSC space, and re-establishes surveillance and control mechanisms over the NWIO/TTDO.¹⁶² These new agents of the binary thus provide a postracial cover for redevelopment and support the agenda of the WSC to reconfigure the spatial binary within a greater geographical area in order to restore the binary's OSP.

In the postracial branding of the District of Columbia as an emergent cosmopolitan canopy (Anderson 2004a), the New Communities Initiative program must be conducted through postracial discourse and a unique set of urban pioneers, who differ from the gentrifiers Ruth Glass (1964) depicted in her conceptualization of gentrification. Glass's gentrifying class were White Englishmen of middle-class standing or better who seize upon a dilapidated area and, using personal capital, gradually take it over for the use of a higher socioeconomic class. Surely,

162. It is important to note that, first, it does not matter whether NWIO/TTDOs are Westernized, but rather that they are mythologized to be other than Western. Second, displacement of NWIO/TTDOs from a particular locality should not be interpreted as the end of the spatial binary or the resolution of concentrated poverty, but rather as its spatial re-articulation elsewhere.

there are White District of Columbia gentrifiers relocating east of the Anacostia River; however, they are mostly moving into the Union neighborhood, not Farms, and only at a very slow rate. If a substantial number of White gentrifiers relocated east of the Anacostia River at roughly the same time, they would drastically change the demography, texture, cost of living, and complexion of the area. This would be interpreted by NWIOs/TTDOs currently living there as a provocative act of racist gentrification. TTDO residents would protest loudly, which would disrupt the city's narrative about being a postracial cosmopolitan canopy. The result would be further interference with the District of Columbia's marketability.

The District of Columbia is as diverse as any other major city in the United States. However, the forced concentration of vulnerable NWIOs/TTDOs east of the Anacostia River has resulted in racial polarization and hypersegregation. Aside from negatively affecting the life experiences of all its African American residents, past and present, the homogenizing effect of hypersegregation has also increased tensions between middle-income African Americans and TTDOs. Middle-income African Americans particularly resent the stigmatizing effect of TTDOs on their own lives. Labeling TTDOs as welfare queens, drug dealers, rapists, or superpredators ascribes to them a cultural pathology that, because of their proximity, adversely impacts the more affluent African Americans and their privileged inclusion in the WSC group.

Judith Butler's (1993) writings on racialized visibility are insightful in understanding the burden of the stigma. Butler notes that boundary work begins with a cultural and racially saturated field of visibility where White supremacy and associated privilege cause the dominant society to become provincial in their acts of seeing. According to Butler's argument, even where there is visual evidence of African American civility, this very civility is reordered through the White supremacist gaze to project African American dangerousness and White vulnerability.

Stated differently, the very act of “seeing” constitutes African American bodies as always and already poised to strike out at dominant society’s very existence. Butler notes this way of seeing afflicts most Americans of mainstream society, even African Americans themselves. Butler also cites the brutal beating of Rodney King by members of the Los Angeles police force, its aftermath, and the incredible jury verdict in the officers’ favor—in spite of the visual evidence—as a case study for the development of her analysis of racialized visibility. Buppies and African American middle-class members, grappling with their inclusion in mainstream society, find that they too are subjected to this very narrow interpretive scheme. However, as conditional members of mainstream society, they share in its ethos and some have come to see the TTDOs in a tainted, saturated field of visibility.

Elijah Anderson’s (2012) writing on the “iconic ghetto” stigma of the TTDO is also instructive. Anderson explores the stigmatizing effects of racialized boundary work produced by the general application of ghetto culture to the African American middle-class group. According to Anderson, the African American middle class represents a provisional status group within dominant society. The stigmatizing mythology that surrounds the TTDO is transmuted to them by way of skin color (a stigmatizing myth that he leaves intact) and weighs them down unfairly. He argues that dominant society beholds all African Americans as having biographical provenance in the ghetto and sharing in ghetto culture. As such, any African American presence in WSC space heightens WSC anxieties and forebodings of danger. The iconic ghetto, Anderson writes, “is premised on fear of ghetto residents and the exclusion of black people from jobs they might hold, revealing the taken-for-granted yet powerful patterns of race relations that shape predominantly white public settings in otherwise diverse cities” (2012, 15). For Anderson, the intellectual, social, political, and even economic diversity within and across African American

communities is negated by a single, myopic framework based on power—which in his analysis only affects the African American middle class.

It is in this ideological atmosphere that some members of the African American middle class, including buppies, residing east of the Anacostia River and within the broader Farms community have sought to emphasize their cultural distance from TTDO members. Through a saturated field of visibility that mythologizes TTDOs as pathological, some have actively engaged in boundary work like that of their WSC peers. This work takes on greater importance given that they share a closer proximity to the TTDO and thus have more potential to distort the binary. The buppies and African American middle class—a select few—have actively participated in the discourse of cultural pathology myth-making and have supported the current urban renewal policies in communities such as the Farms Public Dwellings. Ashley and the other buppies and African American middle-class members discussed here demonstrate a desire to effectively eradicate the iconic ghetto stigma and its typical features—public housing communities and public housing residents—to end the racially saturated field of visibility effects and to shore up their own inclusion in the WSC group.

The members of the Farms Public Dwellings community share real and significant place attachment to their homes, friends, institutions, and sites. Despite the characterization of their community as empty, superfluous, and or obsolete, the NCI efforts to redevelop the community have caused these residents to take serious stock of their community assets and what should be salvaged and incorporated in the newly built community. This deliberative process of determining what historically and culturally significant details should be retained is a process that calls forth agency and awareness. I describe in the next chapter the beginnings, however contentious, of the residents' process to preserve their past.

CHAPTER 7

OUR EXPERIENCES, OUR VOICES: COMPETING
PERSPECTIVES ON THE NEED FOR FARMS
HISTORICAL PRESERVATION

Our story needs to be told by those of us who lived it. . . . I wondered how you can get people to understand that the way the story is told makes the difference in its interpretation. If someone else tells your story they can tell it the way they see it, but they don't tell it like it is. Only we can.

—Dianne Dale (2011, 248)

Diverse perspectives on Farms neighborhood history were revealed at the Farms recreation center's annual summer planning meeting on June 15, 2009, the Monday before the public schools adjourned for summer recess. The meeting was called by Coach Carter, the District of Columbia Parks and Recreation manager assigned to the recreation center (referred to here as "the Rec"). The Rec hosted meetings, dances, parties, bereavement gatherings, and talent shows. Sports and arts activities were held there, and every two years it was a site of political campaigning. The annual gathering of community organizers with property management and Rec staff usually focused on planning summer activities for the community. Coach Carter had added a new item to the agenda that year: preserving the history of the Rec itself.

We congregated just before noon at the center's entrance within a covered vestibule that shaded us from the scorching sun, where we waited for Carter to arrive and unlock the facility. During the regular school year, the center operated only from three to nine o'clock, so a noontime opening was unusual, and drew the attention of the Regulars (Regs). The Regs were longtime Farms residents or former residents who gathered year round on the community center's fence line to socialize, drink beer, and play dominos. On any given day, ten to twenty of

these gentlemen,¹⁶³ mostly ranging in age from fifty to seventy years old with a few exceptions, would meet to tell nostalgic stories of the past; talk about sports, women, or their children's careers; provide unsolicited advice to youths passing by; and discuss the latest community happenings (including recent deaths) and the future of the community.¹⁶⁴ Their main topic of discussion during the time I conducted research there was whether the community was going to be displaced or not. They rarely participated actively in local politics or attended development meetings, but they often volunteered at the Rec, and their opinions influenced community views on redevelopment. The Regs, at various times, offered me their understandings as to how the community did not rely on the delayed responses of the government, but rather cohered as a community to respond to needs. However, they also recognized that the state of infrastructural neglect evident in the Farms community exceeded their skills and resources. During Carter's meeting, they ventured in and out of the center to use the restroom, but I suspect these were purposeful reconnaissance missions as well. The Regs were great resources for clarifications, community updates, and insights during the entire time of my research.

As volunteer staff, I attended this meeting along with a handful of parent volunteers and two program assistants (Coach Dean Bilal and Mecca Johnson), members of the resident council (including Thelma Jenson), the Farms' property manager (Nathan Bookman), a White South African doctoral student (Sammy), the presiding pastor of Josiah Baptist Church (Reverend Brockport), and a local artist (Brian). Most of these people's perspectives on preserving the

163. Every so often, there were also adult females hanging out with the Regs.

164. In 2007, the Regs formally established a club for people fifty years and older at the community center. The Farms' totem is the brown bear, so the club was called the Golden Bears. It disbanded formally in 2011 at the height of the redevelopment talks, but continued to make use of the center informally at times. One of the Regs, Tyrone, was in his late twenties, and an irregular member of the Regs given his age. He became one of my key research participants, and I discuss him in chapter 8.

history of the Farms are discussed below. After the meeting adjourned, I arranged follow-up meetings with Thelma and Brian to discuss what a combined historical preservation effort might look like. They both referred me to John Brooks, the local historian who had successfully fought to get the Salvation Army to name its new area office (located within the Farms) after the pioneering resident, scholar, and poet Solomon G. Brown (see chapter 3).¹⁶⁵ Later, Reverend Brockport's head curate suggested that if I wanted to understand the community's history, I should speak to the residents who had lived longest in the Farms, including Harriet Jacobs (described in chapter 2) and Dianne Dale (whose perspective is related at the end of this chapter). Many of the people I heard speak at the meeting and later interviewed about their sense of history and attachment to the Farms Public Dwellings demonstrated great courage in revealing their pain concerning changes in the community. Their words, both public remarks and in interviews, also demonstrated their will to negotiate and reclaim a suppressed past. In this chapter, I outline various individuals' perspectives on the community's history and its preservation as acts of agency.

Coach Carter's Perspective

Coach Carter, an African American man, was in his mid-to-late fifties at the time of the meeting at the Rec in June 2009. He commuted to the Farms for work from another neighborhood community east of the Anacostia River, but he had been a witness of much structural violence at the Farms in both direct and nondirect forms. He was somewhat of a poetic jokester, but very resolute and firm in his management style. He was also a recovered drug

165. They also recommended that I speak with Patsy Fletcher, a member of the District of Columbia Historical Preservation Office, who worked with the Farms' resident council as a contract consultant. See chapter 3.

addict. Coach Carter was introduced to recreational drugs on the fence line, where some of the Regs sold or used drugs (mainly heroin).¹⁶⁶ He once told me that, after falling to the lowest depths of his drug addiction, he found a purpose for living in his passion for poetry: “Poetry and rhythmic reasoning became my calling” (interview, August 2010). By “rhythmic reasoning,” Carter meant communicating his values and life lessons to others through rhyme. For example, when young and old community members ventured into the Rec seeking not only the latest news and gossip, but survival resources such as free meals, Carter often uttered the following lines:

In order to get a lunch from me
You must be blind and cannot see
You must be paralyzed in both legs cut above your knee
You must bring me the five Great Lakes in a tablespoon
And with a gallon of gas so I can fly my rocket to the moon
You must swim the Atlantic and Pacific in just one day
And then stand in front of a thousand people
and show me how to church up on a lunch a new way.
A lunch at lunch I do declare
I do not have a lunch to spare
It’s not that you are an ugly bum
Just get you a job and then buy you one.

Carter explained that a lot of the families in the Farms Public Dwellings were on the brink of losing hope, just as he did before spiraling into drug abuse. He figured that he best served the community by counterbalancing the encroaching hopelessness with inspirational stories and poems. After he recovered from his addiction, regained his good standing in the community, and reconciled with his wife, Carter resumed his management position with District of Columbia Parks and Recreation. He administered the Rec with a clear understanding of its

166. Although he admired the Regs a great deal, he strongly disliked the presence of drugs and enforced a strict code of conduct among the Regs during the center’s hours of operation. Carter’s actions kept most of the men from getting entangled with the police, who randomly searched them during daylight hours. These searches mostly constituted illegal harassment, but few Regs logged formal complaints because they felt all government officials were allied against them. Whenever rumors started flying about plans to close the recreation center, housing authority police and District of Columbia police increased their harassment of the Regs.

vital importance to the community: “It is my sole purpose here to effect hope and inspire self-sufficiency, and only when all other possibilities have been exhausted, this center is here bearing resources for the community” (interview, August 2010).

His light-hearted approach was needed at this meeting, which was marked with a sense of urgency. Before the meeting, rumors had been circulating about the imminent closure of the Rec and the subsequent relocation of Carter and his staff. The idea of the closure had been hinted at by government officials at the NCI meetings. Vague discussions regarding massive relocation of community residents had generated panic in the Farms. They also threatened to disrupt two staple community programs—the Goodman Basketball League seasonal celebration and the annual Farms Historical Day festival. Community fears were further aggravated by escalating conflict between some of the Farms’ youth and their neighbors over in Choppa City (Union) that year.¹⁶⁷ Carter reduced the anxiety in the atmosphere by opening the meeting with a popular Dolemite saying: “I gave Excedrin a headache and kicked the shit out of Ex-Lax!”¹⁶⁸ He then added a local colloquialism: “I’m from the Farms, I ain’t scared!” The people at the meeting laughed and seemed to relax. Carter then recited Langston Hughes’s “Dreams Deferred” poem, where Hughes raised five salient questions regarding the endurance of hope within the African American community (Hughes and others 1951). He went on to encourage the people attending the meeting:

167. Carter spoke directly to communitywide concern over escalating rivalry between Choppa City and the Farms by asking the resident council executive board members and parent volunteers to be extra vigilant and keep a watchful eye over camp activities that summer.

168. Dolemite is a fictional character from the black exploitation film era. Played by Rudy Ray Moore, Dolemite was a pimp, who after being set up for a crime he didn’t commit, turns into a sort of hero by turning the tables on corrupt cops and violent street organizations. Dolemite’s most prominent attribute was his clever, poetic quips that often carried double entendres or nuanced meanings (Martin 1975).

Hughes's audience wasn't those directly burdened by resource challenges, but rather his audience was those of us who were capable of producing safe and promising environments for the people. Without community guardians, you can be sure that our community will sour and explode.¹⁶⁹ . . . We in this room have more power than we give ourselves credit. Yes, we have some serious challenges ahead of us, but we all grew up here and we know all too well the lessons that the [Farms] taught us . . . we know how to get out of trouble and we know when to go all in if necessary. Let's put our heads together to bring about some solutions.

Following these inspirational words, Carter outlined the activities planned for the community center that summer, then shifted to the topic of historic preservation: "As far back as I can remember, the Rec and its staff played a central role in this community's cohesion, and this story needs to be told because it's being lost!" He explained to the resident council members and others present that he wanted to emphasize the Rec's role in fostering a community identity by collecting and documenting the Rec's history.

Carter reminded the people at the meeting that the Rec was the first to rally after the shooting death of community activist George "Pap" Goodman, and had honored his memory by renaming the Farms Community Basketball League after him.¹⁷⁰ Goodman, who was killed after being mistakenly identified during a turf war, was a longtime resident and community activist who had challenged DCHA regarding poor living conditions at the Farms, railed against the District of Columbia police regarding their excessive use of force, and facilitated negotiations and peaceful resolution of conflict in the community (<http://thegoodmanleaguelive.com/about/>). Carter explained that part of the history of the Rec would focus on the Goodman Basketball League and the league tournament, which was frequented by NBA players such as Kevin Durant

169. Bookman, the property manager, interjected: "It may have already exploded!"

170. The Farms Basketball League was initiated in 1975; its name was changed to the George Goodman Basketball League in the mid-1980s. I was unable to ascertain George Goodman's date of birth or the exact day of his death.

and other famous entertainers.¹⁷¹ The Rec, explained Carter, was always in the thick of community violence prevention activities. When he shared his own life story with me, he told me how the vigilance of one of the Regs had affected his life.

In his late teens, Carter told me, he had had a tumultuous relationship with another young man in the Farms community. Their verbal fights had been intensifying and would have resulted in a physical altercation if not for the intervention of a Reg who was a volunteer assistant football coach at the Rec. This Reg offered Carter and his rival the chance to compete in a full-contact football game instead of fighting. They agreed to the match, and they met on the Rec's sports field with their assembled teams. After exchanging several tough hits during the game, he and his rival came to respect each other's athleticism and realized their conflict was unimportant.¹⁷²

In addition to providing sports activities as an alternative to interpersonal conflict, the Rec functioned as an institutional and spatial deterrent to violence by virtue of its location (at the entrance to the Farms Public Dwellings). When youths from other neighborhoods came into the area looking for trouble, they would first cross paths with community guardians such as the Rec's staff and the Regs, who discouraged them from proceeding deeper into the Farms. The Rec had thus played an important role in the history of violence prevention in the Farms Public Dwellings community. Carter asked the resident council to assist him in preserving this history by providing research funding. Specifically, he wanted to hire assistants to gather photographs and articles about past events held at the Rec, and interview youths and adults about their

171. Carter noted that corporate sponsorship (e.g., by Nike) and the celebration of NBA stars were increasingly overshadowing the original purpose of the league.

172. As Carter remembered it, they turned to the Reg and said, "We get your point—fighting is stupid." The Reg then grinned and said, "Who cares about fighting? I'm just looking for some good football players to join my team."

experiences, reflections, and memories of the center. He said he would disseminate the historical information as follows: (1) during summer programs and instruction; (2) at the Farms' Historical Day festival; (3) to individual community youth to inform them about how conflict has traditionally been resolved through constructive and nonviolent means; and (4) in displays in the new (proposed) community center after it was built.

Carter saw the Rec as the principal community institution that deliberately engaged in community cohesion work. Moreover, he saw this community institution as establishing the heart of the Farms' identity. The Regs and the staff possessed much knowledge about the Farms neighborhood development over time, but Carter felt that their current age and health status risked leaving what amounted to an oral tradition to slowly fade from the community's knowledge.¹⁷³

Thelma's Perspective

Like Coach Carter, Thelma Jenson was a long-term resident with strong social ties at the Farms. My interpretation of Thelma was that she was a witness of violence, traumatically stressed-out offender, and by the end of my research a propagator of violence. In addition, she was quite familiar with the trauma of displacement as she, along with most of her neighbors, was forcibly relocated from the Shaw neighborhood in the northwest quadrant of the District of Columbia to the Farms community during the 1980s.¹⁷⁴ She told me that at the time she was relocated to the Farms, she was promised that she would be returned to her previous

173. During one exchange with Carter, he mentioned to me his hope that the new Rec would memorialize this history on its walls and in its programming. Unfortunately, the new Farms Recreation Center, which opened on December 13, 2014, makes no mention of history anywhere within the facility. Moreover, it has completely gutted the old staff and prohibited the Regs from congregating at the fence line.

174. Most of the Farms residents had been displaced multiple times from other public housing sites in the city before being relocated to the Farms.

neighborhood by the District of Columbia government. In reality, she was never offered the opportunity to return. She told me she was not too disturbed by the false promise because she had fallen in love with living in the Farms Public Dwellings community. Nevertheless, on one occasion when I was transporting her to a meeting in the northwest quadrant of the city, I found myself racing past speed detection devices so she would not have much time to reflect on the transformation of her old neighborhood. At one intersection, tears welled up in her eyes as she took in the completely redeveloped community. She became anxious and depressed as she observed that the community she had once been so familiar with no longer existed. I witnessed a level of anguish in the expression on her face and her silence that saddened me tremendously.

Thelma developed strong community ties soon after moving to the Farms because Harriet Jacobs took her under her wing, treated her like a daughter, and began mentoring her in community organizing and leadership. Thelma joined the resident council as Harriet's assistant and eventually became the president of the council and a principal community advocate. She once passed on to me a copy of the four-page document Harriet had given her that chronicled the early development of the Farms community (see chapter 3, figures 9–12). Although Thelma's command of African American history was relatively limited and perhaps her long-term memories had been diminished by chronic drug use, she expressed pride in living in a historical community: "It was then that I felt like I was finally part of something important—Farms," she exclaimed (interview, November 10, 2011).

Like most Farms residents, Thelma was extremely passionate in her defense of the community and its history. She railed against city officials for their inattention to the community's culture and heritage. She had good reason to be bitter. Following negotiations with the resident council two years previously (before the meeting described in this section), District

of Columbia officials from DMPED and DCHA had promised they would respect local culture and history and ground the redevelopment process on the principle of equity to ensure that members of the Farms community would enjoy full and equal participation in every phase of the development process and feel resonance with its results. However, after securing just enough local community support to document “resident participation,” these officials circulated a redevelopment plan that contradicted their foundational agreement with the residents (Barry Farm Park Chester Wade Road Community Revitalization Plan 2008). The redevelopment plan and the tenor of official interactions with the community changed so drastically that most residents became alienated and opposed to the redevelopment process. The remaining support for redevelopment from the resident council sometimes seemed to be based on fear of these District of Columbia officials or to be a product of their manipulations.

Thelma rarely traveled west of the Anacostia River except when chauffeured there by DCHA for important hearings concerning redevelopment or by me to attend various meetings. She was nevertheless quite astute in recognizing the significance of how the custodians of the District of Columbia placed a premium on White history through monuments, malls, and cultural institutions. She calculated that a reasonable defense against the anticipated displacement would be to frame her critiques of the NCI proposal in terms of the plan’s lack of attention and detail to the community’s cultural heritage. Thelma assumed her stance to be less threatening to the developers and city officials and hoped it would allow her to continue to advocate for the residents.

Her strategy was in evidence when she took the floor at the meeting called by Coach Carter. After wrestling a stack of papers from a cluttered carrying sack, she held them above her

head and pointed at a portrait of General Oliver Otis Howard.¹⁷⁵ She then exclaimed, “Here is their true plan for our community! They have their monuments and stuff over there [pointing westward in the direction of the District of Columbia’s mainland]. Why would they bring it over here? I thought they said they were redeveloping this community for us and our children since we were neglected for so long.” Then, answering her own question: “Because they are developing this land for them people coming to work at Saint Es.” Thelma did not include racial modifiers in her speech, presumably to avoid offending Sammy, the White South African doctoral student who was attending the meeting, but everyone present understood that “they” and “them” referred to White Washingtonians.

Brian, whose perspective is discussed further below, seemed offended by Thelma’s comments. He interrupted her midsentence to point out that General Oliver Otis Howard, a White man, was indeed the founder of the community, and he pointed out that, “in fact, the very streets in the community carry the names of White abolitionists who helped to establish the Farms.” He was referring to Howard Road, named in honor of General Howard, and Pomeroy Road, named in honor of Senator Samuel C. Pomeroy, who assisted Howard in acquiring the land from the then-owners of the plantation, Julian and James Barry (widow and son of James D. Barry, respectively).

Thelma ignored Brian’s interjection and abruptly repositioned her seat to face away from him. This disdainful gesture indicated her displeasure with his interruption. She continued: “There must be many black people—I mean statues of black people—that we can put up in our new community [i.e., after redevelopment].” Thelma acknowledged General Howard’s position

175. The papers she waved were the redevelopment plan, which featured a statue of General Oliver Otis Howard in the new development.

in the Farms' history, but argued that he was not as important as the black people who had farmed and lived on this land:

While Howard might have been responsible for securing the Farms as land for us to settle on, former slaves worked this land and after manumission purchased the land and built their own homes here. That should count for something! . . . Howard should never overshadow our ancestors! This is our community, and according to Mama Harriet, it's always been a black community . . . We must preserve the people's history—our history!

During the meeting, Thelma offered no specific suggestions for what monuments should be erected, but she did mention in an interview with me on November 10, 2011 and at other meetings her desire to see a statue of Harriet Jacobs placed in the center courtyard of the community after redevelopment. Harriet Jacobs was not only Thelma's mentor; she was widely considered the matriarch of the Farms. Thelma expected she could easily win approval from Farms residents to put up a statue of Harriet instead of General Howard. She also viewed the erection of a statue of a black woman as a counterbalance to the many monuments to White men on the mainland.

Although Thelma referenced the historic occupation of the land, her apprehension of the Farms' history only included contemporary times and living people. Most importantly, Thelma felt that every day was a continuation of the past and that time had no natural divisions. She viewed history as a social process recorded in and across time, different parts of which are emphasized and deemphasized by people for various sociopolitical, economic, and cultural reasons. For her, the Farms residents moved the history of the community forward, so people such as Harriet Jacobs are part of a living history and should be recognized. I understood Thelma's position as a clever strategy: By preserving "the people's history" she intended to preserve the people themselves. Farms Public Dwellings residents are the purveyors of Farms history, and if there is a desire to preserve the history, then surely its custodians, namely the residents, must also be preserved.

I was so inspired by Thelma Jenson's and Coach Carter's emphases on historical preservation and their pleas for assistance that after this meeting I offered to work with the resident council on a District of Columbia Humanities Council's Major Research Grant (HCMRG) for the collection of oral histories, which we obtained the following year, in 2010. Unfortunately, Thelma was struggling with chronic drug addiction at the time. Unbeknownst to me, she misappropriated the grant funds and additional DCHA budget monies to finance a one-to two-week drug binge. When she regained sobriety, she publicly addressed the community, disclosed her failures, and asked for mercy. She also resigned her position as chair of the resident council.

Concerned for her wellbeing, I approached many officials involved in the Farms to find addiction counseling for Thelma, but discovered that the housing authority officials, property managers, and local service providers were well aware of her addiction and actually used this knowledge to manage her actions in their favor. Thelma was later reinstated in the chair position of the resident council by DCHA and subsequently re-elected to another term by the community. She suddenly abandoned her earlier emphasis on historical preservation and moved toward supporting the proponents of displacement and redevelopment. Sadly, she has begun to represent the Farms Public Dwellings community as a people and place without a history and unworthy of preservation.

Over the next two years, DCHA declared Thelma "Resident Council Leader of the Year" and gave her two elegant plaques. Despite lacking official qualifications to move into the newly constructed off-site residential property built by Reverend Brockport and owned by Josiah's Baptist Church, in 2012, Thelma was transferred by DCHA from the Farms Public Dwellings to a single unit in Josiah's Terrace Apartments that provided an expansive view of the District of

Columbia skyline. Thus, Thelma's status demonstrates the dynamism of my three-type typology as she has shifted from witness of violence to traumatically stressed-out offender to propagator.

Brian El's Perspective

The visual artist, Brian, was another long-term Farms resident with strong social ties. He lived in a condominium on the boundary of the Farms Public Dwellings community. Brian's politics placed him squarely in the category of propagator of structural violence. Brian played a significant role in the Farms community, instructing youth on visual arts and documentary production at his office in the resident council center and sometimes through the Rec's programming. Given the degree of influence Brian enjoyed over the Farms' resident council, it is necessary to provide biographical details to give context to his comments at the meeting and other activities in the community. Brian was a slim, medium-brown complexioned, "African American"¹⁷⁶ male in his early to mid-twenties with a head full of dreadlocks that draped over his narrow shoulders down to his waist. He was a rather handsome young man who easily won the affection of many Farms women in his age range, while attracting the scorn of many of the men in the community. Brian's greatest flaws were his androcentric outlook and a forceful, obdurate attitude when asserting his ideas. He was extremely dismissive of the ideas and perspectives of other community leaders, particularly if they were women. He said on several occasions that "women are too emotional and that's a terrible position to lead from." When he had disagreements with male leaders in the community, typically around his aggressive push for economic development, he would accuse them of acting like "emotional females." Despite Brian's condescension toward women, Thelma, Harriet, and other older female community

176. The descriptor "African American" is here in quotation marks because, for religious reasons discussed below, Brian did not identify as African American.

leaders tolerated him and treated him as if he were their own child. They simply noted that he would eventually outgrow his immaturity.

Another challenge in dealing with Brian was the fact that he was one of the few property (condominium) owners in the community.¹⁷⁷ Some community leaders questioned his prodevelopment stance and his motivations when he advised the resident council. They sometimes criticized him or suggested that he was angling for an economic windfall, as successful redevelopment of the Farms Public Dwellings community would have augmented his property's value.

Brian was raised in a rather affluent family that currently lived in the suburbs of Prince George's County, Maryland. His private secondary studies allowed him to matriculate at a prestigious school in the State of Maryland University System (SMUS), where he studied visual arts. He discontinued official enrollment, but continued attending classes while crashing on fellow classmates' sofas. He confidently asserted to me in an interview that he had audited enough courses to complete a bachelor's and even a graduate degree (interview, May 2011). He considered himself a genius in the realm of expressive culture and deemed his art a better credential than a formal degree.

Brian was one of the most prolific artists in the District of Columbia and had contributed to more than half of the city's murals and art installations.¹⁷⁸ Buttressing his sense of confidence was the fact that his art had brought him recognition from District of Columbia public officials, bureaucrats, economic elites, and economic developers. One of the developers Brian consorted

177. There are about a dozen single, detached homes and another dozen condominium units within the Farms.

178. He was careful not to disclose the location of all his public artworks, as some pieces had been embedded in the cityscape illegally.

with won out against the six other developers competing for the approximately \$700-million contract to redevelop the Farms. Brian had produced some great art pieces for selected developers and assumed that he would be tapped to develop any monuments and art installations to be placed in the newly redeveloped Farms community.

Brian had moved into the Farms from a seemingly more privileged setting because he hoped to develop a name for himself, as his grandfather had once done in the neighboring community of Marshall Heights in the mid-twentieth century. His grandfather had developed a mutual aid society to help African American migrants forcefully displaced from the southwest quadrant of the District of Columbia and other northwest locales such as the Shaw neighborhood, as well as those that continued to relocate from the Jim Crow South. He assisted them in attaining decent housing, job training, and economic opportunities, and thereby gained a tremendous amount of wealth and status, becoming a vocal presence in local politics. Brian told me that greedy, incompetent women in his family had squandered his grandfather's wealth and ultimately lost Brian his rightful inheritance.¹⁷⁹ Brian explained that, like his grandfather, he saw change on the horizon and relocated to the Farms to be part of that change, to make his mark in the District of Columbia's transformation, and to be part of what he called the coming "tidal wave of prosperity."

During his sophomore year of college, Brian had encountered the Moorish Science Temple's teachings on economic entrepreneurship and national citizenship, which promote economic development as a necessary part of nation building. His decision to attend classes

179. This family history may explain Brian's prejudice against women leaders. Although Brian and I became rather close friends, our friendship was sometimes strained by the conflict between his views and my unabashed feminist standpoint.

without being enrolled was influenced by the Moorish Science Temple, which asserts that if one happens to get a degree as a means of economic development, that's "great, however, it is not necessary," as he put it.¹⁸⁰ The Moorish Science Temple was established by Timothy Drew (a.k.a., Prophet Noble Drew Ali) in the early decades of the twentieth century in Newark, New Jersey, with a second branch in Chicago, Illinois.¹⁸¹

Members of the Moorish Science Temple consider themselves citizens of a sovereign country that pre-existed the formation of the United States of America and carry identification cards declaring that their laws and constitution cannot be superseded by those of any other nation, including the United States. They incur tremendous liabilities by declaring themselves citizens of a nation unrecognized by the federal government. For example, Brian racked up a number of traffic tickets for operating his motor vehicle with a license, registration, and vehicle tags issued by the Moorish Science Temple. On one occasion, the District of Columbia police stopped Brian for operating his vehicle without valid documentation. Brian resisted the officers' attempt to seize his vehicle and was subsequently arrested. He resurfaced in the Farms a few

180. The Moorish Science Temple was the forerunner of the Nation of Islam. Timothy Drew and founding members of the Moorish Science Temple (referred to as Moorish Scientists) hold that African Americans are descendants of the ancient Moors of Morocco, whose lineage can be traced directly through their most immediate ancestors, the Asiatic inhabitants of the New World, that is, Native Americans. They maintain that the mass trans-Atlantic slave trade depicted in Western history never occurred, but rather there was a massive enslavement of Native Americans who happened to be Moors. Members of the Moorish Science Temple argue that while "African Americans" are direct descendants of the Moors, they are culturally inferior to these ancestors. Simply put, Moorish Science holds that African Americans fell rather than being pushed from their natural birthright as a sovereign people.

As a child growing up in Newark, I was often subjected to street corner sermons by Moors preaching that African Americans must reject Western names, labels, and citizenship and declare themselves sovereign citizens of the Moorish nation. Temple members change their names by adding "El," "Bey," or "Ali" to surnames selected from *Circle 7*, a modified *Qur'an*. (Brian affixed "El" to his surname.)

181. I was born in the city where the Moorish Science Temple was first established; my knowledge of the organization's founder and tenets allowed me to strengthen my rapport with Brian.

days later appearing disheveled and beaten up, and saying that he was going to sue the police for brutality. (I discussed the nature of policing in the Farms neighborhood in chapter 4.)

Like most members of the Moorish Science community, Brian held that the liberation of the African American people in general can only occur through the economic elevation of African American men. This assumption underlies his attitude toward redevelopment plans for the Farms Public Dwellings community and the community's female leaders. To ensure that his voice would be heard in the community, Brian notoriously arrived at meetings late, asserted his agenda, and departed early to avoid debate. Brian refused to let the meeting called by Coach Carter end after Thelma's remarks. Instead, he seized the floor in order to launch his idea about the type of historical preservation he deemed would be most profitable to the entire Farms' neighborhood.

Brian suggested that the resident council's struggle for heritage preservation should involve teasing out the connections between slaves and indigenous peoples and their experiences prior to and at the hands of English colonists. He argued that the resident council would be better off talking about the economic and intellectual successes of the earliest people on the site rather than talking about "past slaves and current winos."¹⁸² He pointed out that, "before the Anacostia Indians were chased off, killed, or enslaved along this riverfront," they operated one of the first Wall Street-like enterprises in the mid-Atlantic region. He moreover contended that "from the Reconstruction Era to the mid-twentieth century, the relationship between the Farms and the preeminent Howard University needed greater exposure because it demonstrated the intellectual vigor of Farms' pioneering families."

182. "Current winos" was an oblique reference to the Regs, whom he disliked. He showed his contempt whenever he was in direct contact with them.

Brian emphasized that the twentieth-century men who lived on the Farms Public Dwellings site were not wretched victims without the capacity for civilization, but industrious men who excelled academically and economically and established productive businesses along the MLK Ave corridor. He claimed that the educational and economic malaise that had colonized the current generation of Farms youth could be reversed by raising awareness of the community's entrepreneurial past. Crime and poverty were the result of this malaise, in his view. So if the history of economic development of earlier times—a time prior to the current residents' lives—were salvaged and showcased, he thought, salutary effects would include a reduction in crime and an increase in educational achievement. According to Brian, "We can be just as successful as other communities to the northwest if we provide our youth with examples of men who have already proven successful."¹⁸³ Finally, he concluded his argument with a call for unity in grasping the economic opportunity offered by redevelopment:

Look, it's logical that at this meeting our focus on issues of community beefs, summer youth activities, and redevelopment plans would evolve into a discussion on history. This community is a historical place, no doubt, but it's about to experience a historical shift, and this is a pivotal moment for us to finally be included in the economic growth and agenda of the [District of Columbia]! I'm trying to be part of this change and make certain this community gets what it deserves. . . . If you are with me, we all can enjoy this opportunity.

In response to Coach Carter's and Thelma's request for assistance, Brian later produced a highly-acclaimed documentary film shaped by his particular emphasis on history and his androcentric personality. The film, entitled *The Farms' Past and Present* (2011), explores the connections of the early Farms community to the development of Howard University. It then contrasts what he projects as the halcyon days of the early Farms neighborhood with the

183. At this point, Thelma reciprocated Brian's earlier interruption with one of her own: "There were and are women here, too, Brian!"

contemporary Farms Public Dwellings community's shortcomings. The documentary describes the street culture, lack of educational achievement, and level of violence as articulated by female youth and others against a backdrop of proposed redevelopment. It can be inferred that his documentary was intended to justify redevelopment without any critical attention to complex political, economic, and social forms of oppression. Yet it ostensibly calls for a historical restoration, meaning it aims to highlight the rich heritage of the community that preceded the current public housing community, and to limit the history that needs to be documented and celebrated. In full disclosure, I served as a senior research consultant for this documentary film; however, I had no artistic or editorial authority. Earlier versions of the documentary were previewed at the Arc and other area institutions in late 2009 and early 2010.

Perspectives of Two More Propagators of Structural Violence

Another propagator's perspective comes not from a resident, but from the Farms Public Dwellings' property manager, Nathan Bookman.¹⁸⁴ Bookman, an African American man, was in his late fifties at the time of this research. He liked to share his memories of living in the District of Columbia's public housing, but emphasized the brevity of his family's tenure there. He commuted daily to work in the Farms from a Maryland suburb not too far from Brian's parents' home. As property manager, Bookman felt he always needed to be available "to put out a crisis," and claimed that he was too busy to be interviewed.¹⁸⁵ However, I was able to ask him a few questions about why he chose not to live in the District of Columbia closer to his work site. He

184. Bookman became the property manager approximately five years before I began volunteering in the community.

185. Bookman initially agreed to a series of five short interviews, each lasting no more than thirty minutes. After the first two, he became apprised of my social justice activities in the Farms and refused to participate in any more interviews.

responded that private homes and rental units were too expensive. I then asked him if he thought the long waiting list for public housing (70,000+) reflects the low income levels of District of Columbia residents and whether the inadequate average income level is what locks people out of the private market. More specifically, I asked him if he thought the same pressure in the housing industry that prevented him from living in the District of Columbia prevented Farms Public Dwellings residents from moving out of public housing into market-rate units. Bookman rejected the premise of my questions, noting that “the Farms residents were a big group of lazy children lacking direction.”

Bookman had acquired a reputation for paternalism long before we met. He told me, “Public housing was, and is, a parking tunnel . . . intended for temporary protection—short enough to get you back to a state of complete self-sufficiency and independence. People should not treat public housing like a parking garage . . . enter[ing] and never leav[ing].” He felt that it was his responsibility to keep public housing units barely comfortable so as to motivate residents to transition back to market-rate rental units. For example, he maintained a warehouse that was sometimes overstocked with new refrigerators and other upgraded household appliances, but he rarely replaced the residents’ worn-out appliances with the better ones supplied by the District of Columbia government. He further blamed the dilapidated conditions of the units and community facilities on the residents’ living habits instead of the shoddy building materials used to construct the buildings. He noted, “I treat ’em like my children: If you break it, it’s yours until you’ll learn your lesson.” By not replacing appliances or repairing units according to code, he kept costs down, increased the subdivision’s dilapidated appearance, converted maintenance into a tool of punishment, and, as a result, had won DCHA’s approval for being an efficient property manager.

Bookman was convinced that the Farms site had always been a wasteland that was only slightly modified by the installation of public dwellings there. This conviction was revealed in his claim that there was no local history, a perspective he was certain was shared by DCHA officials. One of Bookman's only interjections at the 2009 meeting made this attitude clear: "Does the Farms even have a history? What exactly is the Farms' history?"

Another propagator of structural violence, Reverend Brockport, responded to these rhetorical questions by noting that members of his congregation were in the process of converting the church's old sanctuary, which had once been a regular site of monthly New Community Initiative (NCI) redevelopment meetings, into a museum/cultural center where some of the Farms' history would be presented. Brockport further suggested that perhaps the church's work could serve as an instructive model for the resident council's proposed historical research and documentation.

At the invitation of Reverend Brockport, I visited the old sanctuary once the exhibit was completed. The sanctuary had been entirely transformed. All of the pews and podiums had been removed to open up the hall, and the once-bare walls were now covered with placards that chronicled the church's history in the Farms—but not the history of the Farms. It proved to be well researched and put together, but gave little insight into the social life of the community beyond the church.

Some previous residents who had long since relocated themselves and their families outside of the Farms neighborhood maintained nostalgic views of the community as it was before the public housing was built. Such nostalgia was fostered in collective and individual memories and nurtured by local gatherings at Brockport's churches. Reverend Brockport's explicit justification for inserting himself into the redevelopment process was that he had been so

directed by some of his congregants, the majority of whom, he claimed, were Farms residents. Many of his congregants were ambivalent about, if not outright hostile toward, the current Farms Public Dwellings residents. They held the community metaphorically at fault for the demise of their once beloved Farms neighborhood. Brockport sometimes pronounced similar sentiments during his Sunday sermons, although he had also stated publicly on more than one occasion his overwhelming support for the residents who were being impacted by the redevelopment. Reverend Brockport's contradictory positions caused him to be seen by Farms Public Dwellings residents as an unprincipled hustler. This fact alone explains why so few Farms Public Dwellings residents had joined his church.

By two o'clock, people decided the meeting had gone on long enough. Bookman and Brockport seemed withdrawn. However, the main speakers, Carter, Thelma, and Brian, had each expressed their goals and perspectives on what they considered to be the next appropriate steps for preserving the history of the Farms. Though their approaches varied, all three nonetheless agreed on the need to preserve the Farms' history. This meeting represented an important display of agency. Through such negotiations of historical preservation and reflections on the historical record, Farms Public Dwellings residents aimed to write themselves back into history, developed an awareness of the historical pressures on the Farms neighborhood's community life, established their voices, and preserved their past. The only contingent that had not been represented at this meeting were members of the earlier community, like Dianne Dale.

Dianne Dale's Perspective

When I went to see the history exhibit at Josiah's Baptist Church, I came upon a meeting of the newly reactivated Hillsdale Civic Association (HCA).¹⁸⁶ This group was made up of a dozen or so elderly women, mostly retired, who commuted in from Maryland to attend the HCA meetings. One of its members was Dianne Dale, a fourth-generation Farms resident, although she currently lived in suburban Prince George's County, Maryland. The HCA members were seated in a circle in the sanctuary, discussing the impending redevelopment, when I entered the room. They invited me to describe my research to them, and Dianne subsequently agreed to be interviewed at her residence. Dianne had published a few essays and children's coloring books, and, at the time of the interview, was in the process of writing an autobiography about growing up in the Farms.¹⁸⁷ Her perspective on the history of the Farms outlined here is drawn from both our interview and her subsequent publication (interview, February 2011; Dale 2011; quotations are identified by page number if from her book; otherwise, they are from our interview).

Dianne had attended Howard University (HU), where she had earned a bachelor's degree and multiple advanced degrees. She was a witness of structural violence, and her desire to have her community restored to its former greatness also placed her, albeit complicatedly, alongside the propagators of structural violence. She was proud of the fact that she and her daughter were fourth- and fifth-generation HU alumnae. She noted the Farms' unique relationship with HU: the university was developed by the Freedmen's Bureau, and the revenue generated from the sale of

186. As mentioned in chapter 3, Hillsdale was the name selected by the original African American homesteaders.

187. Dianne was retired, and like many of the elders of the Farms, enjoyed nostalgic conversations about the past. She did not need any prompting questions from me as an anthropologist to share her experiences. We both enjoyed the interview, as it allowed her space to rehearse her thoughts and me to explore historical matters on which Thelma and others could not give me insight.

the Farms land was used to pay back the federal government for the initial purchase of the land and as seed money for HU and two other historically black colleges (see chapter 3; note 101). She explained that although some students from the Farms chose to pursue postsecondary studies at other learning institutions outside of the District of Columbia, they were almost guaranteed admission if they chose HU.¹⁸⁸

Dianne clearly understood the value of the Farms' history and her place in it. While her memories were mostly joyful, she spoke with a detectable anguish as she recounted the demise of her community village. She courageously shared her pain in order to reveal the current state of the community. Dianne believed that history instructs human action, informs people's identities, accounts for their accomplishments, and provides a ledger of wrongs to be corrected. She also believed that history must be accessible and shared if it is to function for these purposes. For example, she conjectured that the National Mall was constructed to receive tourists who desired to be oriented and in some cases re-oriented to the inscribed, mythic ideal of the United States of America. As she put it, "Fortunately, the District of Columbia gets to host the cultural monuments and institutions that convey the national essence, the national identity."

She hoped that the Farms' history I was working to compile and the one she was evoking in her own book would tell a story of a dignified people and their successful effort to sustain themselves while being forcibly locked outside of the American dream. According to Dianne, "Documenting Farms history would counteract the sad fact that many people think we were upstarts coming out of slavery and frozen in time." It would also tell the story of how the hopeful

188. Dianne was confident that her alma mater would survive for years to come, but lamented its changing relationship with the Farms. Jokingly, she mentioned that some students consider Hampton University until they realize it is a far second to Howard. There is a longstanding tiff between students of the two schools regarding which institution is the oldest.

Hillsdale (i.e., Farms) village was deliberately destroyed: “Our history is passed down orally, and when you forcibly displace homeowners from the community, you ensure the community’s slow but certain dissolution, because the homeowners maintain the institutional memory and are most active in its preservation.” For her, this narrative supports the hidden and continued abuses foisted upon the Farms community.

Dianne decried how many people summarily disregarded the Farms community or assumed it had no history except for Frederick Douglass’s residence there from 1877 to 1895. During the interview, she lamented that “for the most part, people think we emerged from slavery as wretched upstarts and always lived in slums. There were great industrious people here.” She provides several examples of notable people in her self-published book, including Solomon G. Brown and two gentlemen named after the famous Frederick Douglass: Frederick Douglass Patterson and Frederick Douglass Wilkerson. Dale writes, “Wilkerson was the Registrar at Howard University [and] Patterson in 1935 became the third president of Tuskegee Institute (now university) where among other achievements he started the Tuskegee Airmen Program in 1941 and founded the United Negro College Fund (UNCF) in 1944” (Dale 2011, xix). She also noted that Brown, a scientist, lecturer, and distinguished public official, was the first African American employed at the Smithsonian Institute. She expressed the belief that it was due to Brown, “along with the many others I mentioned, clergy, academics, shop owners, entertainers, etcetera, [that] the Farms prospered in spite of segregation” (interview, February 2011).

In her book, Dianne describes the many enterprises owned by Farms community members, including her father’s grocery market, a coal and fuel company, cleaners, an ice

vendor, barber shops, liquor vendors, a theater, and funeral homes. Dianne enumerates many of the businesses along with the names of the owners, as in this passage:

Mr. Slaughter owned a blacksmith business across from my house on Sumner Road, and Mr. McKenzie's art store was right next door; the Boyd's Coal and Fuel Company was on Nicholas Avenue (MLK), as was the Carver's Theater along with several other African American businesses too numerous to list here. (2011, 82)

She also details the significant attention given to the community's youth, in terms of recreation, entertainment, and education:

There was Minnie Smoots' chapel for dances, Ms. Queen's movie nights, Frank and Augusta Newton's pleasure park (Green Willow's Park), and the Catholics' annual carnival for the community in the exact location where the bridge crossed over Suitland Parkway. Ms. Parham led the Girl Scouts.¹⁸⁹ . . . There were spelling bees and recitals during July. We also made frequent and organized welfare checks on the sick and shut-in, and genuinely cared for each other. Every summer we had a Farms festival, I believe in June, and we had famous NFL, NBA, and MLB athletes along with entertainers such as Herb from Peaches and Herb. 84)

As she writes, "Community life was active and there [were] avenues of expression for everyone who wanted to contribute to the spirit of the place" (xxxv).

Despite the vibrancy of the Farms community, most of the residents felt marooned on a tiny island surrounded by the sometimes-hostile White communities in Union and The Heights. She claims in her book that segregation forced the community to produce excellence in every necessary industry. African Americans used craft skills, domestic service talents, and entrepreneurial aspirations to build their homes and develop their community. She notes, "We had to be the best because we were truly cut off from the rest of the [District of Columbia]." Moreover, she notes that the fact that the Eleventh Precinct was situated between the Farms community and Union meant one only had to pass St. Es to the south or Morris Road to the north

189. She adds that as children they learned Greek and poetry, received square dancing and etiquette instruction, and engaged in various sports and athletics including annual track meets (Dale 2011, 84).

along MLK Ave before running the risk of being accosted by Whites. She writes, “As we eked out a livelihood, we were well aware of the literal danger of being caught venturing through the adjacent white communities. . . . Yes, we were isolated and even constrained, but prospered; we prospered together with respect and dignity for each other and the place” (Dale 2011). Dianne seemed to feel that segregation was just as cruel for Farms residents as slavery had been for those who had farmed the land in the past. She said in seeming frustration, “We knew we were equal except we were forced to measure up unequally” (interview, February 2011).

Dianne took pride in the involvement of Farms residents in the civil rights movement. While ambivalent about the outcome of the US Supreme Court’s *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) case, Dianne noted that relatives of the plaintiffs lived within the Farms Public Dwellings and most of those affected by the ruling lived in the vicinity and attended local churches. She also explained that Farms residents fought segregation as plaintiffs in the *Bolling v. Sharpe* case, which was folded into *Brown v. Board of Education*, and thus helped give a comprehensive victory to the civil rights movement. Residents Spottswood and Wanamaker Bolling, Barbara and Adrienne Jennings, and Sarah Briscoe had been denied admission to the local and exclusively White John Philip D’Sousa Junior High School.¹⁹⁰ With apparent pride, Dianne exclaimed, “*Bolling v. Sharpe* stemmed from a well-organized grassroots movement led by members of Campbell AME Church—Campbell AME Church right here in the Farms. The Jennings family, in particular, was members of Campbell’s Church.” For Dianne, the

190. District of Columbia schools were funded and managed by the US Congress, while other school districts in the country were administered by state governments. Dianne believed that it was an uphill battle for the state-based cases to win their arguments against segregation because the Southern custom of segregated education was so well entrenched. She explained that *Bolling v. Sharpe* could not simply challenge the Fourteenth Amendment in which citizens’ criminal and civil rights were protected from state abuses. The lawsuit challenged *Plessy v. Ferguson*’s separate and equal edict at the federal level and on the basis of the Fifth Amendment, which also challenged the lack of due process and any curtailments of citizen rights as guaranteed by the US Constitution.

involvement of Farms residents in these cases is not only an important part of history; it further demonstrates the vitality of the Farms community in the first half of the twentieth century.

Dianne believed that a confluence of several factors transformed the Farms community for the worse over the next few decades. The transformation began with returning African American WWII veterans requiring homes, the influx of wartime and postwar laborers ready to work in burgeoning industries, and, most importantly, the National Capital Planning Commission's (NCPC) plan to "beautify" (i.e., racially sanitize) the National Mall and Capitol southwest and northwest areas by evicting poor African American residents, including the alley dwellers described in chapter 3.¹⁹¹ Three city commissioners sought to rearticulate the city's racial geography through zoning much of Wards 7 and 8 (including the Farms) strictly for public housing.¹⁹² Dianne told me that the HCA and other organizations did their best to fight the zoning, but, before home rule (which allowed local residents limited control over city and area zoning boards), people had no veto power or other legal recourse. The three-member commission made all the zoning decisions at the federal level.

In her book, Dianne describes in detail how many homes were suddenly condemned, foreclosed, seized through eminent domain, or squeezed between high density developments, all of which forced the original homeowners from their original Farms community land (Dale 2011). At the same time, the once sparsely developed area, rural and bucolic in appearance with open, green spaces and tree-covered hillsides, was denuded and transfigured. Its open fields were covered with asphalt and dotted with FHA-insured, shoddy, and speculative developments. By

191. Many of these residents were relocated to Marshall Heights and other communities east of the river (McFadden-Resper and Williams 2005).

192. The NAACP criticized the long campaign of shuffling African Americans across the city out of the National Mall area as a campaign of "Negro Removal" (Williams 2001).

the 1960s, seven public housing developments were built, adding to the two developed around the time the Farms Public Dwellings was established. Dianne writes, “In a final blow to the dignity of this historic black neighborhood, the arrival of I-295 and the double span of the Eleventh Street Bridge with the [Southeast/Southwest] freeway cut the community off from the park and river” (lx).

As significant portions of the Farms land were rezoned for multidwelling apartments and public housing, and without private home ownership and local industry to generate tax revenues, other essential amenities slowly eroded. Commerce and residential taxes were then increased to cover basic services. Despite increased taxation, public servants moved desultorily to provide amenities to public housing sites. For example, trash remained uncollected and accumulated throughout the ward. As a result, Dianne told me:

The spirit of the community was forever changed and in dramatic succession, single-family homes were seized, razed, and replaced with multidwelling units. . . . Without sufficient resources to stave off the community’s dissolution, and with the collapsing public amenities and services, many established residents and home owners relocated. . . . Eventually, we found ourselves exhausted and alienated in our own community, so we moved on.

She appeared quite disturbed while recounting the story of the sale of her family home and her family’s subsequent relocation to Maryland.

Facing overwhelming social pressure from the inundation of public housing and its most vulnerable assigned residents, along with diminished resources, amenities, and public services, many African American home owners such as the Dale family moved to White neighborhoods and schools (K–12 and postsecondary) after de jure segregation was struck down: “We were a tired people and just wanted better things, I guess.”¹⁹³ Dianne told me that incoming residents

193. Dianne also believed this scenario sustained de facto segregation in the District of Columbia until the 1968 riots chased most Whites away.

displaced from other public housing sites were initially welcomed and absorbed into the social fabric of the Farms because they were disciplined and respectable, and they desired to become part of the established community. Then, starting in the late 1960s and early 1970s, new incoming residents showed little respect for local traditions and authority figures, for the history of the Farms, and for the social order in general. Dianne said, “I can’t tell you exactly when the disposition of incoming residents changed, but as the District of Columbia began to accelerate its displacement of African Americans on the mainland, the quality and dispositions of newcomers also changed.”

According to Dianne, mass in-migration eroded the Farms’ social structure because it caused institutional memory loss. She explained:

You know it’s like people who apply for citizenship. They have to know US history and customs and pass a comprehensive exam on such content. Nothing else matters to the examiner except the US—customs, history, and law. It is then left to the examinee to know that his/her acquired knowledge for this exam is strategic only, and that their strategy should not cause them to become alienated to their very essence. Well then, what we have here in the Farms are those who sought to prove their worthiness as full citizens, and those who didn’t care about neither proving their citizenship nor embracing our customs, traditions, and the essence of what the village meant.

Even though Dianne held some disdain toward current residents of the Farms, she opined that violence was a predictable outcome of the urban planning and zoning policy changes. Drawing conclusions from the violence she had witnessed in the Farms Public Dwellings over the last few years, she situated the bulk of her blame on the NCPC commissioners and District of Columbia zoning officials.

Throughout the interview, Dianne often returned to the notion that a history of resilience had ended when the industrious, long-term residents of the Farms were pushed out of their homes. She said, “If only the legacy, pride, and resilience was appreciated by most of the newcomers, our history would have continued, and we could have sustained the vitality of the

Farms.” History was important to her because it is a public acknowledgement and verification of the rich heritage of the Farms community and the basic decency of its residents. However, Dianne was clear that the brick-and-mortar structure could never be restored, so it was important to document the federal commissioners’ and zoning officials’ destruction of her village for the historical record.

Conclusion

Fullilove (2009) reminds us that place attachment is a real connection people experience with places. People both shape places and in turn are shaped by those places. When forcibly separated from the place component of this dyad, human beings experience a sense of disembodiment that causes them emotional pain and disorientation. What is clear from the way Dianne Dale and other former residents, as well as current residents, described their experiences of the changes in the Farms neighborhood was that the shifts in the local population brought on by the policies and practices of the dominant society have led to residents’ sense of a fracturing of time, identity, and place. Moreover, it is this fracturing that has ensured that the Farms community—both its people and its places—continues to serve as an antithetical other to the dominant society. As members of a constrained, isolated community that from time to time is reconstituted, seemingly at the whim of the dominant society, Farms residents have individual and collective memories and a sense of history, although those memories and that history are vulnerable to dissipation in the face of another imminent displacement. In fact, these seismic transformations of people and place reveal that redevelopment, as an amplification of structural violence, also serves to punish those who fail to keep a built, natural, and social environment consistently suitable for one side of the social binary.

I will make the case in the chapter to follow that, just as the resilience demonstrated by members of Dianne Dale's earlier community defied and distorted the black and White binary, the social structure of the NWIO's TTDOs, namely the residents of the Farms Public Dwellings, also distorts the binary. The chapter will demonstrate how redevelopment reflects the amplification of structural violence intended to reconstitute the binary and punish noncompliant Farms residents—that is, those who are noncompliant with the binary's structural needs. Even fractured, the remembrances and historical preservation perspectives collected here reveal the fact and the fear of a dyad violently torn asunder and soon to be torn again.

CHAPTER 8

HEAR THEIR SCREAMS LOUD AND CLEAR: WHAT DOES
THE FARMS COMMUNITY REDEVELOPMENT
TELL US ABOUT STRUCTURAL VIOLENCE
AND THE SOCIOSPATIAL BINARY?

. . . The cool September blows the seeds away

*The harvest blown again this year
But I'll return a stronger [hu]man
I'll return to be in my homeland*

*No grave shall hold my body down
This land is still my home
I said, but I'll return a stronger [hu]man
I'll return to be in my home land
No grave shall hold my body down
This land is still my home
This land is still my home. . .*

—from “Not As Yet Untitled” by Terrence Trent D’Arby

Summary and Analysis

At the beginning of this research, I was interested in understanding the effects of crime and drug dealing in the District of Columbia’s urban scene as reflected in the federal and local governments’ discourse and policy implementations around community redevelopment. At the same time, like thousands of new collegiate entrants into the capital city each year, I additionally hoped to integrate my studies and research with all the cultural and historical happenings the capital city could offer. However, various northwest city residents’ directives, and at times unsolicited guidance, to avoid the east of the Anacostia River ghettos—particularly the Farms neighborhood and its public dwellings community—dampened this fancy and caused my attention to shift to the nature and function of the contemporary urban ghetto, namely the

AAUG. And so, despite the genuine concern for my safety and wellbeing, I ventured across the Frederick Douglass Memorial Bridge into the Farms neighborhood. I figured I had already acquired some knowledge of the community through my work with CuSAG and felt the Farms would be a suitable community for my research—a community available for me to explore the intersections of race, crime, and community redevelopment strategies. Indeed, there was a community, and as I discovered the Farms Public Dwellings community more intimately, I also discovered a more fundamental type of crime—a crime against humanity—at the root of the Farms community despair, namely structural violence. Structural violence, as I theorized in the previous chapters, is a spatial, temporal, punitive, and hidden form of violence used to form the sociospatial binary between the WSC and the NWIO and its subset group, the TTDO. Through the usage of this violence, a binary structure of contradistinction was created in the District of Columbia where the Farms Public Dwellings community was made into a referent of cultural pathology rather than of racial inferiority.

As if it was yesterday, I can remember in 2007 commencing my preliminary research with windshield tours of the Farms, The Heights, and Union (Anacostia) neighborhoods from the comfort and convenience of my gray 1987 Volvo. At that time, I observed the area's colorful murals, heard the melodic sounds of go-go music and laughter, observed street corner men engaged in banter and took in whiffs of fried trout and chicken-flavored smoke that emanated from the various hot food carry-outs concentrated along the MLK Ave corridor. Additionally, I remember the unpleasant and annoying MPD traffic stops. The reason for these stops—traffic stops that I believe MPD carried out as part of their zero tolerance policing strategy against the area residents construed as dangerous and disorderly—resulted from my driving too slow for road conditions. To my benefit, the fear of further traffic stops caused me to end my windshield

tours and sort of *step off my veranda* to discover the Farms Public Dwellings community. It was at that very moment that events confirmed the suitability of the Farms as a research site.

As noted in chapter 2's opening narrative, my first alarming encounter did not come at the hands of Farms neighborhood residents, as had been predicted by many well-meaning northwest Washingtonians. Rather, it came at the hands of a local District of Columbia government's NCI project manager and more precisely through her treatment of a community youth. The child's testimony and explanation to the project manager as to why he fell asleep regularly in class failed to uphold the project manager's perspective of cultural pathology. While the child's full account was gut-wrenching, what was more horrifying during the encounter was the extreme indifference displayed toward the child. There was something amiss regarding the policy and practice of this community's redevelopment and it was at this instant, notwithstanding my desire to scream, that I determined to refocus this dissertation research on the way structural violence impacted the lived experiences of the Farms Public Dwellings community residents. In addition, I conducted this research with the aim of understanding how these residents went about mobilizing themselves for and/or against it. As noted in chapter 2, I used interviews, participant observation, oral histories, anthropology class-related focus groups, and simply hanging out with the area residents (mostly those from the Farms Public Dwellings community) to round out my data production strategies.

In order to first clarify structural violence's impact on the Farms residents, past and present, as well as its effect on the general development of the Farms neighborhood into an AAUG, I carefully chronicled the District of Columbia government's perpetuation of structural violence (direct and indirect) over time, which the current Farms' NCI redevelopment plan intentionally continues.

To make White Americans aware of the veracity of White supremacy, James Baldwin once importuned them, in a public address, to return to history with earnest and honest intentions and to discover what social forces against African Americans they perpetuate and benefit from symbolically and materially. Baldwin said, “For history, as nearly no one seems to know, is not merely something to be read. And it does not refer merely, or even principally, to the past. On the contrary, the great force of history comes from the fact that we carry it within us, are unconsciously controlled by it in many ways, and history is literally present in all that we do.” Baldwin continues, “In great pain and terror, one begins to assess the history which has placed one where one is, and formed one’s point of view. In great pain and terror, because thereafter, one enters into battle with that historical creation...” While the contemporary Farms community appears separate from the prior communities, the history of the Farms neighborhood reveals that it is in fact caught up in a pattern of violence—a pattern of Western cultural violence—perpetrated intentionally by the elite through the District of Columbia’s government over four transformative moments. Baldwin, perhaps, did not anticipate the level of diversity among the cast of perpetrators; however, I would only add here that this dissertation’s findings suggest that White Supremacy today is a multiethnic/racial sport.

The Farms neighborhood’s historiography demonstrates the dynamism of previous moments with all of their real and active agents of structural violence rather than the putative and static depictions of a history that is agentless. For example, slavery is often discussed as an incident of the past with a few bad actors, but not as an active, constituent part of a coherent pattern of White supremacy that adapts to societal changes over time. The static orientation to history denies the reader the capacity to appreciate how the contemporary sociospatial binary

refashioned for this postracial hour was achieved as a continuation of the racial binary and racialized oppression.

In chapter 3, I detailed how the early colonists and then the District of Columbia government officials deployed structural violence through four transformative moments against early occupants of my research site and through the generations that followed. These transformative moments of structural violence include acts of land theft, privatization, and speculation; displacement and genocide of the earliest residents; brutal exploitation of enslaved Africans; deforestation, cash crop cultivation, and pollution of the area's natural environments; the reneging on the Reconstruction Era promises to make African Americans whole and the federally enforced separate but "equal" doctrine, which crystallized into the Jim Crow social structure; the Jim Crow era's state-sanctioned discrimination and violence that fostered the development of the modern racial binary where Whiteness was ranked over that of black identity and where the latter was construed as the former's diametrical opposite; the insidious and criminal entrapment of African Americans in convict labor camps; the concentration of high density public housing complexes emplaced into once stable African American communities, thereby overwhelming the area's carrying capacity and permanently rending its social fabric; the controversial introduction of crack cocaine, proliferation of guns, and mass incarceration; and now increased police brutality and de-concentration, displacement, and demolition of public housing communities under the guise of urban revitalization (Scott, Peter Dale, and Jonathan Marshall. 1998). These various incidents, comprising the four transformative moments that accumulatively led to the crystallization of the Farms community as an AAUG, are saturated with structural violence and serve as constituent building blocks of today's sociospatial binary as defined and detailed in chapter 1.

Along with other forms of deprivation and disinvestment, by the mid-twentieth century the Farms Public Dwellings community symbolically functioned as a racialized urban ghetto—an antithetical spatial form opposite to dominant White society. By the late twentieth century, due to shifts in racial politics and civil rights fights for inclusion, the articulation of the once racial binary was re-articulated as a sociospatial binary. In the sociospatial binary—a binary structured between WSC group members and NWIOs/TTDOs—urban reformers, such as government officials, emphasize cultural differences (cultural pathology) and de-emphasize racial differences. However, it is ethnographically apparent in Washington, DC in general and the Farms Public Dwellings community in particular that race remains salient given that most of the displaced public housing residents are African Americans.

Structural violence is chronic and accumulative and as such, the current Farms community residents must be understood as intentional victims targeted by an unrelenting and unbroken pattern—a cultural pattern—of violence intended to bracket them off as a symbolic and sociocultural contradistinction to dominant society. In the case of the Farms Public Dwellings community, the District of Columbia government has served as a key purveyor of structural violence. Instructive is a comment made by one custodian of the Farms neighborhood's history, Dianne Dale:

I am frustrated with the current residents' cultural practices; however, I am mad as hell with the government for intentionally doing this to us [pushing out families of the original homestead] and then pretending that out of slavery to the present, we were always hopeless. This is why when people ask the questions of what happened to this community—Barry Farms or whether the residents were always hopeless, they need to hear our story; speak to those of us who remember what the government did.

In chapter 4, I documented how structural violence fractured the Farms Public Dwellings community by shuffling residents in and out and contributing to various levels of associated trauma, which in turn caused the residents to take on a specific range of agentive dispositional

strategies. Through this dissertation research, I found that many Farms Public Dwellings residents had been repeatedly exposed to structural violence in other public housing communities that underwent similar urban redevelopment strategies. The impacted residents were often relocated east of the Anacostia River into communities like the Farms Public Dwellings. This process keeps a constant flow of new residents entering the Farms Public Dwellings community and at times introduced rival turf members. I conclude that this shuffling of residents is intentionally strategic and an integral tactic of the sociospatial binary, as it keeps residents from establishing a coherent and collective political stance against the government and others that curtail their lives.

Additionally, the Farms Public Dwellings housing management staff carried out a continuous eviction process during the five years of my research, thereby ensuring significant community turnover and destabilization. These processes combined kept the Farms community in a constant flux—unable to stabilize or established roots—and lent them a transient quality consistent with William Julius Wilson’s (1978, 1987, 1991) thesis of the underclass. This dissertation demonstrates the need to question residential transience as ipso facto evidence of cultural pathology; rather, it calls us to move beyond the givens as givens and to see the implications of structural violence in the community’s predicament.

The Farms Public Dwellings residents have very little control over this shuffling process, but they have developed a local language and typology to capture the resulting recomposition within their community. The resident council executive board informally labeled members of the community in terms of two related categories, namely residential tenure and depth of social ties. As detailed in chapter 4, the resident council executive board described residents as long-term or short-term, with the break at about ten years of residency, and as having strong or weak-to-no

social ties, with the former possessing three or more associations with community members. While this typology is arbitrary, I found it to be a useful convention in organizing my data production strategies and analysis of the Farms Public Dwellings social structure. In fact, crossing residential tenure with strength of social ties produces four resident permutations, namely long-term residents with strong social ties, long-term residents with weak-to-no social ties, short-term residents with strong social ties, and short-term residents with weak-to-no-social ties.

Adding complexity to the above permutations are the residents' varying relationships to structural violence. While I found all residents to be affected by structural violence, I characterized them variously as witnesses of violence (WitnessSV), traumatically stressed-out offenders (TSO) and/or perpetrators of structural violence (PerpSV). Some residents, more than others, were willing to courageously testify to their lived experiences of structural violence. These residents represented the witnesses. In addition, I found residents, including witnesses, who were harmed materially, spiritually, psychologically, and physically such that they engaged in varying levels of crime and violence against other community members. I refer to these residents as the truly stressed-out offenders (TSO), but note that structural violence doesn't exhaustively explain their criminal trajectories. The final relationship to structural violence is that of its perpetrators (PerpSV). These individuals perpetrate structural violence through their support and or enforcement of the District of Columbia's government policies and practices that harm Farms Public Dwellings residents. To be certain, these designations are not mutually exclusive, and some residents shifted across these categories in relationship to their levels of desperation, fear, and/or exploitation. For example, I discussed Thelma Jenson, who at times shifted from being a witness, to a TSO and PerpSV, and back in no particular order.

In a final layer of complexity, I categorized the residents according to their dispositional responses to structural violence–induced constraints and the NCI plan. Using Robert K. Merton’s (1939) cultural response to strain theory, I located the residents’ agentive strategies among the categories of innovators, accommodators, rebels, or retreaters, or a combination. The innovators engage in off-the-books and sometimes criminal enterprises as an adaptive strategy. To be sure, the criminalization of the residents is an important objective of structural violence’s maintenance of the sociospatial binary. By this I mean that whether there is evidence of crime or not, the DCHA, MPD, and the government will articulate and treat every encounter with residents with this judgment. In this context, innovators, when caught engaging in illegal and illicit practices, establish the fact of the community’s pathology.

Through this dissertation research, I observed MPD harassing and provoking the young Farms Public Dwellings males into negative reactions that escalated into arrests. The accommodators were equally vulnerable to DCHA’s and NCI’s prescriptions, rules, and expectations. However, they became even more circumspect to avoid jeopardizing their subsidized housing or the chance to be relocated in one of the new and proximate off-site housing complexes, for example Sheridan Station. Accommodators were generally targeted for burglaries, home invasions, and street-level violence. The accommodators were mostly short-term residents with weak-to-no social ties; however, some long-term residents, such as seniors and the disabled, rounded out this category. Other community residents, particularly the long-term with strong social ties, rejected the accommodators’ docile and acquiescent nature.

The rebels and retreaters were a little more complicated in that they both threatened the sociospatial binary through their binary-distorting practices. The former pressured the local government to integrate them into dominant society, given that it was dominant society where

human life was valued. The rebels rejected their exclusion from mainstream society, their indecent housing conditions, and their repeated displacement. They fought for inclusion as full citizens worthy of equitable treatment and decent housing; however, the rebels' tactics caused them to appear as stereotypically angry and aggressive African Americans. The NCI officials used this anger (although justifiable) to resist the rebels' push for integration, arguing that it would be difficult to locate them in mainstream society or the redeveloped Farms community.

The retreaters, however, desired and took initiative to withdraw from conventional society, thereby stretching the sociospatial binary apart. The retreaters rejected the entire WSC social structure, and their disposition was to create a parallel social structure for themselves. For public housing tenants, this latter goal was rather difficult because the DCHA and the local District of Columbia government maintained jurisdiction over their housing and community. Moreover, unlike the community of Dianne Dale that came to form beginning in 1867, they have no resources to build a parallel economy, system of fair governance, and so forth. Nonetheless, the retreaters avoid both surveillance and contact, thereby ceasing to be part of a functioning and symbolic referent of contradistinction. As the retreaters attempt to recruit other community members to their dispositional frame, their actions serve to increase binary distortion because eventually the entire community will cease to serve as a reference of social contradistinction. In point of fact, as retreaters fashion their own parallel world, street justice rules the day and community disputes often end in tragic outcomes. Here again, the retreaters, like the innovators, fulfill the myths of pathology. The DCHA, as I observed, spent an inordinate amount of attention on penetrating the social world of the retreaters.

Beginning with long-term residents, I found those with weak-to-no social ties to be either senior residents or the disabled. These residents were sometimes difficult to access and when

access was granted it often required coordination with home health aides and other caretakers. These residents, victims of structural violence, would at times witness against their constrained lived experiences. Some interpreted their senior status, as I discussed previously, as a protected position and were very vocal in highlighting the inequitable conditions they endured compared to the dominant Washington, DC society. Many of these vocal seniors entered the Farms Public Dwellings as veterans, children of veterans, or workers of the ever-expanding military industrial complex. These long-term residents were often accommodators and witnesses of structural violence.

Long-term residents with strong social ties were the most complex of all the permutations. Many of these residents boasted of their two to three decades of living in the Farms Public Dwellings community, taking pride in their residential stability. However, this boast was met with scorn by many DCHA officials, who saw them as exploiters of the government's goodwill and resources. These residents had raised as many as three generations of family members in the community, with many of their children now occupying housing units separate from theirs. The breadth and depth of these residents' lives creates a very rich and expansive network of resources. Long-term residents are spread across all dispositional response categories, but with a greater presence in the categories of innovators and retreaters. These residents are both witnesses and TSOs.

Short-term residents with weak-to-no social ties were the community members most vulnerable to local violence. These residents were targeted by long-term residents as interlopers because they benefited from ten- to twenty-thousand-dollar housing unit rehabs and/or they were thought to be relocated from rival communities. These effects increased their disposition to be accommodators, although some became rebels. These residents were extremely pliant to the will

of the DCHA, as they hoped for increased protection and resources as well as preferential standing to be relocated to off-site and new housing. This in fact worked in the short-term and weak-to-no social ties residents' favor. However, it amplified the tensions, because not only were they recipients of fully rehabbed units, they were some of the first to be rewarded with relocation to new off-site housing.

Short-term residents with strong social ties enjoyed good relations with the extant community, as many of these new households' members had grown up in the Farms neighborhood, were distant relatives of long-term residents, or had established significant ties through other means. I had limited encounters with residents of this classification and as such they represent a key area of future research. However, the few such persons I did observe seemed to shift between witness and TSO status, and they also ran the gamut of dispositional responses.

With all the residential permutations and categories, I observed the difficulty for internal community rebels and external community activists, including myself, to mobilize residents toward a collective stand. Isolated and confined to a deteriorating community east of the Anacostia River, this research began with the assumption that the NCI's proposed urban redevelopment would excite Farms residents into collective resistance. However, evidence suggests that one effect of the elites' continued application of structural violence over time is the fracturing of the Farms Public Dwellings community. In Damien Thompson's dissertation research on gentrification and displacement in the District of Columbia's Columbia Heights neighborhood, he described the imminent threat of gentrification as a significant factor that excited the impacted residents into collective action. Thompson (2007) referred to these harmed but unified residents as a community of fate. He describes how gentrification's threat to do away with a local Boys and Girls Club—a unifying and anchoring social institution—was the key

impetus to cause residents to collect themselves and resist. However, the continued impact of structural violence on the Farms Public Dwellings community, with its residents in flux, its many residential permutations, the variable impacts of structural violence, and its four dispositional responses, altogether complicates the possibility of collective action.

Implications for Theory and Methodology

Due to the dominance of capital accumulation discourses surrounding public housing redevelopment and displacement, the ideological drives that precede the accumulation of wealth and the elite's motivation to reformulate the Farms Public Dwellings' urban space are lost. Social science has lent generous energy to the theory of economic structuralism intended to elucidate urban reformulations, and for obvious reasons. Billions of dollars flow through and from urban redevelopment. David Harvey (2006, 2010), a forceful writer in this line of reasoning, instructively notes that urban space reflects capitalism's inherent need to annihilate any space beyond its purview for its own reproduction and expansion. However, this dissertation draws on the work of social scientists who recognize the influence of cultural ideas. For example, Max Weber (2002), a foundational figure in social science, demonstrated in his writings on Protestant values and capitalism that ideology can be just as forceful a motivator as capital itself. This dissertation research found that while capital accumulation is a key consideration in the Farms Public Dwellings NCI program, it operates in tandem with a sociocultural interest that first dehumanized and devalued the Farms Public Dwellings community, people, and place through public policies and practices. Only then, with evidence of manufactured pathology, did the local District of Columbia government articulate the desire to bring the area into the expanse of WSC privileged space. This articulation is used as a justification for intervention and, in the case of the Farms Public Dwellings community, the

intervention of the NCI that will allow the District of Columbia's elite to refashion the Farms Public Dwellings community in its interest. The results represent a process that is not just linear but rather cyclical, where structural violence is used to repeatedly produce the area's people and place over time as antithetical others who contrast with Western society's dominant group and require intervention by them. Importantly, what is often argued to be an expansion of capitalist privilege space, through this dissertation, I demonstrate the NCI to be part of a larger, cyclical, ritualistic process to which the dominant WSC reify their status quo over that of the NWIO/TTDO.

Limitations, Future Lines of Research, and Recommendations

This dissertation demonstrates the need to pursue research in other related and understudied areas concerning the impact of structural violence on the lived experiences of public housing residents. First, there is the continued need to examine the lived experiences of other public housing residents undergoing similar displacement-inducing urban redevelopment programs. Specific to my research site, I experienced very limited access to short-term residents with strong social ties and queer and transgendered African American residents. The latter group was empirically present but so threatened and vulnerable in the public space that they were ethnographically unreachable. Likewise, there is a scarcity of literature on queer and transgendered public housing residents, particularly those in sites undergoing displacement.

Second, it is important to understand how and where residents re-establish themselves in postrelocation sites. For example, what actions do residents take to restore their social capital and social networks? How do residents preserve their cultural heritage and negotiate their place-attachment to their former community? How do they go about building their new community?

How do they grapple with potential community rivalries and/or negotiate new communities on their terms? Third, it is important to document the custodial work of both DCHA and District of Columbia government professionals toward the residents. DCHA's human capital services responsibility to all previous relocated residents was unclear at best. From a social justice standpoint, it would be appropriate to account for this responsibility to the Farms Public Dwelling residents after the site's redevelopment. Likewise, it is important to examine the role and advocacy work of internal and external activists. Finally, there is a need to pursue better understanding of the various uses of structural violence in service of the sociospatial binary, whether in public housing, education, policing, governance, or other realms, particularly as the once racial and now sociospatial binary has been proven to be protean in nature.

Making the cries of the Farms Public Dwellings community legible I hope has been achieved here. However, much more must be done to improve the situation of the Farms Public Dwellings community residents who suffer structural violence, beyond more research. So, I make the following recommendations toward that improvement. First, the District of Columbia's federal and local governments must carry out a project of detoxification of the total environment. By total environment, I mean there must be a comprehensive plan, first, to treat the natural environment's toxicity and environmental pollution to which Farms Public Dwellings residents are continually exposed. The remediation of the natural environment must include remediation, too, of exposed residents. Second, there must be a plan to detoxify the built environment, which means that the community must be demolished and then rebuilt. My attempts to ascertain information on lead and asbestos contamination in the Farms Public Dwellings were ignored by DCHA. However, it is strongly believed that these substances may be present, and that their presence explains the high incidence of cancer and cognitive developmental issues in the

community. This second recommendation, which requires some form of relocation of residents to off-site housing, runs counter to the rebels' desire to have the Farms community redeveloped in situ. Ostensibly, this recommendation will also add to the community's fears of displacement. Yet if residents are full and active participants in a planning process in which their right to return is honored, it can be done in a way that allays the residents' fears. I found so much disrepair and evidence of infrastructural decay that it would be criminal to leave the residents and community as is.

The third recommendation regarding detoxification includes the District of Columbia government's need to remedy the social environment. By detoxifying the social environment, I mean that the local government must affirm the residents' humanity and citizenship and take responsibility for constructing Farms Public Dwellings residents as pathological through discourse and the manufacture of their built community as an AAUG. To do so, the local government, at the very least, must expose the ways in which it has facilitated the social forces of racism, classism, and cultural elitism to shape the social and spatial layout of the capital city. A related point, then, is that the government must desist in its practice of re-branding the Farms' area according to the taste and interest of the WSC group.

By clarifying the humanity of the Farms residents, I also mean the local government needs to invest in an awareness campaign that debunks the myth-saturated social world that characterizes Farms residents as culturally and utterly pathological. What has emerged from the discourse that accompanies the maintenance of the sociospatial binary has produced a dystopian gaze where public housing residents, including the Farms Public Dwellings community, are seen as a perpetual threat to the dominant WSC group. This dystopian gaze causes societal members to reshuffle and manufacture evidence to support their punitive and isolating treatment of the

NWIOs/TTDOs. Moreover, the dystopian gaze, once established, causes its afflicted to see the death and truncation of African American life as nothing extraordinary and “Malthusianistically” appropriate.

This third recommendation can be achieved, in part, by the adoption of the residents’ historical preservation proposal that aims to showcase the many talents and achievements of the community over time (Appendix F) as well as the impact of structural violence. The adoption and incorporation of this proposal should be included in the NCI redevelopment plan and receive the full marketing support of the local government.

I believe that if full measures are taken to detoxify the environment of the Farms Public Dwellings community, then the goal of restoring the impacted residents to the newly developed community will be met. While the steps I recommend above are not comprehensive, they are crucial components of the most important thing to do, which is to erase the stigma and dismantle the sociospatial binary. The District of Columbia’s government deconcentration and displacement of residents from their community does not demonstrate that the government sees value in the residents’ human capital; rather it affirms the stigma against them. The Farms Public Dwellings community residents should be restored immediately in exact one-for-one replacements. To this end, the local District of Columbia government should enter into agreement with the residents on the terms of their community benefits agreement (Appendix D).

Finally, over the course of my research, I observed international universities and US-based colleges and universities send their faculty, researchers, and students into the Farms Public Dwellings community to conduct research and make observations that would certainly build the social capital of these people and their institutions. As a final recommendation, the local District

of Columbia universities should offer tuition-free degree programs to community-designated leaders.

In the current transformative moment, the District of Columbia government, under greater and local African American leadership, strategically utilizes postracial discourses to deemphasize the salience of race and racism, and simultaneously ascribes myths of cultural pathology to public housing residents such as those in the Farms community. I attended no less than 120 meetings over the course of my five years of research in the Farms Public Dwellings. These meetings, with the exception of activist-based and resident council meetings, were very formulaic. Less than ten percent of the meetings' content was set aside for discussion of the NCI development and relocation plans. About ninety percent was allocated for discussion of antipoverty programs, community crime strategies, and status updates on resident participation or the lack thereof. Residents were consistently painted as the problem in need of intervention. The residents, on the other hand, and particularly the accommodators, including short-term residents with weak-to-no social ties and some long-term residents of both social-tie types, would inevitably seek clarity on the relocation strategy and off-site housing, and guidance on the best way to harness their social capital for the relocation. Yet the charged ideology of cultural pathology diverted attention away from policies and practices that indeed harmed the NWIO/TTDO and locked them into the AAUG to begin with. Through this dissertation research, I found that many residents, such as the retreaters, rebels, and innovators, are aware of these disparaging narratives, and it is mostly these residents who tied the reduction in their quality of life issues to White racism.

The idea of racism was startling, given that the District of Columbia government, NCI, and DCHA professionals were almost entirely African American. To be certain, the racial

composition of these professional groups was intentional to give no hint of racism and, even more, to distract the residents from charges of White supremacy. While racism was a reasonable charge given some of the residents' experiences and the racial landscape of the District of Columbia, I would argue that it is a narrow understanding of White supremacy and how intraracial tension is utilized toward its preservation. Many of the long-term residents assumed that the community's history dating back to slavery was enough to encourage all African Americans to engage in racial unity. I conclude that this reading of history disarmed the residents in the face of the obvious fact that the advocates of their displacement were also African Americans of middle-class socioeconomic status.

This dissertation demonstrates the complexity of detecting the perpetrators of structural violence, as these individuals are heavily resourced and can veil themselves with time and bureaucracy. Yet the fact that the African American middle class features so visibly in the elites' use of structural violence is due to the fact that they too are excluded from dominant society and so they operate from within the AAUG. In fact, they operate to convert the AAUG to their cosmopolitan space. In the course of this dissertation research, I found African American middle-class residents living near the Farms community increasingly growing in number and vocally active as principal advocates for the demolition of the Farms Public Dwellings, displacement of its poor, and redevelopment of its site as a mixed-income and mixed-use community. Moreover, African Americans of middle-class status are predominant in the local government and serve as low-level, on-the-ground functionaries in the NCI program.

Closing

At the end of this research, but certainly not the end of the Farms Public Dwellings community residents' struggles, I no longer find myself wanting to scream. Rather, I want to act

in concert with Farms residents against the efforts of the professionals who continue to gather at the community's monthly NCI planning meetings to persuade the residents of the program's proper prescriptions; to justify its delays and shortcomings as typical of redevelopment projects of its scale; to secure the residents' continued support for its further implementation; to deny their claims of a legitimate and local cultural heritage while simultaneously discouraging their historical preservation efforts; to reject the residents' attempts at negotiating a community benefits agreement that would ensure their one hundred percent return to similarly sized units; to obscure the questionable spikes in mass evictions; and finally, to paint the residents as culturally pathological, such as the phantasmal welfare queen. Rather, it is through the time spent, observations made, and friendships established that I am able to fully decipher the message contained within the residents' whimpering screams. That message, as I interpret it, is a hue and cry for expert practitioners to join them in exposing the obscured agents of structural violence, their policies and practices, and the social structure they serve. By doing so, this dissertation is an example of one way that anthropology can meaningfully contribute to marginalized communities of color and inform residents' agentic strategies to free themselves from the albatross of structural violence and its sociospatial binary.

Consistent with the last two stanzas of Terrence Trent D'Arby's song *Not As Yet Untitled*, which appear in this chapter's opening epigraph, this dissertation's auxiliary aim was to clarify and bring into view the actual hidden forces that create and sustain the Farms Public Dwellings community as a mortuary site that claims far too many African American lives. A person who covers this song, such as Jelissa Bryant did in my class, in essence promises to commit to a spirited fight against any sociospatial form of the AAUG that literally serves as a place of obsolescence and purgatory.

APPENDIX A

FOCUS GROUP INFORMED CONSENT FORM

SE WASHINGTON, DC

The goal of this research study is to identify how Barry's Farm Public Housing complex residents' conceive and construct community. Moreover, this preliminary study aims to identify and examine community practices between post 1960's urban renewal policies and the current urban renewal policies of HOPE VI and New Community Initiative (NCI). As a legal resident of Barry's Farm Public Housing complex, you are being asked to participate in a two-hour focus group session with American University's graduate student and Principal Investigator, **Kalfani N. Ture**. For any questions, you may contact Kalfani Ture at (301) 256 5280, or you may contact Ture's research advisors, Dr. Sabiyha Prince and Dr. Brett Williams at (202) 885-1839, 1836 respectively.

The benefits of your participation in the interview is to provide you an opportunity to discuss the specific challenges and successes you and the community have experienced as a residents in Barry's Farm and resulting from urban renewal policies. In addition, this interview will allow you the opportunity to share your evaluation of the community change, past and present, as well as your perception community building strategies.

Your participation in this group discussion is completely voluntary. You will be provided a meal and refreshments during the discussion; however, you are not required to stay during the entire discussion to receive such meal or refreshments. There will be no penalty if you choose not to participate or discontinue your participation at any time. The discussion that will take place today will be tape-recorded and by signing this form you are providing consent for your comments to be recorded.

Risks are minimal for your participation. I would like to record this interview as I can not write as fast as you may share your ideas. By signing this form you are providing consent for your comments to be recorded. The information and tapes collected today will be securely stored in my home office until they are fully transcribed into electronic documents. Immediately after transcription, the audio tapes will be destroyed and the electronic transcribed copies will be secured on my home office computer with sufficient firewall protection. In addition, your name and any name of identifiable person will be replaced with a fake name in order to ensure full confidentiality to the extent of the law. By maintaining this level of confidentiality, I intend to avoid some risks.

If you have any questions about your rights as a person, who is taking part in this research study, you may contact the Anthropology Representative and member of the Office of Sponsored Programs, Dr. David Vine at the American University at (202) 885-2923.

Your Consent – by signing this form I agree that:

- I have fully read or have had read and explained to me this informed consent form describing the research project.
- I have had the opportunity to question the principal investigator, Kalfani Ture', who is in charge of this research and have received satisfactory answers.
- I understand that I am being asked to participate in this research study. I understand the minimal risks and benefits, and I freely give my consent to participate in the research project outlined in this form, under the conditions indicated in it.
- I have been given a signed copy of this informed consent form, which is mine to keep.

Printed Name of Participant

Date

Signature of Participant

Investigator Statement

I have carefully explained to the co-research participant the nature of the above research study. I hereby certify that to the best of my knowledge the co-research participant signing this consent form understands the nature, demands, minimal risks, and benefits involved in participating in this study.

Printed Name of Investigator

Date

Signature of Investigator

Institutional Approval of Study and Informed Consent

This research project/study and informed consent form were reviewed and approved by the American University Institutional Review Board for the protection of human subjects. This approval is valid until the date provided below. The board may be contacted at (202) 885-3440.

APPENDIX B

IN-PERSON INTERVIEW INFORMED CONSENT FORM

SE WASHINGTON, DC

The goal of this research study is to identify how Barry's Farm Public Housing complex residents' conceive and construct community. Moreover, this preliminary study aims to identify and examine community practices between post 1960's urban renewal policies and the current urban renewal policies of HOPE VI and New Community Initiative (NCI). As a legal resident of Barry's Farm Public Housing complex, you are being asked to participate in a one-hour interview with American University's graduate student and Principal Investigator, **Kalfani N. Ture**. For any questions, you may contact Kalfani Ture at (301) 256 5280, or you may contact Ture's research advisors, Dr. Sabiyha Prince and Dr. Brett Williams at (202) 885-1839, 1836 respectively.

The benefits of your participation in the interview is to provide you an opportunity to discuss the specific challenges and successes you and the community have experienced as a residents in Barry's Farm and resulting from urban renewal policies. In addition, this interview will allow you the opportunity to share your evaluation of the community change, past and present, as well as your perception community building strategies.

Your participation in this interview is completely voluntary. If you choose not to participate or withdraw your participation at any point in the interview, there will be no penalty. There is a \$25.00 stipend available for your participation in this interview to which each ½ of the stipend will be earned through the full completion of 30 minute intervals. However, each interview payment will not exceed \$25.00, so participation that exceeds an hour will be totally voluntary. Your participation today will require approximately one hour of your time.

Risks are minimal for your participation. I would like to record this interview as I can not write as fast as you may share your ideas. By signing this form you are providing consent for your comments to be recorded. The information and tapes collected today will be securely stored in my home office until they are fully transcribed into electronic documents. Immediately after transcription, the audio tapes will be destroyed and the electronic transcribed copies will be secured on my home office computer with sufficient firewall protection. In addition, your name and any name of identifiable person will be replaced with a fake name in order to ensure full confidentiality to the extent of the law. By maintaining this level of confidentiality, I intend to avoid some risks.

If you agree to participate today, the information you provide may be used in technical and conference reports and/or contribute to a manuscript, which will propose local ideas to urban renewal policy approaches.

If you have any questions about your rights as a person, who is taking part in this research study, you may contact the Anthropology Representative and member of the Office of Sponsored Programs, Dr. David Vine at the American University at (202) 885-2923.

Your Consent – by signing this form I agree that:

- I have fully read or have had read and explained to me this informed consent form describing the research project.
- I have had the opportunity to question the principal investigator, Kalfani Ture', who is in charge of this research and have received satisfactory answers.
- I understand that I am being asked to participate in this research study. I understand the minimal risks and benefits, and I freely give my consent to participate in the research project outlined in this form, under the conditions indicated in it.
- I have been given a signed copy of this informed consent form, which is mine to keep.

Printed Name of Participant

Date

Signature of Participant

Investigator Statement

I have carefully explained to the research participant the nature of the above research study. I hereby certify that to the best of my knowledge the research participant signing this consent form understands the nature, demands, minimal risks, and benefits involved in participating in this study.

Printed Name of Investigator

Date

Signature of Investigator

Institutional Approval of Study and Informed Consent

This research project/study and informed consent form were reviewed and approved by the American University Institutional Review Board for the protection of human subjects. This approval is valid until the date provided below. The board may be contacted at (202) 885-3440.

APPENDIX C

PRISE GENTRIFICATION AND DISPLACEMENT

DISCUSSION FORUM FLYERS

REDEVELOPMENT = GENTRIFICATION ? THE LESSONS LEARNED

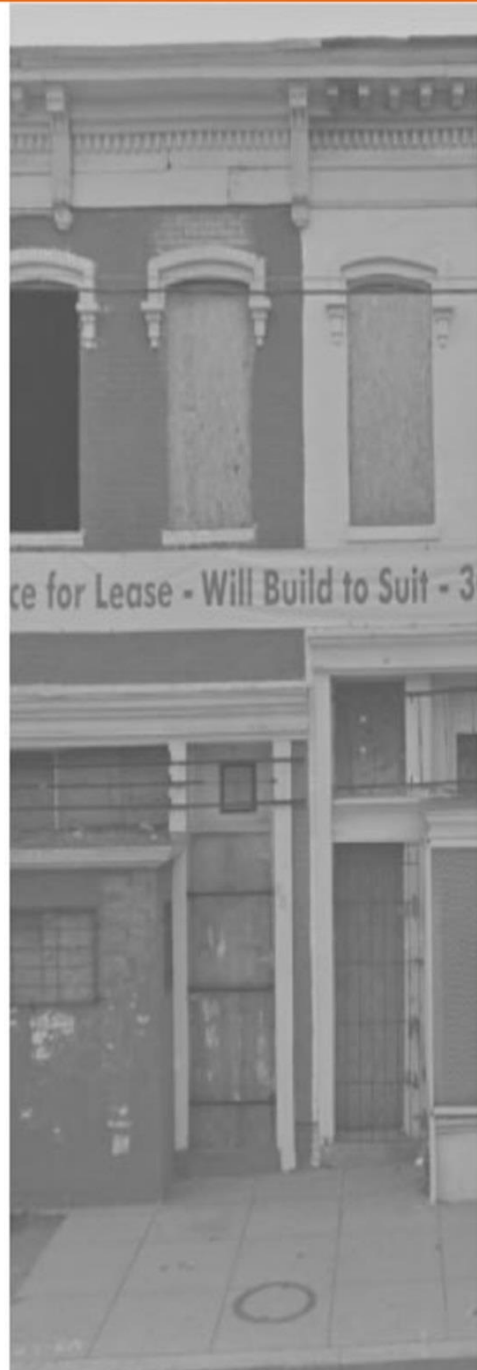
First-hand accounts of the positive and negative impacts of redevelopment in the District

THURSDAY JANUARY 31, 2013 @ 7 PM

**DHCD Community Room
1800 MLK Ave., SE**

INVITED PANELISTS :

Tom Sherwood, NBC 4
Rev. Vincent Powell Harris, St. George's Episcopal Church
Harriet Tregoning, Office of Planning
Teri Janine Quinn, Bloomingdale Resident
Marqui Lyons, H St Resident
Clinton Yates, Washington Post
Adele Robey, H St Playhouse
Parisa Norouzi, Empower DC



REDEVELOPMENT = GENTRIFICATION ? Part 2

THE LESSONS LEARNED

What does it take to have a **vibrant retail corridor**?
How can our community participate?

WEDNESDAY APRIL 17, 2013 @ 7 PM

**The Birney School
2501 MLK Ave SE**

INVITED PANELISTS :

Heather Arnold - Streetsense.

Keith Sellers - Washington DC Economic Partnership

Jair Lynch - Jair Lynch Development Partners

Andre Byers - H St Business Grant Program

Anwar Saleem- H Street Main Street, Inc

Refreshments will be served

RSVP: info@reeldc.org



co-sponsors:



DEMYSTIFYING DEVELOPMENT

An evening chat about development, how it works,
and how to make it work for your community

TUESDAY AUGUST 27, 2013 @ 7 PM

Department of Employment Services

4058 Minnesota Ave. NE

(Orange Line: Minnesota Ave Metro Stop)

MODERATOR:

Aaron Wiener - Washington City Paper

INVITED PANELISTS :

Harriet Tregoning - Director Office of Planning

Catherine Buell - Exec Director St Elizabeths East Campus

Mustafa Abdul Salaam - Ward 8 Workforce Development Council

Stan Voudrie - Four Points

Michael Stevens - Capitol Riverfront BID

Ron Harris - DC Community Organizer



REDEVELOPMENT = **Pt 3** GENTRIFICATION?

Is **AFFORDABLE HOUSING** Really Needed?
An interactive roundtable conversation about affordable housing and its impact on the District

MONDAY OCTOBER 28, 2013 @ 7 PM

Anacostia Neighborhood Library

1800 Good Hope Road SE, Washington, DC 20020

(in the Ora Glover Community Room)

MODERATOR:

Valarie Schneider, Howard Law Center Fair Housing Legal Clinic

INVITED PANELISTS :

Michael Kelly - Dept of Housing & Community Development

Angie Rodgers - Peoples Consulting, LLC

George Rothman - MannaDC



APPENDIX D

BARRY FARM DEVELOPMENT: THROUGH NEW COMMUNITIES

INITIATIVE & NEIGHBORHOOD CHOICE PLANNING

GRANTS COMMUNITY BENEFITS AGREEMENT

Re-drafted 10/24/2012 by the Barry Farm New Communities Advisory Board

PURPOSE

The purpose of the Community Benefits Agreement (CBA) is to address the development scheduled for the Barry Farm community and to ensure full participation of its impacted residents. Moreover, this CBA is purposed to provide a concerted and coordinated effort between the chosen developer, District of Columbia government, District of Columbia Housing Authority (DCHA), Deputy Mayor's office of Planning and Economic Development (DMPED) and the Barry Farm Community to maximize the benefits to those directly impacted by the proposed development.

With this CBA, DCHA, DMPED, the chosen Developer along with consultation from the Barry Farm New Community Advisory Board (BFNCAB) will generate quality jobs for Barry Farm Public Dwellings residents (BFPDR); will create and maintain affordable housing for BFPDR and residents in the surrounding communities; will provide for environmentally-sensitive construction and design; will create economic development opportunities for residents of the impacted communities; will enhance employment opportunities and job training targeted to BFPDR in need of employment; will contribute toward youth, arts and cultural services in the immediate and surrounding communities; will provide funding for the Barry Farm/Hillsdale Preservation Project (BFHPP); will provide and/or ensure uninterrupted Case Management provisions to BFPDR beginning today and continue for five years beyond the completion of the Barry Farm development project; and will provide for the study of economic impacts of development on the surrounding communities.

Below you will find further explication of Agreement terms the BFNCAB and Barry Farm Resident Council's executive board along with full support of the BFPDR will actively pursue from DCHA, DMPED and the chosen developer of the Barry Farm community:

DEFINITIONS

As used in this Agreement, the following capitalized terms shall have the following meanings. All definitions include both the singular and plural form.

"BFNCAB" shall mean an assembled association of resident leaders and community members, who will advise DCHA, DMPED and the chosen Developer around the development process and its impact on the BFPDR: this community will advocate for policies, practices and outcomes that interests BFPDR and the broader impacted community. Members of the BFNCAB will be represented as signatures to this Agreement. The advisory board members are referred to individually by the committees to which each member chairs; however are recognized here

collectively here as the BFNCAB. Obligations of the advisory board members shall be to the associated organizations and residential community, meaning BFNCAB and BFPDR.

“Agencies” shall mean the District of Columbia Housing Authority, the Office of New Communities of the City of Washington, D.C., Deputy Mayor of Planning and Economic Development and any other District governmental authorities with rights for the selection of the Barry Farm community Developer, the approval of financing, design, construction, management and human capital providers related to the Development of the Barry Farm community.

“CBA” shall mean the agreed terms of development between the BFNCAB, District of Columbia Agencies and the chosen Developer. “Agreement” here in shall mean this Community Benefits Agreement, including any and all listed attachments.

“DCHA” shall mean the District of Columbia Housing Authority.

“Developer” shall mean both private contractors responsible for demolition, design and development of the Barry Farm community.

“Development” shall mean the mixed-use community to be constructed on the Barry Farm Public Dwellings and the Wade Road Apartment Site, consisting of residential, office, and retail uses, as developed and constructed in accordance with the Master Plan.

“District” shall mean Washington, DC Government including all Agencies involved in the Barry Farm development project unless otherwise noted.

“Neighboring Community” shall mean the area bounded by St. Elizabeth’s West Campus northern wall, Suitland Parkway on the north, Martin Luther King, Jr. Avenue on the east, and Firth Sterling Road on the west.

“OPA” shall mean that certain Owner Participation Agreement by and between Developer and the Agencies regarding the Development.

“Project Approvals” shall mean (1) approval by the Agencies of the Master Plan and the OPA for the Development; (2) approval by DMPED and the Agencies (if applicable), of Development Permits for the Development and all plans, drawings and other items submitted in connection therewith, at the Planning Board level; and (3) any other government approvals or permits requested by Developer for construction, development, and operation of the Development, including without limitation, issuance by the District of building permits to implement the Development, (4) BFNCAB, and (5) Barry Farm Resident Council.

“Site” shall mean the Barry Farm community as define above in Neighborhood Community.

“Service Contract” shall mean any company or individual that is contracted with the chosen Developer or General Contractor, DCHA and/or DMPED to provide a service at Site.

NEW COMMUNITY INITIATIVE & NEIGHBORHOOD CHOICE PLANNING

All current and recently relocated residents will have the right to return to the new development without exception; moreover, a “one for one” replacement of units means the District, DCHA, DMPED and the chosen developer will provide a new unit to the impacted residents that match the actual bedroom size of their previous bedroom size housing unit in the community. Barry Farms residents are expected to return to the site after redevelopment at 100% rate.

DCHA, DMPED & the chosen Developer will ensure uninterrupted case management provisions beginning the date of this agreement and continue through for at least five years beyond the completion of the Barry Farm development project.

All returning residents will have the right to assemble and advocate for community matters to include all matters that impact the social, natural and physical environment of the Barry Farm community.

DCHA, DMPED & the Developer shall hold monthly meetings with the BFPDR and bi-monthly BFNCAB to review progress, and to receive input on proposed land uses, site layout, traffic circulation patterns, employment and training requests, Case Management updates, historical preservation, the exterior appearance of units, crime, and any other relative matters determined by the BFNCAB and BFPDR.

DCHA, DMPED & the chosen Developer will ensure transparency and communication regarding the funding of the redevelopment, and the full inclusion of BFPDR through its selected leadership frequently throughout each phase of the development planning, design and implementation.

DCHA, DMPED & the chosen Developer will provide immediate and continuous communication around the development process and appoint a clear point of contact to relay information to the community. In addition, all scheduled communications will be varied overtime to ensure all residents have an opportunity to participate in community evaluation meetings, updates and notifications, as well as an opportunity to register their complaints and concerns.

DCHA, DMPED & the chosen Developer will allocate one full acre lot to establish a community garden, as well as the funding to a community based service provider to train BFPDR on the community’s traditional practice of agricultural/economic development.

DCHA, DMPED and the chosen Developer will consult DC Parks and Recreation to ensure the construction and or implementation of a community Wellness Center that will provide child care, youth and senior programs.

DCHA, DMPED & the chosen Developer will institute a formal process for the Barry Farm Resident Council’s executive board, BFNCAB and BFPDR to participate in the development of conceptual designs for the Barry Farm community development. As part of the community design, DCHA, DMPED & the chosen developer will submit a plan to establish and maintain

green space and tree-lined streetscape, adequate walking trails, biking pathways and the presence of children's play areas.

DCHA will discontinue and/or de-escalate the aggressive eviction process in Barry Farm community and allow current case management providers on-site an opportunity to work each targeted household and bring them to good standing according to DCHA regulations.

DCHA and DMPED will discontinue relocating new residents into Barry Farm Public Dwellings, particularly as they are simultaneously relocating existing residents to temporary off-site housing during the development process; Moreover, DCHA and DMPED shall provide BFNCAB and Barry Farm Resident Council's executive board a roster of all new residents moved onto the site since 2007, so that these organizations can begin necessary orientation to the proposed development process.

DCHA, DMPED & the chosen Developer shall ensure that an open and transparent complaint process is available to the impacted residents and broader community.

DCHA, DMPED & the chosen Developer shall provide convenient, handicap accessible space for meetings for general communication with BFPDR and BFNCAB. In addition, the Developer shall work with members of BFNCAB and current Case Management to identify supportive services and other needs for the BFPDR, as well as, identify potential funding sources, and assist in the preparation of applications for funding.

In particular, DCHA, DMPED and the chosen Developer shall ensure comprehensive mental health counseling in a convenient, handicap accessible space for the BFPDR.

DCHA, DMPED & the chosen Developer shall endeavor to allow BFPDR access to all supportive service, recreational and other facilities constructed within the Site and for the benefit of the development site.

To assist with the implementation of this Agreement, DCHA, DMPED, District and the chosen Developer shall meet with BFNCAB and BFPDR in a good faith, reasonable effort to develop strategies for implementation of the policies and programs set forth in this Agreement. At such meetings, BFNCAB, District or the chosen Developer may raise issues related to implementation of this Agreement, in an effort to facilitate open dialogue, resolve implementation challenges, and advance the goals of both BFNCAB and the Developer regarding this Development. All parties shall ensure that representatives attending and corresponding between all parties listed here are proper mediums for communication and with appropriated representatives for issues to be discussed and those representatives should possess relevant technical and policy expertise. Prior to requesting governmental approvals of design of buildings or components of the Development, Developer shall provide such designs to BFNCAB at the scheduled bi-monthly meeting, to facilitate BFNCAB's ability to make suggestions to Developer and/or at public hearings regarding such designs. Responsibility to participate in both monthly and bi-monthly meetings shall run only against entities that have current responsibilities under this Agreement or contracts referencing it. In light of Developer's commitments set forth in this Agreement, BFNCAB strongly supports the Development.

Therefore, BFNCAB will take the following supportive efforts towards all who actively participate in this Agreement. The BFNCAB shall send a letter in unqualified support of the Developer to the appropriate Agency prior to the consideration of selection of a developer for the Development. Thereafter, if requested by Developer during the term of this Agreement, the BFNCAB shall send a letter in support of related Project Approvals to the City Council and any other governmental entity specified by Developer. In addition, the BFNCAB shall work with the Developer to prepare a collaborative media strategy regarding shared support for the Development.

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

DCHA, DMPED & the chosen Developer will provide training and ensure that employment opportunities are available to BFPDR for ALL jobs related to the development project of the Barry Farm community, as well as adherence to the “First Source – Section 3 labor standards. Moreover, DCHA & DMPED will hold the developer, contractors, service providers and subcontractors responsible to pay wages consistent with Davis Bacon Wage rates or other wage rates required under local and federal law to BFPDR for all services related to the development and construction of the Development.

DCHA & DMPED shall ensure the chosen Developer meet all applicable laws, regulations and policies related to the employment of local, low income persons and providing opportunities to businesses owned by local, low income persons or that employ local, low income persons pursuant to the Section 3 Program. The Developer and BFNCAB shall take steps to promote employment opportunities to impacted and targeted resident applicants by employers within the Project. Targeted Resident Applicants are Low-Income BFPDR including BFPDR, who are participants in a Rehabilitated Ex-Offender Job Training Program. DCHA & DMPED shall take additional steps to ensure that BFPDR ex-offenders are provided training through local service providers and at the conclusion of such training, employment in the Barry Farm redevelopment site.

DCHA & DMPED shall exercise diligent, best efforts to cause Employers to comply with the First Source Hiring Program.

DCHA, DMPED and the chosen developer shall provide sufficient resources to Barry Farm community service providers, who are identified and selected by BFNCAB and the Barry Farm Resident Council executive board to develop mentoring program, investment group seminars and entrepreneurial training workshops to BFPDR. The training program should be funded and designed with real employment opportunities guaranteed at the end of the provided training. Moreover, DCHA, DMPED along with the BFNCAB will evaluate these programs bi-annually to ensure that their services are evidence based target goals are achieved.

DCHA, DMPED shall partner with local universities to establish collegiate level opportunities that lead to matriculation in a local area college/university.

DCHA & DMPED shall ensure the chosen Developer provide an easily accessible First Source Job Referral System with the input of BFNCAB, the chosen Developer will design and implement the system, as well as provide updates at the general monthly meetings. Additionally,

DCHA, DMPED & the chosen Developer shall ensure that all Service Providers, Contractors and Subcontractors comply with all applicable federal and local labor laws.

An entity will not be selected as a Service Contractor and an existing Service Contractor's rights to operate shall be terminated if the Service Contractor has committed intentional violations of any labor law, as determined in a final order or decision of an agency or court of competent jurisdiction, and an entity will not be selected or its rights to operate may be terminated prior to such final order or decision if the Developer is presented with reasonable evidence that demonstrates, in the sole discretion of the Developer, that the Service Contractor has committed violations of labor law that are both intentional and serious.

DCHA, DMPED & the chosen Developer shall endeavor to have no less than 25 percent of project jobs are given to BFPDR and no less than 40 percent of all related development jobs given to Ward 8 residents.

The DCHA and DMPED will ensure that minority business, contractors and subcontractor receives due consideration for contracts in Barry Farm development. How Minority participation as developer, contractor, subcontractor and general laborers will occur should be laid out in a Site Action Plan and pursued with great fervor in the development. Said Action Plans shall be reviewed by the BFNCAB, prior to the final selection of all contractors before the development of each phase. In accordance with current DCHA policies, it is anticipated that the Action Plans will commit to at least 40 percent of new hires to Section 3 workers.

DCHA, DMPED & the chosen Developer will employ at least two interns in paid positions throughout the course of the redevelopment program. Current and former BFPDR will have first preference in the granting of these Internships. Residents of the Neighboring Community will have second preference.

Community Case management agency(s) and other Barry Public Dwellings service providers shall be funded with \$100,000 to develop and train BFPDR in comprehensive occupational skills training course whereby all graduates of these approved occupational skills training programs will have first preference for employment on the development site as positions matching their skills become available.

DCHA, DMPED & the chosen Developer will ensure that all training programs and internships are funded in the amount of \$100,000. DCHA, DMPED and chosen DCHA, will offer employment directly or through its contractors or subcontractors to successful graduates of occupational skills training programs approved by BFNCAB and community Service Providers.

DCHA, DMPED and the chosen Developer will provide technical assistance for Barry Farm residents to launch new businesses relevant to the Barry Farm commercial development. The technical assistance should target both, pre and post construction activities.

HISTORICAL PRESERVATION

DCHA, DMPED & the chosen developer must provide funding in the amount of \$250,000 to the Barry Farm/Hillsdale Preservation Project coordinators for the development of the Barry Farm/Hillsdale (1) Heritage Project that includes funding for archival data collection, development of a walking tour, creation of an educational series and curriculum, provide means for public exhibits; (2) provide signage that acknowledges African Americans from Barry Farms/Hillsdale cultural contributions to the nation's capital; and (3) designate new community buildings and structures in honor of past and present leadership.

DCHA, DMPED & the developers will rename the community street names from current congressional representatives to African American ex-slave and contemporary s/heroes, such as Harriet Tubman, Frederick Douglas, Dorothy Ferrell, Solomon G. Brown, Junk Yard Band, George Goodman and Marion Barry

ENVIRONMENTAL SAFETY AND REMEDIATION

DCHA, DMPED & the chosen developer will ensure that the development is conducted in an environmentally safe manner according to the Environmental Protection Agency standards. In addition, the Developer shall comply with all applicable local and federal laws in regard to the remediation of hazardous substances.

DCHA, DMPED & the chosen Developer will notify the BFNCAB and BFPDR of all hazardous contents found on the site and prepare past and current residents for immediate and comprehensive remediation. For this purpose, DCHA and DMPED will develop and maintain a rigorous tracking system to notify BFPDR. Access to this tracking system will be provided to current Case Managers, BFNCAB and Barry Farm Resident Council's executive board.

DCHA, DMPED & the chosen Developer shall perform soil analysis to determine what pollutants, if at all, may have contaminated area ground water and the general environment. Create a protocol that includes remediation for current and past residents impacted and maintain open communication regarding all environmental concerns with the BFNCAB and the Resident Council's executive board.

DCHA will conduct an evaluation of the Barry Farm Public Dwellings for structural defects and if determined that the current housing units are uninhabitable, DCHA shall immediately provide alternative housing with the assurance that all relocated residents can return to the newly developed Barry Farm community.

DCHA will replace current management of Barry Farm Public Housing, beginning implementation of the relocation process with a temporary site manager responsible for responding to BFPDR's requests for repairs, maintenance and quality of life issues in the community. This appointed site manager shall publish a protocol to registering resident concerns, as well as how those concerns will be resolved in a timely manner.

DCHA, DMPED & the chosen developers will ensure no interruptions in street lighting during the construction process. Moreover, they should provide enhanced lightening throughout the community.

DCHA & DMPED shall ensure the developer takes all reasonable steps to minimize noise and traffic congestion during the demolition and development of the Barry Farm community. They shall also ensure that the developers take all reasonable steps to secure and control access to the site, or the portions thereof, upon which construction is occurring.

DCHA, DMPED & the chosen developer will ensure the use of building materials that matches top industry standards and that all contractors and subcontractors are Green Certified. DCHA and DMPED shall ensure that the chosen Developer shall comply with the Washington DC Green Building Act of 2006 and obtain at least certified status for buildings development within the Development, when Developer deems it financially feasible, under the Leadership in Energy and Environmental Design Green Building Rating System for New Commercial and Major Renovations (LEED-NC) (Version 2.1) In addition, Developer shall investigate the feasibility of constructing a building within the Development that achieves a higher LEED level than the certified level (i.e., silver, gold or platinum level).

PUBLIC SAFETY AND COMMUNITY POLICING

DCHA, DMPED & the chosen Developer shall fund Community Organizations, Service Providers and Case Managers with sufficient funds to work with at-risk youth and to create crime deterrent programs.

DCHA, DMPED will increase the man power and ensure the presence of Metro Police, DC Housing Authority Police and Transit Police develop and maintain a substation in the Barry Farm community. However, this will be done so in a manner that does not increase the criminalization of Barry Farm's residents. In addition, the District is expected to create measures to account for frequent foot, vehicle and bike patrols are carried out by the substation police.

DCHA, DMPED and the chosen Developer will fund the implementation of a local resident led community policing program in the sum of \$50,000.

DCHA, DMPED and the chosen Developer should enlist the local police agencies to enforce truancy and curfews laws of the district.

DCHA and the District should share standard operating procedures for all local police agencies assigned to the development site.

DCHA & DMPED will ensure that all doors (front and rear) are properly secured and reinforced to protect resident assets from burglary.

EMPHASIZED DEMANDS

All current and former residents have right to return to the redevelopment without exception; 1-1 replacement of units.

Clear transparency of Funding in Redevelopment.

Barry Farm Residents are given training and priority for ALL jobs related to Redevelopment of Barry Farm.

Rename Recreation Center in honor of Dorothy Farrell, the late Resident Council President.

Implement a locally developed Barry Farm Heritage Project.

Ensure Development in an Environmental Friendly Manner.
Development of .50 acre community garden.
Rename streets after Black Freedom Fighters instead of White Abolitionists.
Community Wellness Center that will provide childcare as well as wellness programs for seniors.
Funding for Community Organizations working with At-Risk Youth.

SCOPE OF THIS AGREEMENT AND THE BFNCAB SUPPORT

DCHA, DMPED & the chosen developer should maintain this agreement with the BFNCAB and BFPDR and the failure to do so by any party to perform or comply with any term or provision of this Agreement, if not cured, shall constitute a default under this Agreement. In the instance of a breach of this Agreement all parties should have a thirty-day right to cure and if either party believes that the other party is in default of this Agreement, it shall provide written notice to the allegedly defaulting party of the alleged default; and offer to meet and confer in a good-faith effort to resolve the issue. Before or during the thirty-day right-to-cure period described above, the parties may attempt to resolve any alleged default at the regularly scheduled meetings, or in mediation requested by either party. In the event that another party is allegedly in default under this Agreement, the party alleging default may elect, in its sole and absolute discretion, to waive the default or to pursue remedies. Such remedies may be pursued only after exhaustion of the thirty-day right to cure period described above, except where an alleged default may result in irreparable injury, in which case the non-defaulting party may immediately pursue alternative remedies consistent with District of Columbia laws and regulations.

DCHA, DMPED & and the chosen developer will accept this Agreement as mutually binding terms for the development of the Barry Farm community site and upon and inure to the benefit of BFNCAB, BFPDR, and any BFNCAB's Successors, and Successors to any Successors of BFNCAB. This Agreement shall be binding upon and inure to the benefit of Developer, Developer's Successors, and Successors to any Successors of Developer. Developer's Successors include, but are not limited to, any party who obtains an Interest, vertical developers, retail developers, contractors, management companies, and owners' or retail merchants' associations participating in the Project. Upon conveyance of an Interest to an entity, in compliance with this agreement, BFNCAB may enforce the obligations under this Agreement onto the new entity with respect to that Interest only against such entity, and neither Developer nor any owner of a different Interest shall be liable for any breach of such obligations by such entity or its Successors. Except as otherwise indicated in this Section, references in this Agreement to a party shall be deemed to apply to any successor in interest, transferee, assign, agent, representative, of that party.

Should a dispute arise under this document, the parties shall first submit the dispute to mediation before the American Arbitration Association. If the parties are unable to resolve the dispute by mediation, then the parties will submit the dispute to binding arbitration in accordance with the rules of the American Arbitration Association. The forum for mediation or arbitration will be the District of Columbia. The applicable law will be that of the District of Columbia. Parties will initially share the cost of arbitration, but the prevailing party or Parties will be awarded attorney fees, costs and other expenses of arbitration. All Arbitration decisions will be final, binding and

conclusive on all the parties to arbitration, and legal judgment may be entered based upon such decision in accordance with applicable law in any court having jurisdiction to do so.

In addition to any right under the Rules to petition a court for provisional relief, if a party believes that another party is or will be in default of this Agreement in such a manner that may cause irreparable injury, that party shall be entitled to file binding arbitration proceedings to enforce the specific performance of this Agreement by that other party and to enjoin that other party from violation of this Agreement, and to exercise such remedies cumulatively or in conjunction with all other rights and remedies provided by law or by this Agreement.

This Agreement shall become effective on the date of mutual execution of this Agreement and shall terminate five years from such date of project completion.

This Community Benefits Agreement is agreed upon this _____ day of _____, 2012, by and between the parties hereto.

APPENDIX E
COMMITTEE ON ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OVERSIGHT
AND PERFORMANCE HEARING FY13:
DCHA RESPONSE TO PREHEARING
QUESTIONS

HOPE VI Update

DCHA has the demonstrated capacity to manage large-scale redevelopment projects that result in vibrant and sustainable communities. DCHA is the second largest recipient of HOPE VI funding in the country, having received seven HOPE VI grants. DCHA has four completed and occupied projects and three in development. The HOPE VI Program, introduced by HUD in 1992, is designed to provide public housing authorities (PHAs) resources for the physical and social revitalization of failed public housing communities, deemed so severely distressed that treatment under the conventional modernization program would be ineffective. Beyond the obsolescence of the physical structures, typical characteristics of distressed include poor site location or design, high crime rates, and residents with limited educational achievements, low employment rates and income. The properties selected for funding under the HOPE VI Program are those that are so severely distressed that the resources required to repair them far exceed the cost of new development. In short, these are housing complexes that have been deemed to be uninhabitable and for which, without funding from HOPE VI, DCHA would not have the resources to maintain them.

Every HOPE VI plan includes a Community and Supportive Services Program (CSSP) designed to meet the unique needs of the individual community, developed after a comprehensive needs assessment of all families impacted by the redevelopment has been conducted. CSSP plans provide for economic development and self-sufficiency programs, such as job training and placement, GED classes, business development and homeownership opportunities. Additional support services include day care, transportation, violence prevention, after school programs for youth and medical services for elderly residents. Each DCHA HOPE VI project provides homeownership opportunities for low-income families through unit subsidies and mortgage write downs. Residents are encouraged to join the homebuyers program early in the redevelopment process to learn about the responsibilities of being a home owner, address issues related to poor credit and build savings toward a potential purchase.

TOWNHOMES ON CAPITOL HILL (COMPLETED)

Address: 637 Ellen Wilson Place, SE, Washington, DC 20003

Ward: 6

Project Description: Townhomes on Capitol Hill, DCHA's first HOPE VI project, replaced a 134-unit blighted, uninhabitable property that had been vacant and boarded up since 1988. The \$25 million

HOPE VI grant, awarded in 1993, resulted in the construction of 134 townhomes unit sold through a cooperative structure to families in the following income categories:

- 67 families at 50% to 115 % of median income
- 34 families at 25% to 50% of median income
- 33 families at 0% to 24% of median income

In addition, in 2004, 13 lots were developed and sold as fee simple market rate town-homes.

WHEELER CREEK (COMPLETED)

Address: 900 Varney Street, SE, Washington, DC 20032

Ward: 8

Project Description: DCHA was awarded \$20.3 million HOPE VI grant in 1997 to redevelop Valley Green, a largely vacant and uninhabitable 312- unit public housing development, and Skytower, a 91-unit vacant HUD- foreclosed property acquired by DCHA. The HOPE VI funds were leveraged with public and private funds, including public housing funds, low-income housing tax credits and a property disposition grant from FHA, to total approximately \$54 million. The Wheeler Creek of today is a newly constructed 314-unit development consisting of 48 low-income family rental homes and 100 elderly rental apartments, both subsidized by public funds, 32 market-rate rental units, 30 lease/purchase units and 104 homes for purchase. Amenities include a 13,000 square foot community building and a daycare center to support the needs of residents. The public housing and market rate units are intermixed and physically indistinguishable from one another.

HENSON RIDGE (NEARLY COMPLETED)

Address: the intersection of Stanton Road and Alabama Avenue, Washington DC, 20020

Ward: 8

Project Description: DCHA was awarded a \$29.9 million HOPE VI grant in 1999 for the revitalization of Frederick Douglass and Stanton Dwellings, two public housing developments with a combined 650 units, located on parcels across the street from one another, in the heart of Anacostia and Congress Heights, East of the Anacostia River. Built as temporary housing for World War II workers, Frederick Douglass had been deemed uninhabitable in 1998 and left vacant. Stanton Dwellings, with its poor site design and history of neglect, offered substandard housing in a community that ranked among the lowest in the District on economic indicators such as income and homeownership. The \$29.9 million HOPE VI grant was leveraged to provide a total of \$110 million in development funding.

The redevelopment plan calls for the construction of a new 600-unit community with all new public infrastructure (streets, sidewalks and alleys), a new community center, new parks and open spaces as well as significant investment in neighborhood schools, including the building of a new elementary school. The development includes 320 homeownership units targeted to

households with a range of incomes. The 280 rental homes will serve a mix of public housing and moderate-income families. All rental units have been completed and, given the depressed real estate market, there are 28 For Sale units to sell.

CAPITOL GATEWAY (IN DEVELOPMENT)

Address: East Capitol St, SE, at Southern Avenue, Washington, DC 20019

Ward: 7

Project Description: DCHA was awarded a \$30.8 million HOPE VI grant in 2002 for the redevelopment of two public housing developments, East Capitol Dwellings and Capitol View Plaza, and a vacant HUD foreclosed property, Capitol View Plaza II, located on a contiguous boundary of the site, with a combined 1,107 units. The \$30.8 million HOPE VI grant was leveraged with an additional \$130 million in funding and services through commitments of funds from Mayor Anthony Williams, the D.C. Housing Finance Agency, Department of Housing and Community Development and the Department of Employment Services, DCHA non-federal sources, tax exempt bonds, low income housing tax credits, private equity and other substantial private investment.

Once complete, this redeveloped site will include 761 units of beautifully constructed, mixed-income units, including 86 family rental units, 142 family homeownership units, 290 multi-family rental units, and a 93-unit for sale condominium building. Construction was completed on 379 units and all of these units are occupied/sold (151 unit senior building; 142 homeownership units; and 86 affordable rental units).

In 2009, the Capitol View Plaza Senior Building and Capitol View Plaza II were demolished. Plans for the site were put on hold due to the current real estate market, however with the progress of Capitol Gateway Marketplace, DCHA will revisit the plan and financing scenario for the development of the towers.

Capitol Gateway was announced as one of the six District of Columbia sites for a Walmart Store. . The Capitol Gateway Marketplace development will be a commercial/retail center with residential which will provide amenities such as a full service bank, white table cloth restaurant, health and wellness center, day care, and additional retail and services.

ARTHUR CAPPER/CARROLLSBURG (IN DEVELOPMENT)

Address: 812 5th St SE /601 L St SE /1000 - 5th St, SE, Washington, DC 20003

Ward: 6

Project Description: DCHA received a \$34.9 million grant award for the revitalization of Arthur Capper/Carrollsborg in October 2001. The plan for the revitalization of Arthur Capper/Carrollsborg represents one of the most ambitious HOPE VI projects undertaken nationwide. The \$34.9 million grant award has been leveraged to provide a total of over \$424 million for the creation of 1,562 rental and homeownership units, office space, neighborhood retail space and a community center. The housing strategy will replace the demolished units

with 707 public housing units, 525 affordable rental units and 330 market rate homes for purchase, for a total of 1,562 new units.

386 public housing units have been constructed on the site: a 162 unit senior only building was opened in 2008, a 138 unit multifamily rental was opened in 2009, 39 of the 160 town homes in Townhouse Phase I are public housing; and 47 of 163 units in Townhouse Phase II are public housing. DCHA and its development partner expect to secure financing and begin construction on Square 882N which is a 195 unit building with 39 public housing units in 2013.

GLENNCREST (COMPLETED)

Address: 51st & G St SE, Washington, DC 20019

Ward: 7

Project Description: DCHA was awarded a \$20 million HOPE VI Grant for Eastgate in 2004. Prior to HUD-approved demolition, the old Eastgate Gardens was severely distressed and served as a blighting influence on the surrounding neighborhood. Thirty-four buildings of the poorly designed, inappropriately sited, 230-unit Eastgate development were demolished in 1998, and the remaining three buildings were removed in 2002. Many residents suffered in severe poverty and lived in unhealthy, isolated and dense conditions. DCHA leveraged this \$20 million HOPE VI grant to produce \$ 80.6million in total investment.

The key features of the plan include:

- 150 For-Sale units geared toward low and moderate-income families, infusing mixed-income owner occupancy into the neighborhood while alleviating a critical shortage of affordable, quality, For-Sale homes.
- 61 on-site public housing replacement rental units, sufficient to accommodate the former Eastgate residents who have indicated an interest to return to the site.
- 100 (75 ACC; 25 LIHTC) unit senior building, Triangle View that is fully occupied.

To date, 120 of the for-sale units have been sold; and 8 are under contract.

SHERIDAN STATION (IN DEVELOPMENT)

Address: 2516 Sheridan Road, SE Washington, DC 20020

Ward: 8

The Sheridan Terrace public housing site, which was demolished in 1997, received a \$20 million HOPE VI grant in 2008. Built on a hilly site, poor site design and construction contributed significantly to building settlement issues leading to unstable foundations, failure of site drainage, severe soil erosion and frequent flooding of ground level apartments. The site lacked defensible space and was inaccessible to individuals with mobility impairments. While occupied, Sheridan was a major source of violence and drug-related criminal activity with former residents of the site having suffered symptoms common to severely distressed public

housing: limited education, extreme poverty and high unemployment. In 2005 DCHA selected William C. Smith & Co. as the lead developer for Sheridan Terrace.

The current development plan consists of seven different unit types - a mid-rise building; manor flats (four story building with four apartments); cottage units (small townhouse); stacked townhouse units; and 3 varieties of row house units. The site has several mews (u shaped courts) with manor flats, townhouses, and cottage units. Public Housing and affordable units will be available in each unit type. There are 327 units of which there are 110 public housing rental units; 137 Low Income Housing Tax Credit (LIHTC) units; and 80 For Sale units (The development will seek LEED Certifications from the U.S. Green Building Council and will have three (3) tot-lots and green space.

In 2011, 114 affordable rental units, of which 45 public housing units (25 units are Barry Farm Replacement units through the New Communities Initiative), were delivered and began occupancy. Phase I has a 104 unit multifamily building and an 18 unit mew, both with a mix of unit types and tenure. The total development cost for Phase I was 28 million, partially due to the extraordinary site work. The Phase has a mix of funding sources including HOPE VI, Housing Production Trust Funds (HPTF), Low Income Housing Tax Credit (LIHTC) Equity, Tax Exempt Bonds, Stimulus Funds, Enterprise Green Building Grant, Federal Solar Tax Credits (FSTC) and permanent debt. The 104 unit multifamily building is registered with the U.S. Green Building Council and is certified LEED Platinum. The building has a health and wellness center operated by Core Health, Inc., fitness center, business center and multipurpose room

The next phase to close in the Summer of 2011 was the Affordable For sale component. Phase II will be constructed in three phases, Phase IIA, Phase IIB and Phase IIC. The financing structure is HOPE VI, Developer Equity, DCHA Equity, Construction Loan, and HPAP. The total development costs for this phase is \$31.6 million. In September 2011 construction Phase IIA began with twenty-two (22) units. All 22 units are sold and occupied; Phase IIB is scheduled to begin construction in March 2013 and 38 units will be delivered; Phase IIC will begin construction on the last 20 homeownership units in October 2013.

The final phase of construction for the overall project is expected to secure financing and begin construction in July 2013. Phase III is 133 LIHTC units of which 65 will be public housing units. Forty (40) of the units will be replacement housing for Barry Farm through the New Communities Initiative. The sources of financing include HOPE VI, Housing Production Trust Fund (HPTF), Low Income Housing Tax Credit (LIHTC) equity, Tax Exempt Bonds and permanent debt.

APPENDIX F

BARRY FARM HILLSDALE CULTURAL AND HISTORIC

PRESERVATION PROJECT DRAFT

BARRY FARM HILLSDALE CULTURAL AND HISTORIC

Preservation Project



Brian (pseudonym) / Kalfani Ture | barryFarmhillsdalepreservation@gmail.com | www.peoplepastandpresent.org

I. VISION

The vision of the “Barry Farms/Hillsdale Culture and Heritage Project” is to gather, preserve, interpret and publish, past and present, heritage of the Barry Farms/Hillsdale community.

II. PURPOSE

The aim is to rediscover, document and exhibit the wonderful cultural heritage of pioneer and current African Americans residents from the Barry Farms/Hillsdale community as well as key community figures up until the present. Moreover, it is to highlight, wherever possible, the contributions and influences these African Americans made to the nation’s capital.

The African American legacies belonging to Barry Farms/Hillsdale are yet to be acknowledged; its few remaining buildings and structures are yet to be considered for historical value, its stories and memories are yet to be preserved. Heritage represents the glue that holds social networks together and validates people’s memories, identities and their very existence; social networks, social capital, local history and local economies are almost always ignored by urban re-development.

The District of Columbia can only forge a path into this important preservation project if it takes seriously the significance and contribution of those who settled in this community. The vitality of Barry Farms/Hillsdale is not predicated on economic development alone, but the community’s ability to salvage its heritage and include it in the area’s broader history.

III. PROPOSED PROJECT LOCATION & LAUNCH DATE

The planning and implementation of this project will begin Fall 2012, to directly impact the Barry Farms/Hillsdale community, and also benefit surrounding neighborhoods of Uniontown, Anacostia, Congress Heights, the District of Columbia and Tourists. (Pending funding, this date can be pushed back)



IV. BARRY FARMS/ HILLSDALE PRESERVATION PROJECT PRINCIPALS

We will provide the “Blue House” model as an example of community culture and heritage preservation. Please see <http://courses.washington.edu/quanzhou/pacrim/papers/HKHS-BlueHouse-130607-lowres-English.pdf>.

Linkages between cultural heritage and the future goals are to be identified and presented to ensure the sustainability of the Barry Farms/Hillsdale development and the communities continued presence therein. Instructively, the Blue House model causes us to call for the:

1. Establishment of a Museum or visitors center in memorial for the pioneers who founded Hillsdale after the Emancipation Proclamation.
2. Preservation of the intangible cultural heritage, including stories, local culture, livelihood patterns, oral histories, vernacular cultural elements that are significant to community's identity should be preserved.
3. Participation of community residents, such that it follows a bottom-up approach rather than traditional top down strategy of community development.
4. Heritage data to be collected here will represent how the community perceives and conceives themselves in their community within the district's socio-cultural landscape and not how the west of the Anacostia communities wish to convey them in the current narratives of cultural pathology.
5. Endeavor to build and/or enhance the sense of local community and identity and self esteem
6. Integration of community art and community culture into the project.
7. Cooperation of local education institutions to integrate the project into the District of Columbia area's elementary, junior and secondary school curriculums.
8. Development of an online multi-media resource center with integrated educational technology.
9. Avoidance of residential displacement and business from area.
10. Establishment of a local advisory board to include local stakeholders, residents, professionals, developers, academics, artists, government officials and other non-profit organizations.
11. Facilitation of an annual event, such as a community festival, around historic preservation and community values.

V. BACKGROUND

The Hillisdale (today identified as Barry Farms and surrounding neighborhoods) community was the first in the District, and the Nation, where blacks built a thriving community after emancipation, and it were duplicated in 77 others sites. Hillisdale and Howard University were established in 1867 with the help of General Oliver Otis Howard in response to the dire need for housing and education for blacks.

Shortly after emancipation, General Oliver Otis Howard over saw two major events as Commissioner of the Freedman's Bureau that had a lasting effect on people in Washington DC, and abroad. While meeting with the First Congressional Congress Society of Washington to discuss educational opportunities for

Freedmen and women, the Howard Normal and Theological Institute was created. The name was changed to Howard University in January 1867. Since then Howard University has educated thousands of people from around the world.

In response to the critical housing needs of thousands of African Americans, General Howard and the Freedman's Bureau helped many find shelter. In 1867 he was able to purchase a 375 acre tract of land from Julian and David Barry for \$125 - \$300. Families purchased one acre lots and enough lumber to build a house.

Originally known as Barry's Farms, the community later called itself Potomac City and then Howard Town. The name Hillisdale was finally chosen. The history of what is now Barry Farms Housing Projects is integrally involved with the history of the United States and the history of African Americans in this country. The oral histories speak of the large numbers of slaves who deserted the Confederacy during the Civil War or who were captured by Union forces; came or were brought to the District of Columbia as contraband; and housed in barracks on Capitol Hill until General Howard purchased Barry's Farms, shortly after the Freedman's Bureau began to supply food, clothing and shelter for these African refugees.

Interesting Facts about Hillisdale:

2. During a time when there were countless land covenants that clearly designated "whites only" neighborhoods, the former tobacco plantation Barry Farms was the first place where blacks could own land and build a stable community in the Washington, DC after emancipation.
3. Funds from the purchasing of lots at Barry Farms (later renamed Hillisdale) went to fund the establishment of Howard University. This was one of the first ways Howard was funded.
4. Howard University and the Hillisdale Community where closely knit and spearheaded by the same individual for the same purpose. General Howard told the story of a young man who walked from Hillisdale to Howard University every day when the Bureau of Refugees, Freedman and Abandoned Lands was in threat of being decommissioned.
5. Solomon G. Brown helped install the District's first electric telegraph lines (phone lines) while working with the inventor of the Morse code, was the first black to be employed by the Smithsonian institution, became an expert on plants and animals, was a poet, and was elected by blacks and whites in Anacostia to represent the District in its first territorial government.

6. Frederick Douglas and sons who were enlisted in the 54th Massachusetts were very involved in the Hillsdale community. Douglas was a recruiter for the all black 54th regiment, the highly acclaimed film “Glory” was based on these soldiers in the civil war.
7. Frederick Douglas Patterson (who was named after Frederick Douglas) moved from Hillsdale to Texas with his older sister and became the third President of Tuskegee University. He founded a veterinarian school at Tuskegee, helped begin the famous pilot program, and started the United Negro College Fund.

The Barry Farms/Hillsdale Cultural Heritage Project was conceived by K. Nyerere Ture` – a doctoral student in Anthropology at American University, & Brian – a community activist and interdisciplinary artist while volunteering and providing support for the Barry Farms Resident Council.

Brian had been mentoring youth in the Barry Farms Community youth and teaching fine arts, media arts, life skills and history through the Barry Farms Resident Council.

By the fall 2009, Brian had begun engaging scholars and historians to document the communities’ history. The June 2010 Premiere Screening of his documentary “People Past & Present: Hillsdale” (an expansion of “Barry Farms: Past & Present”) told the story of historic Hillsdale and today’s Barry Farms. The film began screening in theatres, agencies, universities and community centers throughout the city, airing on Verizon and Comcast networks and shared the little known legacy of Hillsdale with masses and addresses the reality of displacement that comes with urban renewal.

Ture`, lead scholar in the documentary “People Past & Present: Hillsdale”, met Barry Farms Resident Council President in the summer of 2007 and began volunteering in the recreation center to help with coaching, tutoring and whatever else was needed to assist staff. While a doctoral student at American University in 2009, Ture` decided he would satisfy his dissertation requirements by researching and writing on structural violence in Barry Farms. His particular interests were capturing history, addressing public safety issues and urban development.

COMMUNITY NEWS



NEED ADVICE ON GETTING THROUGH THE HOLIDAYS?

Send us questions on entertaining, etiquette, decorating, gift giving, staying organized and staying away from the buffet. E-mail localliving@washpost.com with "holiday Q&A" in the subject line. Please tell us your name and where you live. We'll publish questions with answers from experts in an upcoming issue.

Filmmaker focuses his camera on neighborhood's history, pride

Documentary shines light on Barry Farm, gives youth a sense of community

BY CHRISTY GOODMAN

Young residents of Barry Farm are trying to rise above the crime that consumes their streets and educate themselves and their neighbors about the community's history, instilling a sense of pride and purpose.

A documentary in production, "Barry Farm: Past and Present," features scholars, historians, neighbors and teenagers telling the story behind the Southeast neighborhood.

Tendani Mbulubusi, 27, a media arts program director at Helping Inner City Kids Succeed, said he wanted to teach the youth in his neighborhood their history so they can represent community pride instead of associating themselves with the area's negative aspects. HICKS is a nonprofit youth enrichment and arts program in Southeast.

"I'm going to preserve this history. I'm going to show these young people no matter where you are, you can have some type of legacy. Knowing your history gives you life instead of death," said Mbulubusi, who recruited some of the youth in the HICKS program to work on the film.

"There are prolific characters

in history that look like you and made major contributions to the social, economic and political fabric of D.C. and the nation," said Mbulubusi, who represents Ward 8 on the D.C. Commission on the Arts and Humanities.

The filmmakers explain how Gen. Oliver Otis Howard, who was named commissioner of the Board of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands after the Civil War, was integral to starting the community and Howard University.

Howard lobbied for federal funds to buy 375 acres of farmland from the Barry family in 1867. That land was then sold for \$125 to \$300 per acre to newly freed slaves, creating the District's first freedmen's community.

Some of the profits from the land sales were used to create the Howard Normal and Theological Institute for the Education of Teachers and Preachers, which was later renamed Howard University, to educate the growing community on the Barry farm property.

Dominic Boney of HICKS helped research and film the documentary. In one scene, he says he learned that the sons of Frederick Douglass, the

Smithsonian's first African American employee, Solomon G. Brown, and several other historic figures lived in his neighborhood.

"I couldn't believe it," Boney said into the camera. His neighborhood was built by "good people who have done stuff with their lives or tried... or made your life better."

Now, when "most people think Barry Farm, [they think of] gangs, violence and drugs," he said.

"We've got something good going on in the community, but people just don't know about it," said Marcus Garland, another HICKS youth and Barry Farm resident.

Mbulubusi and his crew are working to edit 10 hours of film. He wants to have two screenings this winter, one at Howard University and the other with the D.C. Humanities Council. The council and the District Historic Preservation Office awarded the project a \$2,000 D.C. Community Heritage Project grant.

Patsy Fletcher, community outreach coordinator for the preservation office, said projects such as Mbulubusi's film "let people know historic preservation isn't just about buildings and high-style



TENDANI MBULUBUSI

Tendani Mbulubusi, right, interviews Kalfani Turé, an anthropology and criminal justice professor, for his documentary on Barry Farm.

architecture. It is about many efforts related to heritage, social history and so on. This is a way to get people involved, especially in those communities that have been underserved in the preservation arena."

Mbulubusi said he felt an urgency to make the film because the area is planned for a large-scale revitalization and history could be lost forever.

Those reasons attracted Kalfani Turé, a Towson University professor in anthropology and criminal justice, to the project. Turé has been collecting oral histories in Barry Farm as part of his dissertation and is a featured culture historian in the film.

Turé listed several streets in Barry Farm, such as Wade, Sumner and Eaton.

"All these names in the community are white

abolitionists and political figures who, in concert with Frederick Douglass and Solomon G. Brown, fought side-by-side in this ugly stain in our history," he said. "I was intrigued by that, and I know the community would be revitalized. I didn't want this history lost."

In addition to wanting the film to be distributed nationally, Mbulubusi would like to continue working with Howard University to keep a dialogue between the two communities.

"What I want to come out of this is Howard [University] to have some kind of relationship with Barry Farm... so that young people in that community can become more familiar with Howard University than Oak Hill Youth Detention Center and D.C. jail," he said.

goodmano@washpost.com

Since 2009 Turé & Brian have been tirelessly working to salvage the community's history from loss and potential erasure as a result of the area's proposed development. They maintain, "History is not simply a thing of the past, but exist within the community's memories and social practices." Therefore, the collection of these memories through photos, documents, life-histories interviews, which will highlight the District of Columbia's least discussed areas of cultural diversity, are to be presented for public consumption.

The need for cultural heritage preservation of African Americans in the district can never be overstated. The history of Barry Farms/Hillsdale includes multiple races, social classes and religious denominations; however, much of what has been preserved of the district's history excludes African American heritage (emphasis should be placed on East of the River communities) and fails to highlight the vast contributions Wards 7 & 8

VI. PROPOSED PROJECT ADVISORY BOARD

The Barry Farms/Hillsdale Preservation Project is to be composed of community members and professionals committed to the improvement of the Barry Farms/Hillsdale community as evident in the above list. The above individuals are selected here to meet with the project coordinators on a bi-monthly schedule during the first phase of this project and then TBD thereon to guide project implementation, ethics and fiscal integrity.

Additionally, this board will advise on site selection and acquisition for center, training and employment opportunities generated through project for local residents, assist the project coordinators in raising operational funds, and assist in the development of public education components.

Formal request are being made to community members, organizations and stakeholders to join the advisory.

VII. PUBLIC BENEFIT

Economic Stimulus

Contract qualified resident to assist with the completion and project build.

Professional Development Opportunities

We intend to develop partnerships with other government and nonprofit agencies to assist in professional training of staff and volunteers in the areas of archival research, media recording and production, group facilitation strategies, census tracking and community surveys skills and the development of analytical frameworks to interpret collected content.

Ideally, it is our goal to raise enough funds to hire local residents on stipend based opportunities.

Public Education

We will design semi-permanent and permanent art instillations/exhibits; we will create an electronic and multi-media based resources, such as web based video/audio podcast, website and short documentary films that is accessible to both public citizens and school children; we will create a public relations team to perform community-wide marketing campaigns; we will create not-for-profit publications and brochures to promote area's culture and heritage; and established a local culture and history tour center within the Barry Farms/Hillsdale community.

Capital

We will raise necessary funds to place a permanent cultural heritage tour guide center in Barry Farms/Hillsdale. Additionally, we will raise said funds to support any and all maintenance, both exterior and interior, to the center. We will raise funds to purchase all required technology, such as that which is required for media production, audio interviewing and transcription, acquisition of materials for art instillations, we will raise money for a public marketing and promotion campaign, and most importantly, we hope to raise money to employ and train local residents of Barry Farms on this project.

Collection Management

We will exhaust all pathways that lead to the acquisition of significant additions to the collected data, explore the best practices in preserving all collected data to include digitization and other means of preservation, and at the conclusion of the data collection, we will develop a memorandum of understanding with the Mathews Memorial Baptist Church and the Anacostia Museum – Smithsonian Institute, whereby the collection will be transferred and displayed for public.

VIII. REQUEST FOR RESOURCES

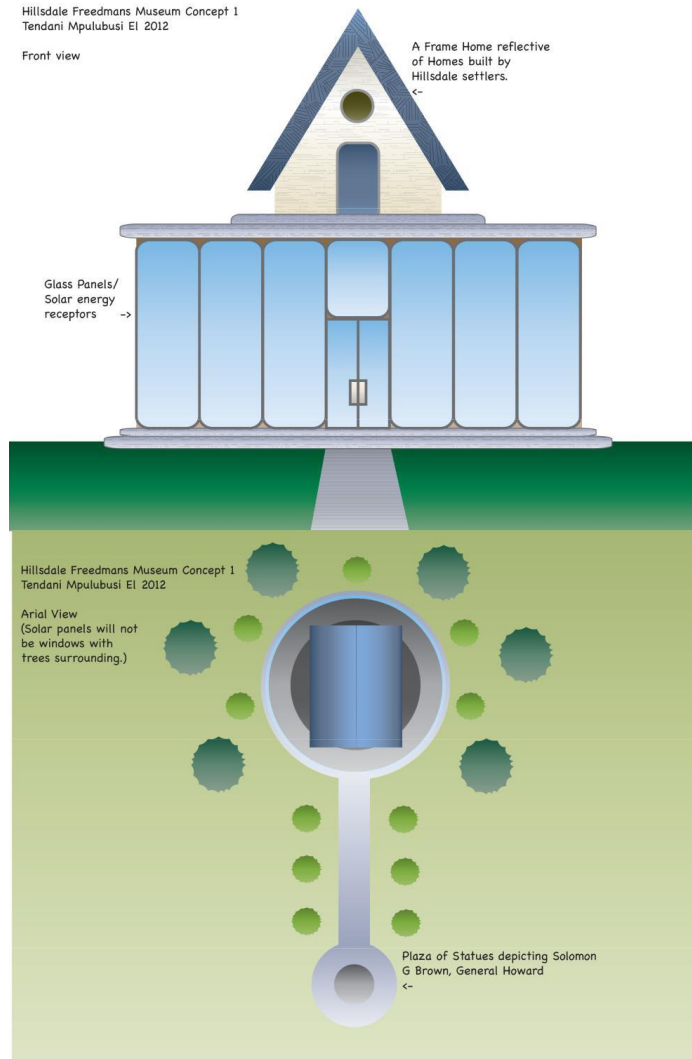
Support here is being sought from local, nonlocal, government and private entities. Contractors and Volunteers are needed to:

- ☐ Planning
- ☐ Fundraising
- ☐ Project management
- ☐ Administrative management
- ☐ Research assistants
- ☐ Communications
- ☐ Programming

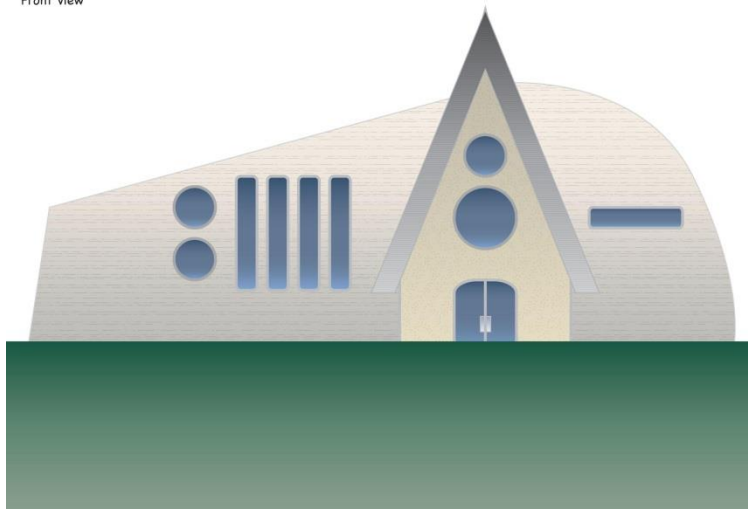
- ☐ Architectural Rendering
- ☐ Construction Estimates

IX. FREEDMANS MUSEUM

Fulfilling the vision and purpose of this requires the construction of a facility that would function as an educational center, destination point for tourist, facilitate community programming and house merchandise and other operations that would provide employment opportunities and sustainable economic benefits for the community.



Hillsdale Freedmans Museum Concept 2
Tendani Mpulubusi EI 2012
Front view



X. PROJECT BUDGET

Projected costs and expenses, and sustainability are to be determined.

*For more information about the history of Hillsdale (Barry Farms and surrounding neighborhoods) please visit www.peoplepastandpresent.org

REFERENCE LIST

- “About the New Communities Initiative.” 2015. *NCI*. Accessed December 6.
<http://dcnewcommunities.org/about-nci/>.
- “Abraham Lincoln.” 2015. *Whitehouse.gov*. Accessed December 13.
<https://www.whitehouse.gov/1600/presidents/abrahamlincoln>.
- Abu-Lughod, Lila. 1990. “The Romance of Resistance: Tracing Transformations of Power through Bedouin Women.” *American Ethnologist* 17 (1): 41–55.
- Alexander, Michelle. 2010. *The New Jim Crow*. New Press.
- Althusser, Louis. 1971. “Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses (Notes towards an Investigation).” *Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays*, 1971–127.
- Anacostia Community Museum. 2010. *East of the River: Continuity and Change*. Edited by Gail Sylvia Lowe. Washington, DC: Smithsonian, Anacostia Community Museum.
- Anderson, Elijah. 1994. “The Code of the Streets: How the Inner City Environment Fosters a Need for Respect and Self-Image Based on Violence.” *Atlantic Monthly*, May, 81–94.
- . 2004a. “The Cosmopolitan Canopy.” *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 595 (1): 14–31.
- . 2004b. “The Cosmopolitan Canopy.” *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 595 (1): 14–31.
- . 2012. “Toward Knowing the Iconic Ghetto.” *The Ghetto: Contemporary Global Issues and Controversies*, 67–82.
- . 2015. “The White Space.” *Sociology of Race and Ethnicity* 1 (1): 10–21.
- Anglin, Mary K. 1998. “Feminist Perspectives on Structural Violence.” *Identities* 52 (2): 145–51.
- Angrosino, Michael V. 2002. “Conducting a Life History Interview.” *Doing Cultural Anthropology: Projects for Ethnographic Data Collection*. Illinois: Waveland Press Inc, 33–44.
- Apidta, Tingba. 1996. *The Hidden History of Washington, DC: A Guide for Black Folks*. Roxbury, MA: Reclamation Project.
- Argento, Elena, Sushena Reza-Paul, Robert Lorway, Jinendra Jain, M. Bhagya, Mary Fathima, S. V. Sreeram, Rahman Syed Hafeezur, and John O’Neil. 2011. “Confronting Structural Violence in Sex Work: Lessons from a Community-Led HIV Prevention Project in Mysore, India.” *AIDS Care* 23 (1): 69–74.
- Auletta, Ken. 1981. “I—The Underclass.” *The New Yorker*, November 16..

- Baker, Lee D. 1998. *From Savage to Negro: Anthropology and the Construction of Race, 1896–1954*. Univ. of California Press..
- Banks, James G., and Peter S. Banks. 2004. *The Unintended Consequences: Family and Community, the Victims of Isolated Poverty*. Univ. Press of America.
- “BARRY FARM - District of Columbia Housing Authority.” 2015. Accessed October 13. <http://www.dchousing.org/property.aspx?id=5I>.
- “Barry Farm Park Chester Wade Road Community Revitalization Plan.” 2008. <http://www.dc.gov/DC/DMPED/About+DMPED/Publications/Barry+Farm+Park+Chester+Wade+Road+Community+Revitalization+Plan>.
- “Before the Anacostia Metro Station: A Look at Indian Life and the Barry Farm Settlement.” 1985. Washington, DC: Washington Metropolitan Area Transit Authority, Smithsonian Institute.
- Behar, Ruth. 1996. *The Vulnerable Observer: Anthropology That Breaks Your Heart*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Benson, Peter. 2008. “El Campo: Faciality and Structural Violence in Farm Labor Camps.” *Cultural Anthropology* 23 (4): 589–629.
- Blokland, Talja. 2008. “‘You Got to Remember You Live in Public Housing’: Place-Making in an American Housing Project.” *Housing, Theory and Society* 25 (1): 31–46.
- Bois, Du, and Elijah Anderson. 1996. “The Philadelphia Negro.” <https://muse.jhu.edu/book/3603>.
- Bonilla-Silva, Eduardo. 2010. *Racism without Racists*. Rowman and Littlefield.
- Boreland, Katherine. 1991. “‘Thats Not What I Said’: Interpretive Conflict in the Oral Narrative Research.” In *Women’s Words: The Feminist Practice of Oral History*, 63–75.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. 1985. “The Genesis of the Concepts of Habitus and Field.” *Sociocriticism* 2 (2): 11–24.
- Bowser, Benjamin P. 1988. “Bayview-Hunter’s Point: San Francisco’s Black Ghetto Revisited.” *Urban Anthropology and Studies of Cultural Systems and World Economic Development* 17 (4): 383–400.
- Boyd, Michelle. 2000a. “Reconstructing Bronzeville: Racial Nostalgia and Neighborhood Redevelopment.” *Journal of Urban Affairs* 22 (2): 107–22.
- . 2000b. “Reconstructing Bronzeville: Racial Nostalgia and Neighborhood Redevelopment.” *Journal of Urban Affairs* 22 (2): 107–22. doi:10.1111/0735-2166.00045.

- Breunlin, Rachel, and Helen A. Regis. 2006. "Putting the Ninth Ward on the Map: Race, Place, and Transformation in Desire, New Orleans." *American Anthropologist* 108 (4): 744–64.
- Brodkin, Karen. 1998. *How Jews Became White Folks and What That Says about Race in America*. New Brunswick: Rutgers Univ. Press.
- Butler, Judith. 1993. "Endangered/endangering: Schematic Racism and White Paranoia." *Reading Rodney King/Reading Urban Uprising*, 15–22.
- Cameron, Stuart, and Jon Coaffee. 2005. "Art, Gentrification and Regeneration—from Artist as Pioneer to Public Arts." *European Journal of Housing Policy* 5 (1): 39–58.
- Campbell, Joseph. 1988. *Historical Atlas of World Mythology*. San Francisco: Harper and Row.
- Campbell, Joseph, Michael Toms, John M. Maher, and Dennie Briggs. 1988. *An Open Life: Joseph Campbell in Conversation with Michael Toms*. Burdett: Larson.
- Cayton, Horace R., and St Clair Drake. 1993. *Black Metropolis*. Vol. 1. Univ. of Chicago Press..
- Chakrapani, Venkatesan, Peter A. Newman, Murali Shunmugam, Alan McLuckie, and Fredrick Melwin. 2007. "Structural Violence against Kothi-Identified Men Who Have Sex with Men in Chennai, India: A Qualitative Investigation." *AIDS Education & Prevention* 19 (4): 346–64.
- Chateauvert, Melinda. 2008. "Framing Sexual Citizenship: Reconsidering the Discourse on African American Families." *Journal of African American History* 93 (2): 198–222.
- Chaudhry, Lubna Nazir. 2004. "Reconstituting Selves in the Karachi Conflict Mohajir Women Survivors and Structural Violence." *Cultural Dynamics* 16 (2-3): 259–90.
- Checker, Melissa. 2005. *Polluted Promises: Environmental Racism and the Search for Justice in a Southern Town*. New York: NYU Press.
- Cityscape 2012. Moving to Opportunity Volume 14(2).
- https://www.huduser.gov/portal/periodicals/cityscpe/vol14num2/Cityscape_July2012.pdf
- Cose, Ellis. 1993a. "Protecting the Children." *Newsweek*, August 29: 28–29.
- . 1993b. "The Rage of a Privileged Class: Why Are Middle-Class Blacks Angry? Why Should America Care." New York: HarperCollins.
- "Creative Capital: The Creative DC Action Agenda - Creativecapital.pdf." 2016. Accessed April 2. <http://www.wdcep.com/wp-content/uploads/2010/09/creativecapital.pdf>.
- Crump, Jeff. 2003. "The End of Public Housing as We Know It: Public Housing Policy, Labor Regulation and the US City." *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 27 (1): 179–87. doi:10.1111/1468-2427.00438.

- Dale, Dianne. 2011. *The Village That Shaped Us*. Lanham: Dale.
- Dash, Leon. 1997. *Rosa Lee: A Mother and Her Family in Urban America*. Plume.
- Davis, Allison. 1941. *Deep South; a Social Anthropological Study of Caste and Class*. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press.
- Davis, Allison, John Dollard, and American council on education American youth commission. 1964. *Children of Bondage*. San Francisco: Harper and Row.
- Davis, John. 1998. "Eastman Johnson's Negro Life at the South and Urban Slavery in Washington, DC." *The Art Bulletin* 80 (1): 67–92.
- Davis, Kingsley, Wilbert E. Moore, and Melvin Tumin. 1994. "Some Principles of Stratification." In *Social Stratification: Class, Race, and Gender in Sociological Perspective*, edited by David B. Grusky, 39–46. Indianapolis : Bobbs-Merrill.
- De Munck, Victor C. 1998. *Using Methods in the Field: A Practical Introduction and Casebook*. Walnut Creek: AltaMira.
- Dewalt, Kathleen M., and Dewalt, Billie R. 2011. *Participant Observation: A Guide for Fieldworkers*. Rowman Altamira.
- Diamond, Heather A. 2008. "A Sense of Place: Mapping Hawai'i on the National Mall." *Journal of American Folklore* 121 (1): 35–59.
- "District Of Columbia Economy at a Glance." 2015. Accessed October 14. <http://www.bls.gov/eag/eag.dc.htm>.
- Dolemite*. Directed by D'Urville Martin. 1975. *Dolemite*. Los Angeles: Comedian International Enterprise Productions.
- Dollard, John. 1988. *Caste and Class in a Southern Town*. Madison: Univ. of Wisconsin Press.
- Du Bois, William Edward Burghardt, Elijah Anderson, and Isabel Eaton. 1899. *The Philadelphia Negro: A Social Study*. Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press..
- Duneier, Mitchell. 2016. *Ghetto: The Invention of a Place, the History of an Idea*. Vol. 121. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.
- Eckermann, Anne-Katrin, and Lynette Toni Dowd. 1988. "Structural Violence and Aboriginal Organisations in Rural-Urban Australia." *Journal of Legal Pluralism and Unofficial Law*. 27: 55.

- Ellison, Marcia A. 2003. "Authoritative Knowledge and Single Women's Unintentional Pregnancies, Abortions, Adoption, and Single Motherhood: Social Stigma and Structural Violence." *Medical Anthropology Quarterly* 17 (3): 322–47.
- "Emancipation | Emancipation." 2015. Accessed December 13. <http://emancipation.dc.gov/>.
- Emihovich, Catherine. 2005. "Fire and Ice: Activist Ethnography in the Culture of Power." *Anthropology & Education Quarterly* 36 (4): 305–14.
- "Ethics Blog » Full Text of the 2012 Ethics Statement." 2015. *Ethics Blog*. Accessed October 16. <http://ethics.aaanet.org/category/statement/>.
- Fabian, Johannes. 2002. *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object*. New York: Columbia Univ. Press.
- Farmer, Paul. 2003. *Pathologies of Power*. Berkeley: Univ. of California Press.
- Farmer, Paul, Philippe Bourgois, Nancy ScheperHughes, Didier Fassin, Linda Green, H. K. Heggenhougen, Laurence Kirmayer, Loc Wacquant, and Paul Farmer. 2004. "An Anthropology of Structural Violence 1." *Current Anthropology* 45 (3): 305–25.
- Farmer, Paul E., Bruce Nizeye, Sara Stulac, and Salmaan Keshavjee. 2006. "Structural Violence and Clinical Medicine." *PLoS Med* 3 (10): e449. doi:10.1371/journal.pmed.0030449.
- Farmer, Paul, and Nicole Gastineau. 2002. "Rethinking Health and Human Rights: Time for a Paradigm Shift." *The Journal of Law, Medicine & Ethics* 30 (4): 655–66.
- Faubion, James D. 1993. "History in Anthropology." *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 35–54.
- Fletcher, Patsy Mose. 2015. *Historically African American Leisure Destinations around Washington D.C.* Charleston: History Press.
- Florida, Richard. 2004. *The Rise of the Creative Class*. New York: Basic Books.
- Ford, Sam, and Robert Lyles. 2015. "France Says Anacostia, Southeast, Northeast Are Dangerous." *WJLA*. Accessed February 28. <http://www.wjla.com/articles/2013/11/france-says-anacostia-southeast-northeast-are-dangerous-96911.html>.
- "For Northup of '12 Years a Slave,' Family Determined to Fulfill Final Wish." *Al Jazeera America*, January 17, 2014. Accessed November 28. <http://america.aljazeera.com/watch/shows/america-tonight/america-tonight-blog/2014/1/17/for-subject-of-12yearsaslave150yearsincorrectgrave.html>.
- Frazier, Edward Franklin, and Nathan Glazer. 1966. *The Negro Family in the United States*. Vol. 205. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press.
- Frazier, E. Franklin. 1932. *The Negro Family in Chicago*. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press.

- Freeman, L. and Braconi, F. 2004. "Gentrification and Displacement in New York City in the 1990s." *Journal of American Planning*. v70(1):39-52.
- Fried, Marc. 2000. "Continuities and Discontinuities of Place." *Journal of Environmental Psychology* 20 (3): 193–205.
- Fullilove, Mindy. 2009. *Root Shock: How Tearing Up City Neighborhoods Hurts America, and What We Can Do About It*. New York: Random House Digital.
- Fullilove, Mindy Thompson, and Rodrick Wallace. 2011. "Serial Forced Displacement in American Cities, 1916–2010." *Journal of Urban Health* 88 (3): 381–89.
- Gabbidon, Shaun L., and Helen Taylor Greene. 2016. *Race and Crime*. Thousand Oaks: Sage..
- Galtung, Johan. 1969. "Violence, Peace, and Peace Research." *Journal of Peace Research* 6 (3): 167–91.
- Gillette Jr, Howard. 2011. *Between Justice and Beauty: Race, Planning, and the Failure of Urban Policy in Washington*. Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press..
- Glass, Ruth Lazarus. 1964. *London: Aspects of Change*. Vol. 3. London: MacGibbon & Kee.
- Goffman, Erving. 1959. *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*. New York: Doubleday.
- Google Maps. 2015. *Google Maps*. Accessed November 8.
<https://www.google.com/maps/@38.866896,-77.0062102,15z>.
- Goetz, Edward. 2011. Gentrification in Black and White: The Racial Impact of Public Housing Demolition in American Cities. *Urban Studies*. 48(1):1581-1604.
- Gottdiener, Mark, and Ray Hutchison. 2010. *The New Urban Sociology*. Boulder: Westview.
- Gough, Kathleen. 1968. "New Proposals for Anthropologists." *Current Anthropology* 9 (5): 403-435.
- Greenbaum, Susan. 2008. "Poverty and the Willful Destruction of Social Capital: Displacement and Dispossession in African American Communities." *Rethinking Marxism* 20 (1): 42–54.
- Green, Vera M. 1970. "The Confrontation of Diversity within the Black Community." *Human Organization* 29 (4): 267.
- Gregory, Steven. 1992. "The Changing Significance of Race and Class in an African-American Community." *American Ethnologist* 19 (2): 255–74. doi:10.2307/645036.

- . 1999. *Black Corona: Race and the Politics of Place in an Urban Community*. Princeton Univ. Press..
- Hacker, Andrew. 2010. *Two Nations: Black and White, Separate, Hostile, Unequal*. Simon and Schuster..
- Hackworth, Jason, and Neil Smith. 2001. "The Changing State of Gentrification." *Tijdschrift Voor Economische En Sociale Geografie* 92 (4): 464–77.
- Hannerz, U. 1969. "Soulside Inquiries into Ghetto Children and Community." *Stock-Holm, Sweden: Aimquist and Wiksele*.
- Harrington, Michael. 1962. *The Other America: Poverty in America*. New York: Macmillan.
- Harrison, Ira E., and Faye Venetia Harrison. 1999. *African-American Pioneers in Anthropology*. Champaign: Univ. of Illinois Press.
- Harvey, David. 2006. "The Limits to Capital (new and Fully Updated Edition)." *London and New York: Verso*.
- . 2010. *Social Justice and the City*. Vol. 1. Athens: Univ. of Georgia Press..
- "Hate Map." 2016. *Southern Poverty Law Center*. Accessed January 7. <https://www.splcenter.org/hate-map>.
- Hendry, Joy, and Joy Hendry. 2008. *Sharing Our Worlds*. New York Univ. Press.
- Herskovits, Melville J. 1958. "The Myth of the Negro Past. 1941." *Boston: Beacon*.
- Higginbotham, A. Leon. 1995. "The Ten Precepts of American Slavery Jurisprudence: Chief Justice Roger Taney's Defense and Justice Thurgood Marshall's Condemnation of the Precept of Black Inferiority" *Cardoza Law Review*. 17:1695-1711.
- Holzberg, Carol S. 1980. "Strategies and Problems among Economic Elites in Jamaica: The Evolution of a Research Focus." *Anthropologica* 22 (1): 5–23. doi:10.2307/25605036.
- hooks, bell. 1996. "Killing Rage: Ending Racism." <http://www.citeulike.org/group/268/article/200821>.
- Horne, Gerald
2014 *The Counter-Revolution of 1776*. New York University Press.
- Hughes, Langston, Ezra Pound, Prentiss Taylor, Hugh H. Smythe, and Mabel M. Smythe. 1951. *Montage of a Dream Deferred*. New York: Holt..
- Hutchinson, Louise D. 1977. *The Anacostia Story, 1608–1930*. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Scholarly Press.

- Hutchinson, Sally A., Margaret E. Wilson, and Holly Skodol Wilson. 1994. "Benefits of Participating in Research Interviews." *Image: The Journal of Nursing Scholarship* 26 (2): 161–66.
- Hyatt, Susan, and Vincent Lyon-Callo. 2003. "Introduction: Anthropology and Political Engagement." *Urban Anthropology* 32 (2): 133–46.
- Hymes, Dell H.
1972 *Reinventing Anthropology*. Vintage Books New York.
- Ignatiev, Noel. 2009. *How the Irish Became White*. New York: Routledge.
- Jennings, James. 2004. Urban Planning, Community Participation and the Roxbury Masterplan in Boston. In special edition Race, Politics, and Community Development in U.S. Cities. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*. (594):12-33
- Johnson, Charles Spurgeon. 1941. "Growing up in the Black Belt." <http://psycnet.apa.org/psycinfo/1941-02296-000>.
- . 1996. *Shadow of the Plantation*. Black and African-American Studies. New Brunswick: Transaction.
- Jones, Delmos. 1970. "Towards a Native Anthropology." *Human Organization* 29 (4): 251–59.
- Jones, Nikki. 2010. *Between Good and Ghetto*. New Brunswick: Rutgers Univ. Press.
- Jorgensen, Bradley S., and Richard C. Stedman. 2006. "A Comparative Analysis of Predictors of Sense of Place Dimensions: Attachment to, Dependence on, and Identification with Lakeshore Properties." *Journal of Environmental Management* 79 (3): 316–27.
- Katz, Michael. 2011. *Undeserving Poor*. New York: Pantheon.
- Katznelson, Ira. 2005. *When Affirmative Action Was White: An Untold History of Racial Inequality in Twentieth-Century America*. New York: Norton.
- Keshavjee, Salmaan, and Mercedes C. Becerra. 2000. "Disintegrating Health Services and Resurgent Tuberculosis in Post-Soviet Tajikistan: An Example of Structural Violence." *Journal of the American Medical Association* 283 (9): 1201.
- Khan, Rasheeduddin. 1981. "Violence and Socio-Economic Development in Violence and Its Causes." *Violence and Its Causes*, 167–90.
- Kozaitis, Kathryn A. 2000. "The Rise of Anthropological Praxis." *Napa Bulletin* 18 (1): 45–66.
- Kurtz, Donna L. M., J. C. Nyberg, S. Van Den Tillart, and B. Mills. 2008. "Silencing of Voice: An Act of Structural Violence." *Journal of Aboriginal Health*, 53–63.

- Kusenbach, Margarethe. 2003. "Street Phenomenology: The Go-Along as Ethnographic Research Tool." *Ethnography* 4(3): 455–485.
- Lane, Sandra D., Robert H. Keefe, Robert Rubinstein, Brooke A. Levandowski, Noah Webster, Donald A. Cibula, Adwoa K. Boahene, Olabisi Dele-Michael, Darlene Carter, and Tanika Jones. 2008. "Structural Violence, Urban Retail Food Markets, and Low Birth Weight." *Health & Place* 14 (3): 415–23.
- Langford, David R. 2000. "Developing a Safety Protocol in Qualitative Research Involving Battered Women." *Qualitative Health Research* 10 (1): 133–42. doi:10.1177/104973200129118192.
- Lassiter, Luke E. 2005. *The Chicago Guide to Collaborative Ethnography*. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press.
- Lassiter, Luke Eric. 2008. "Moving Past Public Anthropology and Doing Collaborative Research." *Napa Bulletin* 29 (1): 70–86.
- Lawrence, Denise L., and Setha M. Low. 1990. "The Built Environment and Spatial Form." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 19 (January): 453–505. doi:10.2307/2155973.
- Leacock, Eleanor Burke. 1971. *The Culture of Poverty: A Critique*. New York: Simon and Schuster.
- Lefebvre, Henri. 1991. *The Production of Space*. Vol. 142. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Lemann, Nicholas. 1986. The Origin of the Underclass. Part I. *The Atlantic*, v257 n6 p31-55 June.
- Lemann, Nicholas. 1986. The Origin of the Underclass. Part II. *The Atlantic*, v258 n1 p54-68 July.
- Lewis, Hylan. 1964. *Blackways of Kent*. Field Studies in the Modern Culture of the South. Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press.
- Lewis, Oscar. 1962. *Five Families*. Hoboken: Wiley Science Editions.
- . 1966. *The Culture of Poverty*. San Francisco: Freeman. <https://ctg.ash-college.ac.il/multimedia/art/645.pdf>.
- Liebow, Elliot. 1967. *Tally's Corner; A Study of Negro Streetcorner Men*. Boston: Little, Brown.
- Logan, John, and Harvey Molotch. 1987. *Urban Fortune*. Berkeley: UCLA Press.
- Louis, Scisco Dow. 1955. *Indian Fort on the Anacostia River*. Unpublished (archived at Washingtonian Division of DC Public Library).
- "Map: LA." 2015. Accessed October 14. <http://data.bls.gov/map/MapToolServlet?survey=la>.

- Márquez, John D. 2012. "The Black Mohicans: Representations of Everyday Violence in Postracial Urban America." *American Quarterly* 64 (3): 625–51.
- Massey, Douglas, and Nancy Denton. 1998. *American Apartheid: Segregation and the Making of the Underclass*. Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press.
- Mathews, Vanessa. 2010. "Aestheticizing Space: Art, Gentrification and the City." *Geography Compass* 4 (6): 660–75.
- Mattaini, Mark A. 2006. "Human Rights, Pragmatic Solidarity, and Behavior Science." *Behavior and Social Issues* 15 (1): 1–4.
- Maxwell, Andrew H. 1988. "The Anthropology of Poverty in Black Communities: A Critique and Systems Alternative." *Urban Anthropology and Studies of Cultural Systems and World Economic Development* 17 (2/3): 171–91.
- Mazurana, Dyan, and Susan McKay. 2001. "Women, Girls, and Structural Violence: A Global Analysis." *Peace, Conflict and Violence*, 130–38.
- McCabe, Katie, and Dovey Johnson Roundtree. 2009. *Justice Older than the Law: The Life of Dovey Johnson Roundtree*. Jackson: Univ. Press of Mississippi..
- McFadden-Resper, Susie, and Brett Williams. 2005. "Washington's 'People without History.'" *Transforming Anthropology* 13 (1): 3–14. doi:10.1525/tran.2005.13.1.3.
- McIntyre, Charlshee CL. 1992. *Criminalizing a Race: Free Blacks during Slavery*. Queens: Kayode.
- Merton, Robert K. 1938. "Social Structure and Anomie." *American Sociological Review* 3 (5): 672–82.
- Michaels, Walter Benn. 2006. *The Trouble with Diversity: How We Learned to Love Identity and Ignore Inequality*. New York: Metropolitan Books..
- Modan, Gabriella Gahlia. 2008. *Turf Wars: Discourse, Diversity, and the Politics of Place*. Wiley & Sons..
- Moynihan, Daniel Patrick. 1967. *The Negro Family: The Case for National Action*. MIT Press Cambridge, MA.
- Muller, John. 2012. *Frederick Douglass in Washington, DC: The Lion of Anacostia*. The History Press..
- Mullings, Leith. 2005. "Resistance and Resilience: The Sojourner Syndrome and the Social Context of Reproduction in Cenral Harlem." *Transforming Anthropology* 13 (2): 79–91.
- Murray, Charles. 1984. *Losing Ground: American Social Policy, 1950–1980*. New York: Basic Books.

- Myrdal, Gunnar, Richard Mauritz Edvard Sterner, and Arnold Marshall Rose. 1969. *An American Dilemma; the Negro Problem and Modern Democracy*. Boston: Harper and Row.
- Nader, Laura. 1972. "Up the Anthropologist: Perspectives Gained from Studying Up.".
- Nash, Gary B. 1972. "The Image of the Indian in the Southern Colonial Mind." *The William and Mary Quarterly* 29 (2): 197.
- Neuman, William Lawrence, and Karen Robson. 2004. *Basics of Social Research*. Boston: Pearson..
- Nieman, Donald G. 1978. "Andrew Johnson, the Freedmen's Bureau, and the Problem of Equal Rights, 1865-1866." *The Journal of Southern History* 44 (3): 399-420.
- O'Connor, Alice. 2002. *Poverty Knowledge: Social Science, Social Policy, and the Poor in Twentieth-Century US History*. Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press.
- Oliver, William. 2001. "Cultural Racism and Structural Violence." *Journal of Human Behavior in the Social Environment* 4 (2-3): 1-26.
- Osler, Audrey. 2006. "Excluded Girls: Interpersonal, Institutional and Structural Violence in Schooling." *Gender and Education* 18 (6): 571-89.
- Page, Helán. 1995. "White Privilege and the Construction of Racial Identity." *Current Anthropology* 36 (3): 526-28.
- Page, Helan E. 1997. "'Black Male' Imagery and Media Containment of African American Men." *American Anthropologist* 99 (1): 99.
- Page, Helan Enoch. 1999a. "No Black Public Sphere in White Public Space: Racialized Information and Hi-Tech Diffusion in the Global African Diaspora." *Transforming Anthropology* 8 (1-2): 111-28.
- . 1999b. "No Black Public Sphere in White Public Space: Racialized Information and Hi-Tech Diffusion in the Global African Diaspora." *Transforming Anthropology* 8 (1-2): 111-28.
- Pattberg, P. H. 2007. "Conquest, Domination and Control: Europe's Mastery of Nature in Historic Perspective" [electronic archived material]. Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam Library, Netherlands.
- Pattillo, Mary. 2008. *Black on the Block: The Politics of Race and Class in the City*. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press.
- Pattillo-McCoy, Mary. 2000. *Black Picket Fences: Privilege and Peril among the Black Middle Class*. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press.

- Pêcheux, Michel. 1982. *Language, Semantics and Ideology*. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Peoples, James, and Garrick Bailey. 2011. *Humanity: An Introduction to Cultural Anthropology*. Cengage Learning.
- Powdermaker, Hortense, and Elliott M. Rudwick. 1968. *After Freedom: A Cultural Study in the Deep South*. Vol. 3. Russell & Russell.
- Popkin, Susan J., Buron, Larry F., Levy, Diane K., & Cunningham, Mary K. 2010. "The Gautreaux Legacy: What Might Mixed-Income and Dispersal Strategies Mean for the Poorest Public Housing Tenants?" *Housing Policy Debate*. 11(4):911-942.
- Prince, Sabiyha Robin. 2002. "Changing Places: Race, Class, and Belonging in the 'New' Harlem." *Urban Anthropology and Studies of Cultural Systems and World Economic Development*, 5–35.
- . 2003. *Constructing Belonging: Class, Race, and Harlem's Professional Workers*. New York: Routledge.
- "Public Housing - District of Columbia Housing Authority." 2015. Accessed October 13.
- Rainwater, Lee, and William L. Yancey. 1967. *The Moynihan Report and the Politics of Controversy: A Trans-Action Social Science and Public Policy Report*. MIT Press Cambridge, MA.
- Ranco, Darren J. 2006. "Toward a Native Anthropology: Hermeneutics, Hunting Stories, and Theorizing from Within." *Wicazo Sa Review* 21 (2): 61–78.
- Rappaport, Joanne. 2008. "Beyond Participant Observation: Collaborative Ethnography as Theoretical Innovation." *Collaborative Anthropologies* 1 (1): 1–31.
- Relph, Edward. 1976. *Place and Placelessness*. Vol. 67. London: Pion.
- Rodriguez, Cheryl. 2003. "Invoking Fannie Lou Hamer: Research, Ethnography and Activism in Low-Income Communities." *Urban Anthropology and Studies of Cultural Systems and World Economic Development* 32 (2): 231–51.
- Rodriguez, Cheryl, and Yvette Baber. 2006. "Reconstructing a Community through Archival Research." In *Doing Cultural Anthropology: Projects for Ethnographic Data Collection*, 2nd ed., edited by Michael V Angrosino, 63–70. Prospect Heights: Waveland.
- Roediger, David R. 1993. *The Wages of Whiteness*. The Haymarket Series. New York: Verso.
- . 2006. *Working Toward Whiteness How America's Immigrants Became White: The Strange Journey from Ellis Island to the Suburbs*. New York: Basic Books.
- Ron. 2013. "US Slave: Slavery Haunts in Washington, DC." *US Slave*. October 5. <http://usslave.blogspot.com/2013/10/slavery-haunts-in-washington-dc.html>.

- Rosaldo, Renato. 1993. *Culture & Truth: The Remaking of Social Analysis: With a New Introduction*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Rothstein, Richard. 2016. "The Making of Ferguson: Public Policies at the Root of Its Troubles." Accessed July 6. <http://www.epi.org/publication/making-ferguson/>.
- Rutheiser, Charles. 1997. "Making Place in the Nonplace Urban Realm: Notes on the Revitalization of Downtown Atlanta." *Urban Anthropology and Studies of Cultural Systems and World Economic Development* 26 (1): 9–42.
- Saldanha, Arun. 2006. "Reontologising Race: The Machinic Geography of Phenotype." *Environment and Planning D* 24 (1): 9.
- Sampson, Robert J., and William Julius Wilson. 1995. "'Toward a Theory of Race, Crime, and Urban Inequality.'" *Race, Crime, and Justice: A Reader*, 177–90.
- Sartore, Richard L. 1993. *Joseph Campbell on Myth & Mythology*. Lanham: Univ. Press of America.
- Scheper-Hughes, Nancy, and Philippe I. Bourgois. 2004. *Violence in War and Peace*. Malden: Blackwell.
- Schwebel, Milton, and Daniel J. Christie. 2001. "Children and Structural Violence." In *Peace, Conflict, and Violence: Peace Psychology for the 21st Century*, edited by Daniel J. Christie, Richard V. Wagner, and Deborah Du Nann, 120–29. Upper Saddle River: Prentice Hall.
- Scott, James C. 2008. *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance*. New Haven: Yale Univ. Press.
- Scott, Peter Dale, and Jonathan Marshall. 1998. *Cocaine Politics: Drugs, Armies, and the CIA in Central America*. Berkeley: Univ of California Press.
- Shannon, Kate, Thomas Kerr, Shari Allinott, Jill Chettiar, Jean Shoveller, and Mark W. Tyndall. 2008. "Social and Structural Violence and Power Relations in Mitigating HIV Risk of Drug-Using Women in Survival Sex Work." *Social Science & Medicine* 66 (4): 911–21.
- Sider, Gerald. 2006. The Production of Race, Locality, and State: An Anthropology. *Anthropologica*: 247–263.
- Smith, Neil. 1987. "Gentrification and the Rent Gap." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 77 (3): 462–65.
- Stack, Carol B. 1975. *All Our Kin: Strategies for Survival in a Black Community*. New York: Harper.

- . 1996. *Call to Home: African Americans Reclaim the Rural South*. New York: Basic Books.
- . 1997. "Beyond What Are Given as Givens: Ethnography and Critical Policy Studies." *Ethos* 25 (2): 191–207.
- Tester, Griff, Erin Ruel, Angela Anderson, Donald C. Reitzes, and Deirdre Oakley. 2011. "Sense of Place among Atlanta Public Housing Residents." *Journal of Urban Health* 88 (3): 436–53.
- The Goodman League: Official Website of the #1 Basketball Summer League in the Country. 2015. Accessed December 6. <http://thegoodmanleaguelive.com/>.
- Thearc DC: Official Website. 2016. Accessed December 7. <http://www.thearcdc.org/>
- Thompson, Damien Juan. 2007. "Pictures on the Wall: Urban Restructuring, Gentrification and the Struggle for Place in 21st Century Washington D.C." Washington: American Univ.
- Thugard, Aubrey, ed. 2010. "Urban Planning, Policy and Development in Far Southeast Washington—1950 to Present: Shaping a Community." In *East of the River: Continuity and Change*, edited by Gail S. Lowe, 137–57. Washington: Smithsonian Anacostia Community Museum.
- Tianshu, Pan, and Liu Zhijun. 2011. "Place Matters." *Chinese Sociology & Anthropology* 43 (4): 52–73.
- Ture, Kalfani Nyerere. 2015. "50 Years Later, a Nation Still Splintered." *Baltimoresun.com*. March 9. <http://www.baltimoresun.com/news/opinion/oped/bs-ed-ferguson-kerner-20150309-story.html>.
- Turner, James West. 1988. "A Sense of Place. Locus and Identity in Matailobau, Fiji." *Anthropos*, 421–31.
- Uvin, Peter. 1999. "Development Aid and Structural Violence: The Case of Rwanda." *Development* 42 (3): 49–56.
- Vale, Lawrence J. 2013. *Purging the Poorest: Public Housing and the Design Politics of Twice-Cleared Communities*. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press.
- Valentine, Bettylou. 1978. *Hustling and Other Hard Work: Life Styles in the Ghetto*. New York: Free Press.
- Valentine, Charles A., and C. A. Valentine. 1968. *Culture and Poverty: Critique and Counter-Proposals*. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press.
- Varady, David P., Raffel, Jeffrey A., Sweeney, Stephanie & Denson, Latina. 2005. Attracting Middle-Income Families into Hope VI Public Housing Revitalization Programs. *Journal of Urban Planning*. 27(2):149-164.

- Vaughan, Alden T. 1978. "'Expulsion of the Salvages': English Policy and the Virginia Massacre of 1622." *The William and Mary Quarterly* 35 (1): 57.
- Visweswaran, Kamala. 1998. "Race and the Culture of Anthropology." *American Anthropologist*, 100 (1): 70–83.
- Wacquant, Loc. 2012. "A Janus-Faced Institution of Ethnoracial Closure: A Sociological Specification of the Ghetto." In *The Ghetto: Contemporary Global Issues and Controversies*, edited by Bruce D. Haynes and Ray Hutchison, 1–32. Boulder: Westview.
- Washington's Far Southeast* 70. 1970.
- Webb, Gary. 2011. *Dark Alliance: The CIA, the Contras, and the Cocaine Explosion*. New York: Seven Stories Press.
- Weber, Max. 2002. *The Protestant Ethic and the "Spirit" of Capitalism and Other Writings*. New York: Penguin.
- Whitehead, T. L. 2000. "The Formation of the U.S. Racialized Urban Ghetto." <http://www.cusag.umd.edu/documents/WorkingPapers/RUGOne.pdf>.
- Williams, Brett. 1988. *Upscaling Downtown: Stalled Gentrification in Washington, DC*. Ithaca: Cornell Univ. Press.
- . 2001. "A River Runs Through Us." *American Anthropologist* 103 (2): 409–31. doi:10.2307/683474.
- Wilson, William Julius. 1978. "The Declining Significance of Race." *Society* 15 (5): 11–11.
- . 1987. *The Truly Disadvantaged: The Inner City, the Underclass, and Public Policy*. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press.
- . 1991. "Studying Inner-City Social Dislocations: The Challenge of Public Agenda Research: 1990 Presidential Address." *American Sociological Review*, 1–14.
- . 2009. *More than Just Race: Being Black and Poor in the Inner City*. New York: Norton.
- . 2011. *When Work Disappears: The World of the New Urban Poor*. New York: Vintage.
- Wirth, Louis. 1928. *The Ghetto*. University of Chicago Sociological Series. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press.
- Xu, Qingwen, Douglas D. Perkins, and Julian Chun-Chung Chow. 2010. "Sense of Community, Neighboring, and Social Capital as Predictors of Local Political Participation in China." *American Journal of Community Psychology* 45 (3-4): 259–71.
- Zukin, Sharon. 1987. "Gentrification: Culture and Capital in the Urban Core." *Annual Review of Sociology*, 129–47.