

GENTRIFICATION IN WASHINGTON D.C.: A TUG-OF-WAR
BETWEEN DEVELOPMENT AND DISPLACEMENT

Prepared

by

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Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of
The University of Texas at Arlington in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements
for the Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS IN PUBLIC POLICY

THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT ARLINGTON

May 2018

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Acknowledgements

This project was a year-long research process with most input from One DC. I would like to give special thanks to all the staff at One DC for providing me with an internship opportunity, allowing me insights into their work and projects, and the continuous gracious help and guidance throughout the year, even after my internship. I would also like to thank Dr. Enid Arvidson, without whom this project would not have been possible. Her experience with planning and policy, combined with her intellect in qualitative research was a huge asset to my work. Her guidance has been the backbone of this project. I am also grateful to the faculty and my peers at UTA for supporting my project, always keeping me motivated, and making sure I'm submitting things on time. Lastly, I would like to give a huge thanks to my family for being my support system throughout this process. It's been a great learning experience, and I hope I can apply whatever I learned with this project, elsewhere in my future research and career paths.

April 12, 2018

Abstract

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During the past two decades, gentrification has been defined as a form of urban renewal where suburban dwellers have opted to return to the inner cities, attracting new investments, property development, and higher housing prices, hoping to achieve socioeconomic growth in underdeveloped neighborhoods. However, this policy has displaced minority communities that were once deep-rooted in the area, triggering criticism by them as they feel alienated, unheard and threatened. Washington D.C. has also been a host to this policy. However, it's had a different, yet important past. Since it's been the capital and policy hub of the country, this has meant Federal influences on urban policy decision making within the city. It has also been host to minority communities migrating away from racially-infused laws. With these unique attributes, have come unique benefits and consequences, particularly in the area of housing policy, including gentrification. Therefore, those being displaced have suffered major social, psychological, economic and financial problems, creating an issue that has stirred attention, but not the immediate and long-term solutions needed. This paper looks at the historical

underpinnings of the problem, the current literature on policy narratives, and the potential short-term and long-term policy solutions that need to be considered by all levels of government and community to provide equitable growth for all in D.C., and other gentrifying cities in the country.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

According to the United States Department of Housing and Urban Development, “Gentrification is a form of neighborhood change that occurs when higher-income groups move into low-income areas, potentially altering the cultural and financial landscape of the original neighborhood” (USHUD, 2016). Originally, it was introduced in the 1960s as a means to reduce and negate blighted neighborhoods around the country. Incentives such as tax breaks were and are still offered to private companies to motivate them to move to these neighborhoods and start development. This sort of development, in turn, attracts a higher income of residents, businesses, and opportunities for the community. On the downside, housing prices rise, neighborhood dynamics change, and so existing residents are no longer able to afford living there (USHUD, 2016).

For the past two decades, specifically in D.C., which is our instrumental case study, gentrification has been an influx of people to the inner parts of the city from the suburbs, the rest of the country and the world (Fullilove, 2004). The capital has had the second highest percentage (51.9 %) of gentrified neighborhoods compared to other cities in the nation (Maciag, 2015). There have been several factors leading to this rising influx of dominantly young white high-income level communities to the inner parts. Firstly, Washington has been a rising hub for international relations and national security-related jobs, especially after the 9/11 attacks. This has led to a growth of job opportunities and internships for younger like-minded individuals with an interest in the global community, creating a demand for housing closer to these Federal offices in the city (Hyra, 2017). Secondly, Washington, D.C. has had a long history of a power struggle between the federal government and local residents, where the city’s policy

jurisdiction has mostly had oversight from Congress and the President despite local efforts to gain autonomy and election-based governance.

Ultimately, Congress stepped in to create a D.C. Financial Control Board overseeing most of the municipal and city government's spending where these elected mayors have had pro-growth and developmental goals in comparison to their predecessors. There has also been a shift in the universal rhetoric for planning where there's a push for high-density, high-rise architecture, increased walkability, and an anti-sprawl spatial development pattern (Zukin, 2010). This has led to rising investments in inner cities and the development of amenities catering to high-income residents.

Furthermore, even during the 2008 recession, Washington was one of the few cities that was not highly affected due to the above Federal oversight and investments. With such changes in the dynamics of D.C., young, White high-income populations sought the opportunity to move back to the city, making businesses, realtors, banks, large institutions, and the capitalistic mindset of the government, quite happy. Considering all these aspects, it became obvious that gentrification would inevitably take place in Washington D.C. However, the problem is, gentrification has not been as positive as most stakeholders hope to believe.

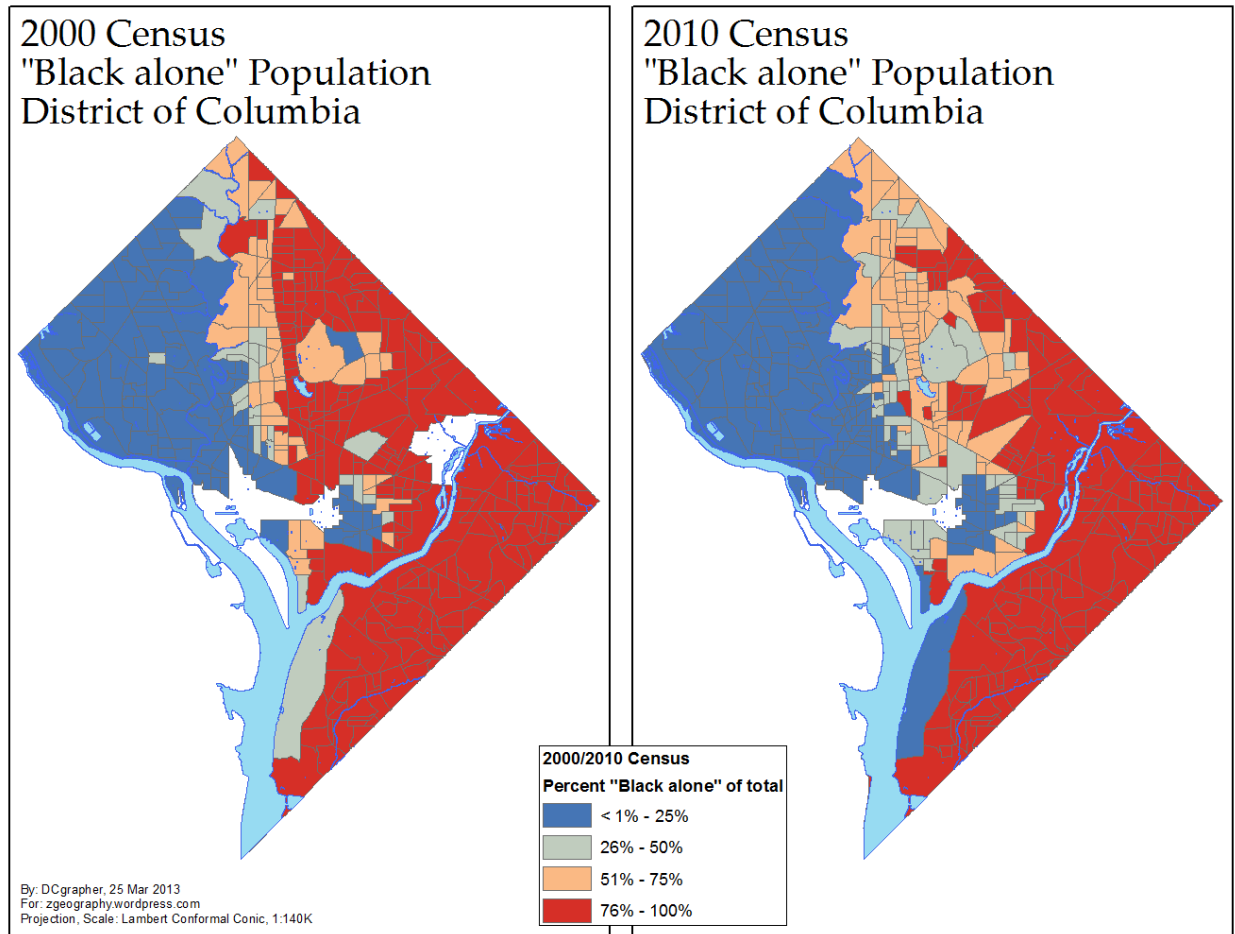


Fig. 1.1: Black Population Differences Through Gentrification (Dudley, 2013)

Problem Statement

These factors have negatively impacted existing Black communities of D.C. They are being displaced, forced to move to other pockets of poverty, and live in a repeated cycle of lack of equitable opportunity to thrive (Fullilove, 2004). In addition, the recent shift of affordable housing policy from public housing and rental assistance to voucher-based assistance, has also contributed to black communities de-concentrating to other areas, simultaneously forcing deep-rooted populations out of their neighborhoods (Hartung and Henig, 1997).

While some research suggests that gentrification solves major problems like racial and income segregation, and blight—and is, therefore, simply catering to what all ethnicities want and deserve: integrated communities and new spatial amenities (Hwang and Sampson, 2014)—displacement is still happening. Individuals are negatively being impacted socially, economically, financially and psychologically. Therefore, policy propositions that truly address these issues all the while maintaining the claimed benefits of gentrification need to be introduced. This is what this thesis aims to achieve—a policy conversation in an equitable direction that serves both existing and incoming populations of Washington, D.C. in all aspects of human livelihood.

Chapter 2: Literature Review: Influences on Gentrification

To fully understand the current situation in D.C., a literature analysis that looks at both a broader and D.C. specific picture is needed. There are also several perspectives and existing policy implications on this issue are discussed in this section. These perspectives are depicted in Figure 2.1.

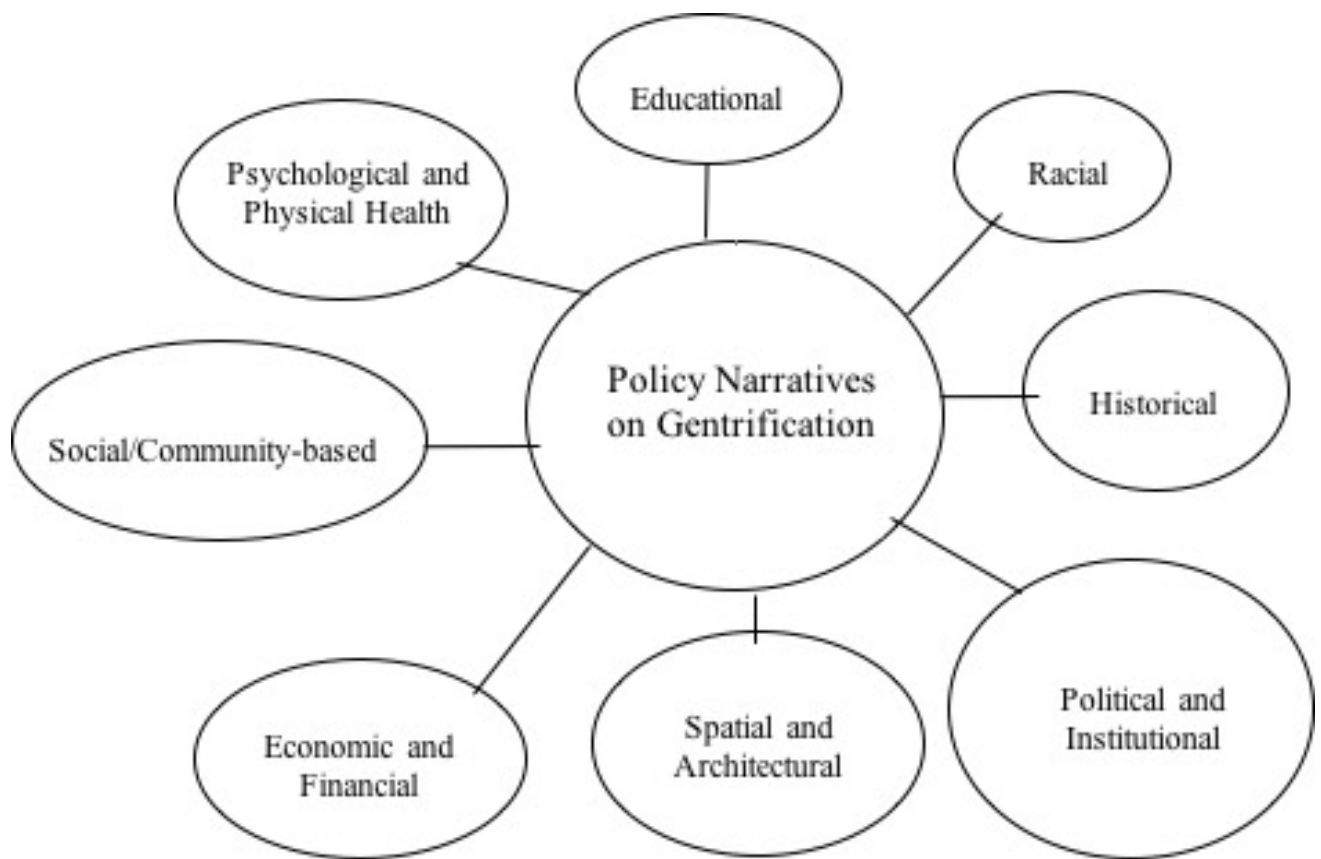


Fig. 2.1: Narrative Diagram - representing the different contributing and impacting factors of gentrification that have generated diverse existing policy narratives.

'Policy' has not been added as a contributing factor in the above diagram as all the aspects mentioned already influence policy. Each factor will be described in this section from a policy perspective as to encompass the intricacy of the policy implications. The diagram also does not presume that all these aspects are separate from each other, rather it emphasizes the fact that all the contributing and impacting factors of gentrification are strongly interconnected to each other, creating a wholesome narrative for us to analyze and address. Therefore, the following review looks at each factor in two ways: 1. A broader view of how the factor has influenced or contributed to the issue nation-wide; 2. A niche view of how the factor has influenced or contributed to gentrification, specifically in Washington D.C.

Historical

All the aspects mentioned in the literature have a historical connotation, but a historical narrative has been distinguished in this case to emphasize on how long the battle of displacement has been going on for African American communities. Of course, the issue of segregation and biased law-making can go back to the founding of the country, but the starting point for this narrative is the 1800s to mid-1900s when Jim Crow laws became an entity. These laws were created by Southern states and governments, allowing the legalization of segregation based on race, gender, and religion (Tischauer, 2012). This resulted in White individuals having more power and African Americans living as second-class citizens, where they were not allowed the same opportunities as their White counterparts. The treatment of African Americans, due to these laws, forced them to relocate elsewhere, resulting in the Great Migration in the 1900s to Northern, Midwestern and Western states. The hope was to create a new life of economic

opportunity and growth. This meant that pockets of black urban life were being created in these areas, fostering decades of black communities in the inner cities of the regions (History, n.d.).

This is where D.C. comes into play. Washington D.C. was one of the many cities in the North where black communities had found a home. Today, these communities are almost a century old. With the added discrepancies in lack of opportunity in the South even post-Jim Crow, D.C., like many of its northern neighbors, became a permanent home and haven for African American families (Hyra, 2017). Although gentrification is a newer concept in the context of the 1900s, African American communities are not new to displacement or the enforcement of concentrated communal pockets due to old biased laws.

Political and Institutional

With the historical significance in mind, it is hard to deny how institutionalized the problem really is. Going back to the point about the foundation of the United States, divisiveness has been an essence of the law since the beginning. Issues such as lack of inclusiveness of Native Americans, the slavery system, Jim Crow laws and current debates on immigration and indirect racial segregation all conclude the same concept – there is something wrong structurally and we have not been able to get out of it. Today’s policy in housing, education, healthcare, etc. is still conflict-ridden and does not allow for minority communities to thrive and reach the success rates White communities can (The Urban Institute. n.d.). As Ta-Nehisi Coates puts it, “Two hundred fifty years of slavery. Ninety years of Jim Crow. Sixty years

of separate but equal. Thirty-five years of racist housing policy. Until we reckon with our compounding moral debts, America will never be whole” (Coates, 2014).

With gentrification primarily impacting affordable housing availability for existing communities, it is important to note the structural tendencies in prejudiced housing policies prior to gentrification. In the 1920s, with the Great Migration, neighborhoods in receiving upper South states were not comfortable with Blacks moving into their neighborhoods and so adopted racial zoning. The Supreme Court deemed it unconstitutional, but private restrictions were not unlawful. Therefore, “racially restrictive covenants” were introduced as agreements that “prohibited the purchase, lease, or occupation of a piece of property by a particular group of people, usually African Americans” (The Fair Housing Center of Greater Boston, n.d). These were established by real estate boards, property owners, and neighborhood associations. In the 1930s, the Federal Housing Administration presented redlining policies on housing mortgage requirements. The FHA also explicitly practiced a policy of “redlining” when determining which neighborhoods to approve mortgages in. A red line was used to define the geographic area where “financial institutions would or would not invest” based on “racial or ethnic composition” and the ignorance of the “residents’ qualifications or creditworthiness” (The Fair Housing Center of Greater Boston, n.d). Furthermore, personal and structural biases from developers and landlords would frustrate integration, alienating certain races from assimilating in neighborhoods, which would then deem them “inharmonious.”

Insurance was mostly offered to developments in the outer regions of metropolitan areas because they were considered “safer investments” compared to the inner-city neighborhoods, consequently excluding entire inner city communities (The Fair Housing Center

of Greater Boston, n.d.). This meant that buying a new home was much easier than modernizing an old one, leading to the abandonment of inner cities. All of these factors completely excluded inner city Black communities from becoming homeowners, integrating into thriving neighborhoods, or experiencing growth of their own neighborhoods (The Fair Housing Center of Greater Boston, n.d.).

In 1937, the Wagner-Steagall Act, also known as the Housing Act was established which required “that for each new public housing unit created, a unit of substandard quality must be removed” (The Fair Housing Center of Greater Boston, n.d.). It was a one-to-one policy that focused on quality over quantity. Furthermore, local entities had taken on operational decisions related to housing with this Act, allowing communities to not have public housing if they did not want to. For those who were okay with public housing could decide on the location of these settlements, usually choosing areas that were already concentrated with minorities, resulting in racially segregated areas. It also “set very low maximum income requirements for public housing residents” which destroyed any chances of competition between the public and private market, also creating the concentrations of poverty that we see today (The Fair Housing Center of Greater Boston, n.d.).

In 1948, it was recognized that the restrictive covenants were not unconstitutional themselves, but the enforcement of the covenants was. This meant that private entities could utilize racially-based restrictive covenants, but states couldn't. This was done through a court case called Shelley v. Kraemer. Despite the ruling, racial covenants still existed throughout the country (The Fair Housing Center of Greater Boston, n.d.).

In 1968, the Federal Fair Housing Act was finally established throughout the country that prohibited discriminatory practices of racial covenants and other housing activities by landlords, real estate developers, municipalities, banks, insurance companies and other lending institutions. To combat the racial divide that was established before, the Low Income Housing Tax Credit (LITC) was created in 1986 to create “mixed-income and racially integrated communities” (The Fair Housing Center of Greater Boston, n.d.). However, housing projects ended up being concentrated in “communities of color with high poverty rates rather than in areas of high opportunity” (The Fair Housing Center of Greater Boston, n.d.). The concept, which still exists today, provided tax and financial incentives to real estate developers to create low-income rental housing. The rent is never allowed to be greater than 30% of the 60% Area Median Income of the neighborhood. Census tracts with high needs of redevelopment were given higher credit. Another housing policy known as Section 8 Housing was also introduced to provide vouchers to families to be able to relocate anywhere. The voucher amount fluctuated, however, based on the income level of the family. For LITC, the rent amount remained the same. With both of these programs, racial segregation was still happening as some landlords could refuse voucher-holders from renting in the area, and LITC’s housing was highly concentrated in poverty-stricken areas as they received higher credit (The Fair Housing Center of Greater Boston, n.d.).

In addition to above housing laws having created the current issues in DC with racial and income segregation and concentrations of poverty, there were other local factors playing into the issue. The constant power struggle of authority over local government appointment and election between the Congress and the residents of Washington, D.C. (Richards, 2002),

combined with the local government's shift in approach from community-based growth to more capitalistic and real estate development methods created the perfect climate for gentrification (Hyra, 2017). Despite passing the Home Rule Act in 1973, the Federal lawmakers still had an authoritarian outlook on most of D.C.'s policies which deterred the emergence of true representation at the local level (Hyra and Prince, 2016). Therefore, the long history of minority communities relocating multiple times to accommodate the majority's comfort (Fullilove, 2004), once again showed its colors with the implementation of this policy (Blau and Blau, 1982).

Racial

Picking up from the previous point, it is undeniable that race has contributed to the situation in D.C. Jackelyn Hwang and Robert Sampson (2014) agree that state and business practices influence such policies, but argue that these investments and approaches are not fully possible without the added demand of the influxes (2014). Therefore, they attribute gentrification to a major social process – neighborhood selection due to race-related factors. Hwang and Sampson believe that implicit biases by incoming residents affect the level of neighborhood diversity and that incoming populations specify preferences of where they'd like to relocate. It is seen that White communities tend to move to neighborhoods with at least some White population, and minority gentrifiers move to neighborhoods with their communities in place (2014).

Again, historically, race has played an eminent role in the determination of access to opportunities to Black communities and other people of color in D.C. In addition to the racially-

motivated housing covenants and refusal to rent homes in high-opportunity areas to people of color based on their vouchers (The Fair Housing Center of Greater Boston, n.d.), race relations have been unsteady in other aspects as well. “Many of today’s problems in the inner-city ghetto neighborhoods—crime, family, dissolution, welfare, and low levels of social organization, and so on—are fundamentally a consequence of the disappearance of work” (Wilson, 1996, p. 8). The disappearance of work can be attributed to the blame game elected officials have adopted for people of color, rather than addressing changing economic conditions (Wilson, 1996).

Disproportionate law enforcement in the city, in relation to crime and drugs, has been a contributing factor to the problem as well. Research has continuously suggested that law enforcement is stricter on Black individuals than on White individuals for the same crimes—it’s a mechanism of modern-day slavery. The recent media coverage of police brutality and law enforcement discrepancies all point to the biased legal system of the country that is allowing such differences to occur. This adds to the issues of a Black family is already facing, and causes psychological displacement. Drug use is prevalent in all levels of class and income, yet Black communities are mostly targeted for it. Mass incarcerations based on drug usage in minority neighborhoods vs. the legalization of the same drug now that most Caucasian communities have embraced it, is representative of how the justice system is biased against people of color. This is preventing access to equal opportunities and stability, as being incarcerated produces “lifelong collateral consequences” (Drug Policy Alliance, n.d). With the loss of jobs because of incoming influxes, and lack of accessibility due to gentrification, This sort of fragmentation, like Kathryn Howell (2016), and Derek Hyra (2017) also imply, is an unavoidable consequence that requires tackling.

Spatial and Architectural

During the 20th century, as minority communities were migrating to the cities, a newer concept of suburban dwelling was slowly developing where more affluent White communities were moving to suburban areas, willing to commute to the city for work rather than living there. The reasons were lower housing prices in suburban neighborhoods and an increase in negative stereotypes of inner city neighborhoods due to the Black community influx (Fullilove, 2004). Black inner-city communities were perceived as being drug and crime oriented. This affected the conditions of the inner cities with mostly low-income communities inhabiting the areas due to disinvestment – a concept repeatedly witnessed in the country, and so “blight” was becoming more and more apparent to the government, despite it being home for many of these communities (Hwang and Sampson, 2014). Therefore, gentrification was seen as a method to eradicate this blight in D.C. (Hyrá, 2017).

Recently, the trend has shifted. Sharon Zukin, in her book, *Naked City*, mentions how today’s city planning efforts allow a city to lose its soul and build “a shiny vision of the future” (p. 1) which includes anti-sprawl sentiments, denser cities and a move back to central cities. This has eradicated the true identity and culture of many cities including Washington D.C. (2010). Neighborhoods that were once considered hubs of criminal activity, are now perceived as “cool” areas to live in. One may ask what changed their minds. The answer is that they became exciting “living the wire” areas where incoming residents want to experience what it’s like to live in a predominantly Black neighborhood. The cultural influences of Jazz and other artistry also led incoming populations to believe that they would be experiencing such art and culture once they stepped foot into these neighborhoods (Hyrá, 2017). The reality is, however,

that true culture is detaching from these areas, as the ones who brought it are being displaced. Another incentive for these investments is the interests of city officials. Due to the above-mentioned pro-growth objectives, high tax and funding incentives are being offered to developers to move into the inner parts of D.C. Rates as low as \$1 were and are offered to private developers (Patel and Madden, 2013).

Social and Community-Based

Primarily a social problem caused by racial contexts, gentrification has created small pouches of segregated communities rather than an integrated community, as originally intended. The community's needs are almost never prioritized with the current gentrification process. The areas and people the existing residents were once familiar with are removed or forced to migrate to other concentrations of poverty, and so there is never any stability (Fullilove, 2004). Therefore, it is important to make sure a communal approach is adopted within redevelopment. Hyra (2017) and Fullilove (2004) mention community organizations and meetings where mixed interactions happen. They assert that this will help prevent any feelings of resentment that existing or incoming communities might feel. They both promote dialogue and inclusion of the existing Black communities in the decision-making process to avoid feelings of alienation, hoping this can reduce chances of families opting to move out of the neighborhoods.

Howell (2015), also emphasizes the importance of community organizing and empowerment through nonprofit and advocacy work. She supports the bottom-up approach

rather than the solving matters from top-down approach where the policy maker is not able to relate to the problem of the targeted community.

Economic and Financial

This one's a more obvious contributor and the eroding economic conditions of the inner city neighborhoods were the reason local governments wanted to step in and take control. The goal was to attract investment that would entice a high-income resident influx, modern amenities and an overall uprooting of the neighborhoods (HUD, 2016). However, the issue is that equitable economic and financial growth is not being seen, rather the fragmented cycle of high-income and low-income pockets are being repeated as Black communities de-concentrate to other poverty-stricken areas.

For D.C., Hyra (2017) suggests that policy should help to raise the standard of living for minority Black communities rather than only focus on temporary solutions so that these communities can also afford living in gentrified neighborhoods. One specific recommendation is to support small businesses that are forced out of business when larger corporate companies come in to the developed neighborhoods. This can be done by providing capital and other resources needed for the successful running of these businesses, which also creates long-term, equitable opportunities for existing residents.

Other elected officials, such as Chokwe Lumumba in Jackson, Mississippi, are also looking towards more progressive methods of solving such issues. His ideologies are about a united community and collaborations in neighborhood decisions. He often uses phrases such as “collective genius” and “people-centered government” as the right policy approach to poverty-stricken inner cities (Lartey, 2017).

Psychological and Physical Health

An outcome that is mostly ignored in this context is the psychological and health impacts displacement has on families. Fullilove’s (2004) entire policy perspective is based on the health and wellbeing of those being displaced. She uses the term “root shock” to define what families and individuals experience when they are forced to leave their communities as they feel alienated or can no longer afford the high rent prices. Once the psychological health is affected, all other areas of physical wellbeing are also negatively impacted. The motivation to thrive and survive in such conditions reduces over time. Therefore, this goes back to the communal approach of tackling the issue as a starting point to solving the problem, and so a welcoming and equitable environment needs to be created for both incoming and existing residents (Hyra, 2017).

Educational

A lot of the problems that have occurred through decisions made without retaliation from current residents have been due to a lack of their political education. When minority communities feel empowered enough to raise their voices, which can be achieved through

proper nonprofit organizing, a lot more can be mobilized in the right direction. Institutionally, education has also been inaccessible to racial minorities within cities, because of this systematic sidelining of the populations. (Fullilove, 2004). Closely related to the economic, financial, and social aspects of the narrative, education is an effective method of raising the standards of living of low-income minority communities as mentioned. Also, educational institutions can act as community platforms for families to come together and voice their opinions and concerns, simultaneously, becoming educated in their rights and responsibilities (Fullilove, 2004).

Local and Global Solutions Already Suggested to Combat Displacement

Considering the narrative above, there have already been some solutions proposed by communities and policy experts to reduce the negative impacts of gentrification. There are several alternative housing models that are on the rise in many parts of the country to address the rising issues of lack of affordable housing and developer “short-termism” (Kelly, 2012), where immediate profitability becomes the aim. One of these alternatives are community land trusts. It is a concept where, “a local nonprofit acquires a parcel of land and pledges to use it for purposes that benefit the neighborhood, whether that be food production or affordable housing” (Semuels, 2015). This helps prevent the land from going into the hands of developers, yet allowing people to buy homes and maintain equity. Also, the property or piece of land is always ensured to be affordable.

Another recommendation is cooperative housing where community members pool in to buy a house, and so the ownership is equally distributed. It allows for the residents to own the

property without having to bear the entire burden. It's a great way to initiate community-led solutions (Kelly, 2012).

Inclusionary zoning is another concept that has been suggested, which forces developers to build affordable housing amidst high-opportunity areas. "Private-sector developers are willing and able to produce affordable housing at lower costs than other subsidized development organizations if given access to low-cost land, financial incentives, and other available subsidies, points out a 2014 report from Chicago (Mock, 2015).

Increasing wages of the working class for them to be able to afford basic housing and other needs in cities is also a policy suggestion found in the literature. It's about a more permanent solution than relying on developer contracts with cities to ensure affordability (Mock, 2016). Furthermore, improving on the current housing programs such as the LTC or section 8 Vouchers to ensure equitable access are also ways in which the problem can be solved (Affordable Housing Task Force, 2016)

Chapter 3: Methodology

The nature of this research has been essentially qualitative with inspiration from the works of Critical Race Theory (CRT) where the roles of research and activism are combined to narrate stories of people of color, simultaneously countering “dominant discourses” of diplomacy and neutrality (Denzin and Lincoln, 2018). The inquiry centers around the concept of race and its relation to the larger context of policy and social sciences. Therefore, to fully understand the role of race in the current issue on gentrification, CRT was taken as an inspiration to drive the storytelling and policy outcomes. Within this context, the following methodologies were used to form the narrative:

Instrumental Case Study

A case study is where a specific example of an issue is studied to add to the narrative, and understand the different contributing and resulting factors. There could be comparative analyses or a single analysis. The type of case study that has been used for this paper is an instrumental case study. It is where “a particular case is examined to provide insight into an issue or refinement of theory” (Stake, 2008). The purpose is to conduct an in-depth analysis of the study to interpret its application to other similar contexts and draw conclusions. There might be some limitations to this approach since it is a single case study, and many may argue that it is not sufficient to make the research conclusions statistically representative. However, as Flyvbjerg points out, a single case study can be as relevant as a comparative analysis, as long as it is significant and detailed (2004).

Therefore, the case study chosen – One DC – has been the primary source of information and research for this paper. Washington D.C., as a city, was mainly selected for its unique historical and political climate. However, One DC was also chosen for its grassroots work in the heart of the city’s gentrifying neighborhoods – Shaw/U District (Hyra, 2017). One DC’s mission is to “exercise political strength to create and preserve racial and economic e Shaw and the District” (One DC, n.d.). Principally focused on organizing and empowerment, One DC works with low-income, poor, and immigrant communities to “take action to create and preserve social and economic equity” (One DC, n.d.). The organization was also a location where I interned for three months to better understand the housing crisis in Washington D.C. and get connected with individuals and families on the verge of displacement.

One DC currently has six people as staffmembers and six people in their Shared Leadership Team. However most of their operations are conducted by members around the city and country. The exact number of members was not specified during my time at the organization. The details of how responsibilities are divided between the Shared Leadership Team and members have been outlined in the case study analysis.

One DC is fundamentally a grassroots level advocacy organization based on the “participatory democracy goals and principles taught by Ella Jo Baker” (One DC, n.d.). Their work emphasizes on the right to income, wellness and housing, making gentrification a key issue for One DC and its members. They have been continuously working with hundreds of individuals and families from the inner areas of D.C. who have been victims of local alienating policies including housing, education and labor. One DC’s social and political movement has added value to this research as it provided a platform for researchers like me to interact with

people who are actually being affected by gentrification, and approach the solutions from a bottom-up standpoint rather than top-down. Information was gathered during my internship with One DC by attending their community and office meetings and establishing a relationship with the neighborhoods the organization serves. Therefore, many analyses and references are made throughout the paper to One DC's work, and the contributions and collaborations they have made to the housing policy of Washington D.C. Within the umbrella of a case study, the following methods have been used to achieve a thorough analysis.

Document Analysis

Document analysis is a concept in social sciences that involves the collection of different documents such as “maps, architectural plans, films and photographs”, that can be used to interpret and create a narrative in relation to the issue being studied (Prior, 2003)

To assist in understanding the many perspectives of the issue and conclude the different truths that have come from these perspectives, document analysis of items such as newspaper articles, developer websites, before and after pictures of Washington D.C.'s neighborhoods, and spatial maps have been used to comprehend the many influences that have contributed to what D.C. is today.

Semi-structured Interviews

A foremost part of ethnography in qualitative inquiry, interviews are a process of asking several stakeholders of the issue essential questions that can help gain deeper insight into the

issue (Bryman, 2001). The type of interviews that were conducted for this paper were semi-structured where “the researcher has a list of questions or fairly specific topics to be covered, often referred to as an interview guide, but the interviewee has a great deal of leeway in how to reply.” Further questions were then asked based on the answers given by the interview. This allows for more freedom and authenticity paving a great way for gaining information that might not have been expected initially (Bryman, 2001).

During the course of this research, starting from July 2017 to April 2018, interviews were conducted with two tenants in gentrifying neighborhoods who have been collaborating with the organization to prevent their homes from becoming unaffordable; two policy experts who have conducted previous research and analyses on the subject; and five community organizers who have worked with abovementioned tenants and other low-income minority communities affected by gentrification. The interviews were either in-person or over the phone depending on the feasibility of the interviewee and lasted about 30 to 45 minutes each. The answers were then recorded, and scribed for analysis.

These interviews were intentioned to provide perspectives from those being affected by policy, those who have extensively studied policy, and those who have taken matters into their own hands to influence policy. The interviews have been conducted under the IRB protocol number Protocol Number: 2017-0740 to protect the identity of interviewees and remain under ethical research practices. The interview protocol can be viewed in Appendix A.

Ethnographic Observations

Participant observation, or in this case, ethnographic observation is a vital way to conduct research of social issues such as this one. It requires the researcher's immersion in the environment he or she is studying to understand where and why each perspective is coming from. It includes note-taking, recording sounds and images, and even asking questions to "uncover the meaning behind the behaviors" (Guest et al., 2013).

For this research, ethnographic observations were carried out throughout my time at One DC during tenant and community meetings, neighborhood canvassing, and weekly official meetings to understand the context better, and identify overall reactions to the intricacies of gentrification. This was also done under the IRB protocol number Protocol Number: 2017-0740 to protect the identity of participants and remain under ethical research practices.

Throughout the methodology analysis in the paper, personal notes have also been used to emphasize on the development of knowledge through individual experiences and interactions at the organization. These personal insights, also known as auto-ethnography, have been added to create a more relatable narrative that takes the reader through a learning journey (Mendez, 2013).

Chapter 4: Results

Through the above methodology, the aim of the research was to establish opinions for the following three points:

1. Issues with gentrification, and associated policies – roots of the problem.
2. Whether there are any positive connotations to gentrification.
3. The solution to the problem, may it be specific to affordable housing or wholesome in terms of human livelihood.
4. The ultimate ideal wanting to be achieved through their efforts.

The above aspects were determined from community organizers, tenants and policy experts during case study review, document analysis, interviews and ethnographic observations at community meetings.

The results have been outlined in Tables. 4.1 – 4.3.

In summary, the tables outline the following points:

- Organizers are looking for alternatives to capitalistic approaches and thoroughly believe that gentrification has yielded no benefit except allowing people to relate to a global problem.
- Tenants just want to be heard and want more affordable housing options in all neighborhoods.
- Policy experts have had a more diplomatic approach, and want to consider both developer and tenant requirements to find middle ground that ensures equity.

Table 4.1: Terminology Used by Community Organizers:

Issues with Current Policies	Positive Impacts of Gentrification	Solution to the Problem	Ultimate Ideal to be Achieved
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Policies not working for everybody. • Crisis has deepened over the past decade. • Abandonment of working class. • Never seen claimed positive impacts of gentrification. • Giving land away to developers • Current policy demands is outside of the capitalistic scope. • Lack of jobs for working class minorities. • Increase in taxes • Governmental officials and property developers do not represent the interests of the majority of working class/poor people – but in the interest of the developers and corporations. They make claims but their policies are horrible. • A few people with a lot of money and land are pushing thousands of people out of the central parts of the city. • There is a lack of organizing and political clarity on what we really want – thinking of best strategies. • Lack of awareness that everyone has a right to live in the city despite their income level. • Using a narrative of poor people being lazy to justify Global capitalism exploitation. • Constant fighting with the big developers and governmental entities. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • None • Global relativity that there is a problem • United front against the issue 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Political education of communities of the issue – movement education. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Use of timelines to assess policy reforms • Introducing non-capitalistic approaches – socialism – people are ready. • Creating revolutionaries and developing a vision • Universal housing – not a tiny house movement. • Better income measures to be spent on housing - a quarter or third, rather than using ‘affordable’ as a policy term. • Universal basic income – with better income triggers and geographical analysis. • Abolish property taxes on those who have been in their house for a certain while and cannot afford to pay them. • Exposing governmental officials and property developers for who they are. • Develop an electoral political party that is connected to the non-capitalistic demands. • Government distribute housing – not the developers – restoration of public housing for all classes, not only working class. • Pushing against privatization of housing. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Not having to beg for crumbs – real change. • Every person should be housed decently – clean and safe environment with parks, shops, and walkability – based on need, not on the ability to pay. • Not being displaced. • Quality housing in the location that the tenant wants without being pushed out. • Public housing, education and healthcare – a socialist reform. • Taking examples from other countries and societies.

<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Forced migration and serial displacement – living like nomads.• Global issue• Gentrification is different from community redevelopment• Gentrification – intentional economic, cultural, political and social destruction of a people’s social safety network, space and place.• Redevelopment becomes bad when a dominant class dominates the working class.		<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Policy aimed at keeping people in the city as it creates a social safety network that supports their livelihood, no matter where they are from.• Being bold about the vision and figuring out the policy that makes sense for educating and politicizing.• Nice capitalism can be a temporary solution.	
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Table 4.2: Terminology Used by Tenants:

Issues with Current Policies	Solution to the Problem	Ultimate Ideal to be Achieved
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Focus on Profitability • Moving us to different places whenever a renovation happens. • Lack of support from local governments (support that was there before) • People of color looked upon as criminals] • Affecting mental wellbeing • Cruelty of officers at properties – going after people who live at the property, not the ones who are visiting. • Win win for the people at the top. • Lack of communication and commitments. • Councilmembers not supportive of the people. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Some sort of loyalty to older residents who saved the property before. • Organzing together and making a tenant’s association. • Not prioritizing money • Select officials from different places to be able to speak for themselves • More meetings with councilmembers to find out what the people really need • All these positions need to be investigated to see whether they are working for the people or the developers • They need to be compassionate. • Need more education • They make promises but they are not going through with them. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Affordable housing for everyone. • Jobs should be available for the people who live here in the city.

Table 4.3: Terminology Used by Policy Experts:

Issues with Current Policies	Positive Impacts of Gentrification	Solution to the Problem	Ultimate Ideal to be Achieved
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Whose benefitting from the new resources? • City developers don't really prioritize equitable growth. • Unfunded mandate of equity – desire to create equitable growth, but no money for it. • Lack of effective regulation and policy from public sector • Reliance on corporations to be socially responsible- which is not going to happen. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Depends on how term is defined. • Often brings new resources into the community that are necessary – financial, better schools, safer streets, diversity. • At the moment no, but if changed then yes as no one wants concentrated poverty, but can be if inclusive. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Incentivizing developers to consider low-income people • Public private partnerships due to money bring with private entities • Overcoming internal division • Not cutting budgets for community development • Inclusive gentrification • Equitable development – don't have to have two extremes of poverty and crime; and gentrification and displacement, there are options in between. • Effective inclusionary zoning • More money for community organizers to put pressure on public officials. • Alternatives to place-based policies such as increasing minimum-wage, converting low-wage jobs to middle-wage jobs, providing free child care, allowing people to make the choice of the community they want to be in, rather than being forced out. • Regulation of section 8 housing voucher system, developer practices by public sector. • Provisions of relocation counsellors that help find places in high-end neighborhoods. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Inclusive Growth • Equitable growth • Low and moderate-income individuals gaining the same benefits as the influxes due to gentrification.

Chapter 5: Discussion and Analysis

Experiences with One DC:

Originally being from a colonized third world country and having grown up in a fairly rich Middle Eastern country, but as a subaltern (Spivak, 1988), I wasn't sure what to expect when I first stepped foot into the United States as a graduate student. The media played a vital role in our perceptions of the country, especially where I grew up, so I was primarily here to learn what made America tick; what made it a successful democracy; and what made its people this proud of their country. My time in the country was about what I could learn from this society to help my country back home. Now, that does not mean I wasn't aware of the structural and institutional problems apparent in USA's politics, especially when it came to international relations and 'national security' (Mitchell, 2017). However, I was one of many who believed that the USA was a utopia third world countries could look up to in terms of local policy and societal growth. My time at One DC proved me very wrong. As a disclaimer, I would like to point out that this does not mean that there is no solution. There is always a solution, although sometimes the political will to implement the solution does not exist, and that is exactly what this research is about—the process of finding a viable solution to an immense nation-wide and even global problem—displacement due to gentrification.

Starting off with the case study, my internship at One DC was pivotal in understanding the struggle of the working class, low-income minority in Washington D.C. As mentioned previously, One DC aims to “organize primarily working-class, long-time DC residents of color to exercise political strength to create and preserve racial and economic equity in both the Shaw

neighborhood and the District of Columbia” (Internship Orientation packet, 2017). While the organization may be located in Shaw, a neighborhood in NorthEast D.C., their work spans across the city, wherever working class and oppressed individuals of color have not been granted the rights they deserve. One of the factors that makes One DC stand out is its concrete ideology on socialist movements, away from the capitalist one. It is the perfect case for one who is interested in modern day critical race theory research (Denzin and Lincoln, 2018). Before starting at One DC, I was sent multiple readings via email that were representative of One DC’s aura: “The Combahee River Collective Statement,” Ella Jo Baker’s statement on “I’ve Got the Light of Freedom,” “Five Faces of Oppression” adapted from Iris Young, “Pedagogy of the Oppressed” by Paulo Freire, “Services are Bad for People” by John McKnight, “What is to be Done” by Colin Stragar-Rice, and “Mask Off: The Monopoly on Violence and Re-Invigorating an Anti-Imperialist Vision for Black Liberation” by Devyn Springer and Joel Northam. These readings, combined with a step-by-step guide on how to be an organizer and advocate the right way, provided a worldview that was very different from the mainstream.

It quickly became clear that One DC is different than most nonprofit organizations. It isn’t about being an ‘activist’, but an organizer, building relationships and providing a communal approach to empower oppressed individuals in fighting for their rights. The approach has been working, and yielding successful action-oriented results. One DC’s mission, vision and values that are inspired by Ella Jo Baker (fig. 5.1), are therefore quite long-term, not only focusing on altering short-term policy, but building a growing community that becomes more and more aware of the institutional biases in the political structures of most bureaucratic

governments, like the one in USA, and providing methods of overcoming such structural barriers.

Our Mission

At ONE DC, our mission is to exercise political strength to create and preserve racial and economic equity in Shaw and the District. We seek to create a community in DC that is equitable for all.

OUR VISION

We, the people of ONE DC, envision the nation's capital as a place where low income, poor, and immigrant communities are organized, educated, and trained to take action to create and preserve social and economic equity. The membership and leadership of ONE DC will build on and organize with the participatory democracy goals and principles taught by Ella Jo Baker:

- involving grassroots people in the decisions that affect their lives;
- minimizing hierarchy and professionalism in organizations working for social change; and
- engaging direct action to resolve social problems.

The people's vision is to build power and advantage for communities of color, the working poor, and other groups of oppressed people through grassroots organizing and leadership development. We will develop membership and staff committed to building lifelong relationships with ONE DC and its mission.

The people's vision is to maintain a safe space where diverse cultures and individual stories are held sacred. We will promote social entrepreneurship and collective use of resources. We will honor teamwork and coalition building as our greatest assets. We will create a unique environment where discussion is respected, disagreement is honored, and action-oriented dialogue is encouraged to better understand social and economic oppression.

The people's vision is to develop grassroots leadership that will build a movement for positive systematic change.

OUR VALUES

In the spirit of *Ella Jo Baker*, we value grassroots, democratic leadership.

In the spirit of *Mother Jones*, we value grassroots organizing and hell-raising for justice.

In the spirit of *Denmark Vesey*, we value collective sharing of power and resources.

In the spirit of *Standing Bear*, we value people's right to indigenous culture and stewardship of land.

In the spirit of *Ida B. Wells*, we value organizing against injustice and for human dignity.

In the spirit of *Nannie Helen Burroughs*, we value collective work and cooperation.

We value our lives, spirits, and our collective personhood.

We value our unique human potential to organize for social change and justice.

We value the work of the poor, oppressed, and disenfranchised.

We value free expression of human love, sexuality, art, culture, and speech.

We, the people of ONE DC, as members, supporters, shared leadership team members, and staff stand firm and bear witness to the possibility of a just, fair, and equitable District of Columbia.

We share our values with you to build a caring society and community for all!

Fig. 5.1: One DC Mission, Vision and Values

It focuses on empowerment, education, relationships, advocacy, resistance and action. The structure at One DC is one of “Shared Leadership” (One DC Internship Orientation Packet, 2017). Their leadership is shared by the Administration and Organizational Management overseeing all admin, staffing and recruitment work; Organizing and Member Development Committee overseeing organizing efforts on right to income, housing and wellness; and Resource Development overseeing fundraising plans, building relationships and creating long-term memberships. Each committee has two coordinators, making a total of six people who share the responsibilities of the organization. However, while it may seem that having coordinators creates a work hierarchy, the members of the organization are equally involved in most of the work, many of whom are not even physically present in Washington D.C. The exact number of members was not specified during my time at the organization. However, collaborating with geographically distant partners adds another unique attribute to One DC’s approach. Building relationships is the priority (D. Moulden, personal communication, February 23, 2018) and so, the ideologies of the organization become relatable for anyone around the world to build a global movement. The immediate connection is not hard to make when one enters One DC. The shared leadership structure is a small representation of what One DC believes can be an applicable approach by any organization or governmental entity.

Methods Adopted by One DC

The next question then becomes, how does One DC implement effective organizing and building of long-term relationships? The strategy focuses on “movement-building work” through door-to-door canvassing around DC, organization of educational and fundraising

events throughout the year, phone banking etc. Some of the main approaches consist of the following: “The People’s Platform”, “a movement of low-income and working class DC residents of color and people who share our values and vision” (One DC Internship Orientation Packet, 2017). Members, organizers, workers, interns, leaders, and anyone interested gain an opportunity attend a monthly meeting for political education, discussion of key policy issues, and leadership development. The aim is to “seek to build a deeper analysis and assess our work; building alternative institutions; learning from past movement’s successes and limitations; championing non-reformist reforms; and always seeking to be a part of a broader movement that is multi-national, multi-ethnic, multi-gender, and multi-class” (Internship Orientation packer, 2017).

Another project employed by One DC, to achieve its mission, is through the Black Workers Center which is a “member-led space that builds racial and economic justice through popular education, direct action and worker-owned alternatives” (One DC, n.d.). It is essentially an ‘incubation’ space for Black workers to use to run small businesses, build cooperatives and collectives, and conduct any work in order to be able to achieve economic equity. The workers do not pay for the use of space, rather provide time for time. This means that the number of hours a worker uses the space, is the number of hours the worker needs to help One DC in some way, be it through canvassing, organizing, phone banking, volunteering at events etc. Through this concept, two birds are hit with one stone, a worker is granted the opportunity to build his/her career, as well as participate in the larger movement of One DC.

One DC's Efforts with Affordable Housing

Specifically looking at the affordable housing realm of One DC, and its relation to gentrification, One DC has worked with many tenant organizations and coops of properties around D.C. Originally Manna CDC (community development corporation), was created which focused on “developing the Shaw community and supporting low-income people” (One DC Walking Tour, May 30, 2017). Examples of their work included creating ice cream shops and selling it to a local resident; creating and operating a youth-led bike shop; renovating “apartment buildings to be sold to low-income.” (One DC Walking Tour, May 30, 2017). However, ten years ago, One DC split and became its own organization focused on organizing instead of developing. It became member-led where the community residents now “drove the work forward” (One DC, n.d.). What made One DC stand out from traditional nonprofits like Manna CDC their objective to fight the system and overcome structural issues in the areas of gender, race and class through resident-led initiatives. The funding for such initiatives and operations has primarily been through grants, foundations, membership dues, member-led fundraisers and donations. Request or receipt for government funding is rare for One DC, given they fight the institutional problems present in the current government system (One DC Walking Tour, May 30, 2017).

One DC has worked with countless neighborhoods across the city and has gained many success stories. Table 5.1 shows some neighborhoods, properties and cooperatives they have been and are currently working with.

Table 5.1: One DC Projects (One DC, n.d.).

Current Projects	Pending Projects	Semi-Current	Past
Brookland Manor	Lincoln Heights	1330 7 th St. NW	Kelsey Gardens/Jefferson at Marketplace
Dahlgreen Courts	Riggs Plaza	Parcel 42	Poplar Point
13 th and Savannah	The Carrollton	Mount Vernon Plaza	Temperance Row
LW2/Heritage at Shaw Station		Museum Square	Parcel 33/Progression Place
Barry Farm		Fort Chaplin	MLK Jr Latio Cooperative (Plymouth)
Congress Heights		Richman Apartments	Duncan Cooperative

Specifically, in the Shaw area, a map outlining some of the projects was created by One DC.

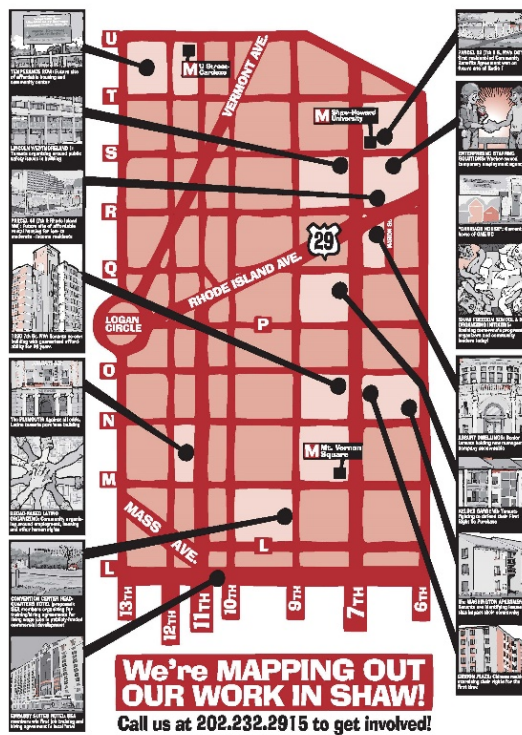


Fig. 5.2: Map of Shaw Projects by One DC (One DC, n.d.)

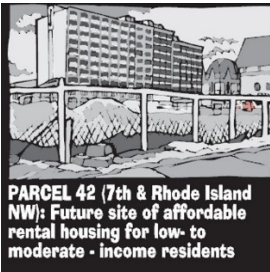
The specific property and projects are shown in Figure 5.3.



TEMPERANCE ROW: Future site of affordable housing and community center



LINCOLN WESTMORELAND 1: Tenants organizing around public safety issues in building



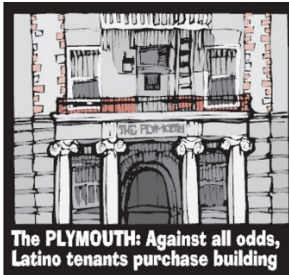
PARCEL 42 (7th & Rhode Island NW): Future site of affordable rental housing for low- to moderate - income residents



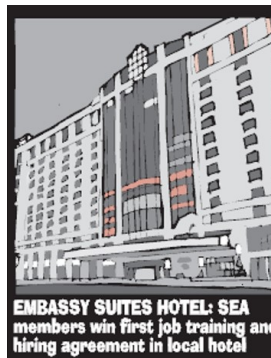
1330 7th St. NW: Tenants co-own building with guaranteed affordability for 20 years



BROAD-BASED LATINO ORGANIZING: Community organizing around employment, housing and other human rights



The PLYMOUTH: Against all odds, Latino tenants purchase building



EMBASSY SUITES HOTEL: SEA members win first job training and hiring agreement in local hotel



CONVENTION CENTER HEAD-QUARTERS HOTEL (proposed): SEA members organizing for training/hiring agreements for living wage jobs in publicly-funded commercial development



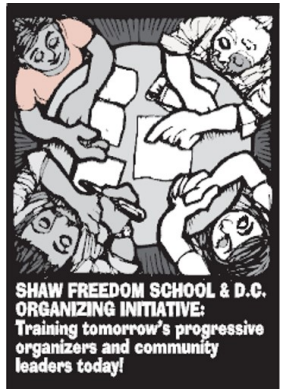
KELSEY GARDENS: Tenants fighting to defend their First Right To Purchase



The WASHINGTON APARTMENTS: Tenants are identifying issues that impact their community



GIBSON PLAZA: Chinese residents exercising their rights for the first time



SHAW FREEDOM SCHOOL & D.C. ORGANIZING INITIATIVE: Training tomorrow's progressive organizers and community leaders today!



Fig. 5.3: Specific Shaw projects by One DC (One DC, n.d.)

This paper does not discuss all these properties and their stories, but instead intends to shed light on a few to gain insight into the common narratives among them.

1. *Parcel 33*: Known as 7th & S, NW, Parcel 33 was Washington D.C.’s “first resident-led Community Benefits Agreement (CBA) won on future site of Radio 1. The area has been quite important to the black residents in the city. Howard University is found off on 7th street, up the road, also known as a “Historically Black College and University (HBCU)” that was founded 150 years ago. Furthermore, U street which is just around the corner of this area was once famous for its “Black Broadway” which “birthed the Black Cultural Renaissance” (Black Broadway, n.d.), home to Black music, culture, and sophistication. With gentrification, it was all taken away. Shaw residents predicted that this area would also soon be gentrified, like many were in the city, and so chose to organize and ensure the new development catered to their needs (One DC Walking Tour, May 30, 2017).

To achieve the above, residents of Shaw “surveyed the physical neighborhood: vacant houses, who owns what etc.” (One DC Walking Tour, May 30, 2017), and discovered Parcel 33 as a vacant lot by owned by the city at a very prime location due to metro and university access.

It was perfect for a developer to soon buy, and so the residents took it upon themselves to organize and testify in front of city officials to negotiate a deal. With that, they won DC's first ever Community Benefits Agreement (CBA), where a new development would ensure certain benefits to the community. The benefits were agreed to as follows:

- "29 new permanent jobs for DC residents
- Designation of locally-owned community retail space. On 7th street rent is lower for some businesses (so old businesses were able to come back after construction)
- 25% of apartments are affordable- 51 units
- Another building would be built with 100% affordable apartments
- Community fund grants" (One DC Walking Tour, May 30, 2017).

This set the motion the creation of more CBAs, but a lesson was learned in the process: the need to be more specific in the agreement to avoid loopholes, because the city eventually sold the lot to a developer who "created a building and sold it to a managing company, where the main tenant became the United Negro College Fund. Today, the lot has been converted into the "Progression Place" (Progression Place, n.d.).



Before (One DC Archives)



After (Progression Place, n.d.)

Fig. 5.4: Parcel 33

The description of the current project on their website is as follows:

Progression Place, a mixed-use development featuring luxury multifamily residences and extensive retail components, fills an entire block and stands atop the Shaw Metro station. The multifamily space features 205 high-end apartments, while the retail and restaurant space totals almost 19,500 sf. Specifications for this project were issued in 3 separate bid packages: 1: Foundation to grade, 2: Office building, and 3: 7th flats (residential). H&M wrote architectural specifications for the office building with DPA, and for the residential section with ECA, then completed final coordination with ECA for all three bid packages. In addition, H&M coordinated sustainable design requirements with the owner's consultant for the parking garage and the office building (Progression Place, n.d.).

As can be seen in the description, there are no affordable units, just high-end apartments with specific word uses like “luxury, sustainable design, and mixed-use development”.

This use of language has been further analyzed later in this paper.

2. *Kelsey Gardens*: This was a “project-based section 8 housing” where a private entity, in this case – a church, owned it. With section 8 housing, tenants were allowed to pay what they could, “usually about 30 percent of their income”, with allowance to pay less if they were also paying for utilities, while the government subsidized the rest. With developments around the area, the church realized the potential of profit-making with the selling of the

property. To get around Tenants Opportunity to Purchase Act (TOPA) rights, the church used several tactics such as “intimidating residents and offering them monetary benefits to sign away their rights” (One DC Walking Tour, May 30, 2017). While some accepted the offer, many took to One DC for organizing support and to take the church to court. They were then able to win the right to return, but not to buy. They couldn’t buy the building with TOPA under the 95-5 Sale Law because 95% of the building was already sold. Five years later, this loophole was taken out of the TOPA law.

However, they were able to request for 54 affordable units in the building with one bedroom at \$1,100, two bedroom units at \$1,150 and the three bedroom units at \$1,400. The “minimum household income for one bedroom is 33,549” (One DC Walking Tour, May 30, 2017). This ensured that the tenants could now return. Residents were now paying for electricity, water/sewer, trash, cable, phone, internet, parking, pet rent, and renters insurance. Some subsidies were achieved which waived the amenities fee and security deposit, but were still paying for parking and pet rent even though parking was free at the old building. The market-rate prices had a different trend \$2000 - \$2,200 for a studio, \$2,200 - \$2,700 for one bedroom, \$3,200 for a two-bedroom unit, and \$4,083 for a 3 bedroom unit. No apartments were available for more than 3 bedrooms, and were not catered to big families. They assumed that the number of bedrooms coordinated with the number of people earning an income. The residents had also been organizing and advocating for a new grocery store and park in the area, which only arrived once the gentrification took place.

The problem persisted as only 20 families returned after the reconstruction which lasted for seven years, which is a long time for a family to wait for their home. After reconstruction, it

was called the Jefferson Marketplace. Most families were already settled somewhere else. Some did not feel like they had their community anymore with different neighbors and shops that weren't catered to them, and the building feeling and looking completely different. There was a lot of building space but a lack of gardens, and so with all these aspects, the tenants now felt root shock (One DC Walking Tour, May 30, 2017; Fullilove, 2004).

According to One DC, the Kelsey Gardens issue could have been a real win if the residents were able to buy the building and turn it into a "limited equity housing cooperative" where the residents could share the building and keep it affordable as long as that is what everyone wants. Buying into a coop can be done with a couple of thousands of dollars allowing the individual to partially own the building and only pay a monthly maintenance fee which is less than the market rate. Such alternatives are supported by some banks like City First. Historically in the 80s and 90s, elected officials and mayors (Marion Barry) supported such initiatives, but the recent shift towards redevelopment and profitability has reduced interest (Staff Meetings at One DC, 2017).



Before – Kelsey Gardens (One DC Archives) After-The Jefferson Marketplace (Curbed DC, n.d.)

Fig. 5.5: Kelsey Gardens

The description of the current project on their website is as follows:

“Want a new Washington, DC, apartment that opens up amazing possibilities? Well, take a walk on the lively side of the city and get the DC rental apartment experience you’re looking for – Jefferson MarketPlace. Live the exciting mix of culture, comfort and contagious energy that fuels the Shaw neighborhood. First-class apartment, incredible and a great location? That’s about the size of it” (Jefferson MarketPlace, n.d.).

Again, the use of language in this post is important in building the narrative for new influxes.

3. *Parcel 42*: With Parcel 42, a CBA was signed in 2005, however an official commitment was not made by the DC government for 100% affordable housing, and so two years later, One DC members “threatened a sit-in and DC officials finally sat down with them to hear them out” (One DC Walking Tour). During July 2007, the Deputy Mayor at the time, Neil Albert, guaranteed a \$7.8 billion subsidy for “new permanently affordable housing at Parcel 42” (One DC Walking Tour, May 30, 2017). Parcel 42 Partners were chosen by One DC members due to their agreement with One DC’s affordability level requests, and so another CBA was in the making.

However, once again, the tables turned. During April 2008, Parcel 42 Partners revealed that they would only be building 60% Area Median Income (AMI) units starting at \$900 per month, and no other community benefits that were previously discussed would be included as they claimed that the government subsidy was not sufficient. One DC members then went on to meet and negotiate with DC politicians to provide a higher subsidy, but the

Deputy Mayor refused, and so action was taken by picketing the mayor, Adrian Fenty's lawn until he agreed to a meeting. After a month, his advisor informed One DC that he agreed to increase the subsidy that targeted households making \$50,000 with a \$7.8 billion city subsidy. Again, the aim for Fenty was at 60% AMI, but for One DC, 30 – 40% was more feasible. June 2010 came along, and the agreement was broken, and so another action was organized by One DC in the form of a tent city, where people "camped out for a few weeks to demonstrate the need for affordable housing" (One DC, n.d.). Today, the fight is still ongoing, and there has been realization that the organizing needs to be member-led. A pro-bono member lawyer demanded Mayor Browser for the new building on the basis of the CBA, and so a new developer is being searched for. However, One DC has little hope that the entire building will be affordable. Today, the lot is still empty.



Pictures of Parcel 42 from 2008 (One DC Archives)



Picture of Parcel 42 Today (from Google Maps)

Fig. 5.6: Parcel 42

Discussions at One DC

My time as an observer and integral part of One DC for three months played a vital role in creating my perceptions of the problems faced by DC residents. Monthly community meetings such as the “People’s Platform Meetings,” staff meetings, and tenant association

meeting were all types of events where the most honest insights and issues were brought forward. During interactions with staff and members, some key points were always commonly raised – a national and local affordable housing crisis where affordable housing is being torn down and being replaced with luxury condos. The reasons for these replacements are the partnerships between politicians, government officials and private developers, allowing them to make money off of gentrification. The privatization of public housing has widened the gap between income levels, mostly putting minority communities on the struggling end of the gap. One of the staff community organizers even mentioned how the claim that gentrification eventually drives down the overall prices of a neighborhood due to supply and demand has been false since no proof of such a phenomena taking place has been witnessed. The private developers who have initiated redevelopment and have employed tactics in kicking residents out of the properties are constantly referred to as “slumlords,” where profit-making is prioritized over resident well-being and property maintenance, and a subprime market is created (One DC Staff Meetings, 2017; Dave Manual, n.d.).

A Current Crisis - Brookland Manor

One of the major properties One DC was working with, during my internship from June – August 2017, was Brookland Manor. Brookland Manor is a property in NE D.C. within Ward 5. This property, owned by Mid City Financial, was originally well-maintained with plenty of units of affordable housing, and allowed voucher users to reside there. For this reason, the market rate wasn't too high, yet more affluent white residents were unwilling to move to the property. As a reaction, Brookland Manor owners instigated policies and community rules that created

dire consequences for minor infringements—infringements that did not even seem legitimate. Examples of such policies were and still are: “discrimination based on family sizes; harassment at the hands of a private armed security force; and mass evictions that were only slowed down after public exposure” (One DC, n.d.). These regulations have caused such inconveniences and alienation for the predominantly Black residents of Brookland Manor, that many have left the premises, hoping for better housing elsewhere. The residents, members and organizers working with One DC called this a “campaign of forced displacement.” (One DC, n.d.)



Brookland Manor now - creating a feeling of imprisonment in the area (O'Brien, 2018).



New Development Plans of Mid City Financial for the Property (Giambrone, 2016).

Fig. 5.7: Brookland Manor

This is the repeated pattern of what has been witnessed before. These tactics were used to avoid conflict that could halt their luxury redevelopment efforts. The claims for the new development were originally to create 575 affordable units, which has now been reduced to 373 units, 173 of which have been reserved for the elderly over the age of 62. Also, the three, four and five bedroom units have been removed to make only one and two bedroom units, disallowing large families to live together. The claim is that they can live in multiple units near each other, which again, is unfeasible for many families (One DC Staff Meetings, 2017).

The above example is a representation of what has been going within many gentrifying areas in the city. The consequences of such plans are devastating on a community that has been living in an area for half a century. The new regulations and the redevelopment across D.C. has been pushing out the vast majority of the poor, making schools and income less accessible for families who have to constantly move around. The aim by developers has become to maximize profits. Blaming the poor for being poor and the homeless for being homeless has been adopted by developers to prevent money from going into affordable housing. According to the staff at One DC, this era has been the highest rate of homeless families in the city, and there is a high demand of affordable housing yet very minimal supply. In one of the meetings, a staff member also pointed out the controversies with other nonprofit organizations in the city and nation. They have an interest in keeping poor people poor to have their grants maintained (Personal Communication with One DC Organizer, August 3, 2017).

Specifically with Brookland Manor, 400-500 violations by the property owners have been identified, but no government action has taken place. There seems to be a lack of accountability for developers. In response, One DC has taken on several methods to empower

and organize Brookland Manor tenants to act. One element was to make the Ward 5 councilmember, Kenyan McDuffie aware and accountable for the problems at the property. Many attempts were made in contacting him, but with no success, One DC and its members organized a march in to the City Council to confront Kenyan McDuffie and compel him to take action in favor of the residents. As planned, we all gathered at the City Council building with the Brookland Manor tenants. The councilmembers were in a meeting, and we were required to wait for an hour. Once Kenyan McDuffie stepped out, he quickly marched into his office without acknowledging any of the residents. We then waited outside his office where he refused to step out because he was unhappy with One DC's presence. He deemed it disrespectful and only wanted to speak to the residents. One DC granted him that, and so the residents had a meeting with him. He did not sign any of their requests, but agreed to do a walk-through at the property to see the conditions and complaints for himself.



Fig. 5.8: Flier for McDuffie Walkthrough (One DC Archives)

When the walk through finally took place, after an earlier cancellation from McDuffie, it was very short-lived. There were a few people present with a camera and sound system for a documentary they were filming, so when McDuffie entered the room and saw the cameras, he assumed they were a media crew. Annoyed by their presence, he left the premises immediately. Soon after, One DC spread the news on Twitter, even tagging McDuffie on the social media site.

After an initial attempt to avoid tenants at [an action last month](#), council member McDuffie was forced to meet with us and tenants at Dahlgreen Courts for walk throughs at both of our properties. Originally, the walk through at Brookland Manor was scheduled for July 6th, but with almost no notice (the day before), council member McDuffie canceled. He rescheduled the walk through for this morning, July 20, 2017.

This morning, approximately one minute after his late arrival (over 20 minutes), council member McDuffie ran out of our community room and away from us in a shockingly disrespectful manner. Though

Fig. 5.9: Statement by One DC after McDuffie Walkout (Twitter, 2017).



Fig. 5.10: Twitter Interaction with McDuffie (Twitter, 2017).

McDuffie's claims were far from reality, and his excuses for not holding a proper conversation with the residents demotivated them from further trusting state officials to take a step in the right direction. Nearly a year later, the fight is still ongoing, where residents are requesting for more affordable housing, but developers and city officials have other plans. However, there is still hope for the residents as the one of the Advisory Neighborhood

Commissions of Ward 5 - ANC 5B (ANC, n.d.), “has passed a resolution in opposition to Mid-City Financial's luxury redevelopment plan at Brookland Manor. The resolution expresses strong support for the reasonable and viable demands of the Brookland Manor Residents Association, including the Preservation of the 535 units of affordable housing that currently exist on site at the current bedroom sizes and current subsidy levels” (One DC, n.d.). Advisory Neighborhood Commissions were created by the D.C. government in 1974 to regulate and create policies for neighborhoods in D.C. (ANC, n.d.).



**GOVERNMENT OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA
ADVISORY NEIGHBORHOOD COMMISSION 5B
1920 Irving Street NE, Washington, DC 20018
Website: anc5B.org**

D.C. Board of Zoning Adjustment
441 4th St NW, Suite 210S
Washington, DC 20001

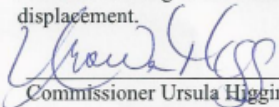
Subject: BZA Application, ZC Case 14-18 Redevelopment Brookland
Manor and Brentwood Village Shopping Center

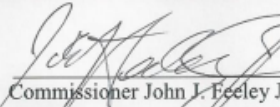
To Whom It May Concern:

Advisory Neighborhood Commission (ANC) 5B is writing to express strong opposition to mass evictions and displacement of residents at Brookland Manor in Northeast, especially while the District of Columbia is in the middle of a housing crisis. ANC 5B strongly stand in support of many Brookland Manor community members who oppose this project due to the displacement of many Brookland Manor residents.

According to the plans submitted to DC Zoning, ZC Case 14-18 Redevelopment Brookland Manor and Brentwood Village Shopping Center, Mid-City Financial is building 1,750 units of mostly luxury apartments, reducing overall affordable units from 535 units that are currently on the property to a mere 373 units, while also restricting 200 out of the 373 units for seniors only, aged 62 and older. Under these plans, Mid-City Financial intends to reduce the amount of affordable housing, restrict the eligibility of existing residents to return to the affordable units, eliminate all 4 and 5 bedroom family sized units, and most 3 bedroom units; eliminating much of Brookland Manor's family housing.

ANC 5B would like to see Mid-City Financial offer current Brookland Manor residents an opportunity to return after redevelopment, receive unit square footage comparable to current unit, and rent control or rent equivalent to current DC housing voucher. ANC 5B believe the residents at Brookland Manor should be entitled to fair equitable housing and humane treatment. On Wednesday, November 15, 2017, at a duly noted meeting, ANC 5B voted 4-0-0 to support development without displacement, advocating stabilize housing for current Brookland Manor residents, and oppose Mid-City Financial taking any actions against residents residing at Brookland Manor that will result in eviction and/or displacement.


Commissioner Ursula Higgins
Chair ANC 5B


Commissioner John J. Feeley Jr.
Recording Secretary ANC 5B

- OFFICERS**
- Ursula Higgins
Chairperson
 - Gayle Hall Carley
Vice Chairperson
 - Henri Makembe
*Treasurer/
Correspondence
Secretary*
 - Rayseen Woodland
 - John J. Feeley Jr.
Recording Secretary
- COMMISSIONERS**
- 5B01 Gayle Hall Carley
 - 5B02 Ursula Higgins
 - 5B03 Henri Makembe
 - 5B04 Rayseen Woodland
 - 5B05 John J. Feeley Jr.

Commission 5B encompasses portions of
Brookland * Michigan Park * North Michigan Park * Rhode Island Avenue * Queens Chapel * Woodridge

Fig. 5.11: ANC Letter (One DC, n.d.).

Political Education

Throughout the process of Brookland Manor, the tenants meetings and People's Platform meetings were aimed at adopting strategies that would work best in situations like this. It was fascinating to witness an organization like One DC be effectively involved in all aspects of a resident's livelihood, starting from needs like housing and income to more long-term solutions such as education and political knowledge. In these meetings, the community felt heard, and efforts were made to ensure new faces showed up at the monthly and weekly meetings through door-to-door canvassing and outreach a week or day before. Fliers were handed out, conversations were held, complaints were listened to, all in an effort to create a larger movement. With strategies like the above, many residents definitely saw an opportunity to voice their concerns and create a united front. Of course, giving up on city officials and positive change was a natural reaction, but with the diligence of One DC and its members, many disheartened individuals saw hope. One DC also made sure to warn its members of strategies employed by city officials and developers to convince them to stop fighting, such as peace offerings and red taping processes. Furthermore, One DC never made anyone feel uncomfortable, no matter their age, gender, class, or income-level. It's always about the cause and providing political education to whomever is interested.





Fig. 5.12: Community Education Fliers (One DC Archives)

This wasn't only true for Brookland Manor but other properties that I witnessed during my time at One DC – such as Barry Farms, Congress Heights and Dalhgreen Courts, all of which are going through similar problems in Ward 7 and Ward 8. One of the organizers at the One DC pointed out how these Wards had a 30% unemployment rate compared to a 14% rate in the rest of the city. With these examples, it has become clear that the problem still persists, despite the city officials knowing what is happening. Therefore, in addition to using confrontational methodologies above where city officials are made accountable, One DC ensures that educational approaches will empower the residents of D.C. and generate long-term thinking (One DC Staff Meetings, 2017).

Specifically, in terms of housing, One DC has a clear idea of what needs to be achieved. This can be seen in the following fliers, and has been mentioned by nearly all staff members that were interviewed at One DC. They produce materials under untraditional, non-imperialistic

education to hand out to members at People Platform’s meetings and do an educational session at every staff meeting on a weekly basis. This ensures that both staff, members and residents are aware of current issues, solutions and examples in the local, national and global arena, that may not be common in American worldviews.

NON-IMPERIALISTIC POLITICAL EDUCATION	NON-IMPERIALISTIC POLITICAL EDUCATION
<p data-bbox="321 556 711 588">DC'S [MIS] EDUCATION ON HOUSING POLICY</p> <p data-bbox="272 594 751 615">Do you believe these things to be true? If yes, why? If no, why not?</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li data-bbox="289 646 743 716">1. Housing affordability is measured by the Area Median Income (AMI), which includes 6 out of the 10 richest counties in the United States. The AMI in Washington, D.C. is over \$109,000. <li data-bbox="289 751 743 842">2. New luxury developments = mixed income communities and de-concentrated poverty because 8% of sq. footage has to be set aside as "affordable" at up to 80% of the Area Median Income (AMI), which is over \$109,000. <li data-bbox="289 898 743 947">3. Increased density = more vibrant communities (more density means more concrete, less grass/open space) <li data-bbox="289 1003 743 1052">4. The city has "limited resources" to deal with affordable housing crisis, homelessness, joblessness, etc. <li data-bbox="289 1108 743 1157">5. Demolition and privatization of public housing will solve the affordable housing crisis. <li data-bbox="289 1213 743 1262">6. All development is good; D.C. zoning commission passes everything. 	<p data-bbox="873 556 1352 588">ONE DC COMMUNITY EDUCATION ON HOUSING POLICY</p> <p data-bbox="922 594 1304 615">Universal Housing: A Public Option for the Social Good</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li data-bbox="881 646 1352 737">1. Luxury developments exacerbate the housing crisis. They knock down existing affordable housing. They destabilize land values and raise rents. They are not affordable to people making less than 30-80% of Area Median Income which is over \$109,000 <li data-bbox="881 772 1352 821">2. Housing affordability should be based on a reasonable percentage of one's income: <li data-bbox="881 856 1352 926">3. It is important for people to have public spaces in which to meet, relax and build community. It is important for children to have recreation spaces. Nature is key to health and wellness. <li data-bbox="881 961 1352 1010">4. The city constantly gives away public resources to private entities that are not accountable to the people. <li data-bbox="881 1045 1352 1157">5. The private market exacerbates affordable housing crisis under capitalism, because developers want to maximize profits. For example, at Barry Farm, they are eliminating public housing, giving away land, and have no relocation plan for current residents. <li data-bbox="881 1192 1352 1262">6. Development that displaces and breaks up families and communities destroys the health, safety and welfare of D.C. residents. For example, Brookland Manor. 

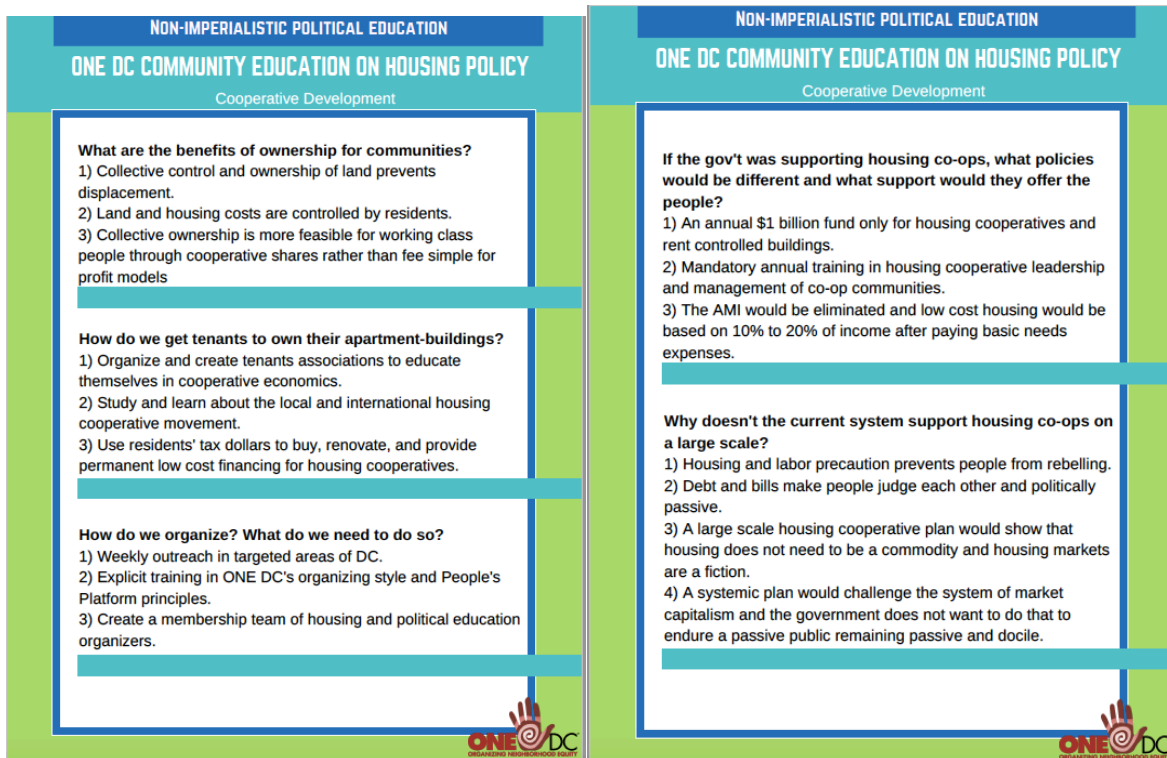


Fig. 5.13: Fliers on Universal Housing and Cooperative Development (One DC Archives).

One DC isn't only about housing, but finding untraditional, viable solutions to all the issues that current residents of DC face. One of the organizations that One DC has advocated their support for is the People's Congress of Resistance, a concept where a Congress that serves the community is created, rather than one that is swayed by rich lobbyists.



Fig. 5.14: flier on People’s Congress of Resistance (One DC Archives).

Physical Changes Through Gentrification

Another interesting element of One DC’s educational campaigns has been workshops hosted by outside parties and individuals on certain issues faced by the city. I was granted an opportunity to attend one workshop named “Diversity and Erasure,” where visual contexts of gentrification were analyzed (One DC Community Workshop, June 22, 2017). It was noticed that

aesthetically, there was a loss of porches, green spaces and hang-out outdoor areas in new developments, although amenities had increased. These amenities, however, were made without the existing residents in mind causing both “physical and ideological displacement.” On one end existing residents would face issues such as incarcerations for non-violent offenses; rent increases; increased policing; decreasing opportunity for social engagement etc., all the while new amenities would be installed once the property was redeveloped such as dog parks and coffee shops, that promote the black culture, yet push out the very people that are a source of that culture. The aesthetics of new development are not only present in the physical structure, but the advertisements for the developments as well. Figures 5.15 and 5.16 are examples of D.C. parcels that were previously covered in this paper.

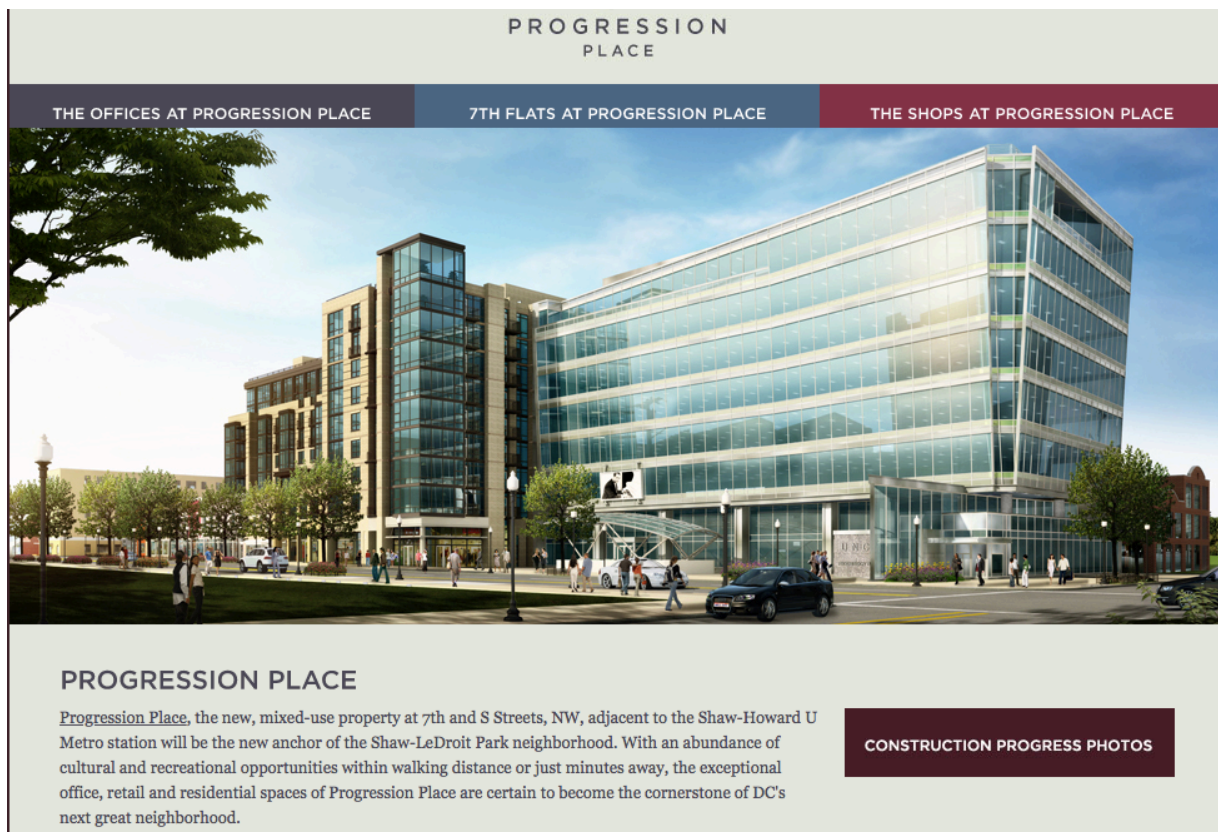


Fig. 5.15: Progression Place Website (Progression Place, n.d.).

In the above advertisement, there is a sense of “luxury” conveyed with the use of striking, colorful graphics. By looking closely at the image, the people also appear to be from a specific class – all young, affluent-looking people who seem to be here for work. No sense of family or children can be seen, so it becomes obvious which kind of client the advertisement is targeting. There is also a lack of character, as this building could have been built anywhere. It also implies that the new development is what has beautified the place, and all old developments were unwanted and “ugly.”

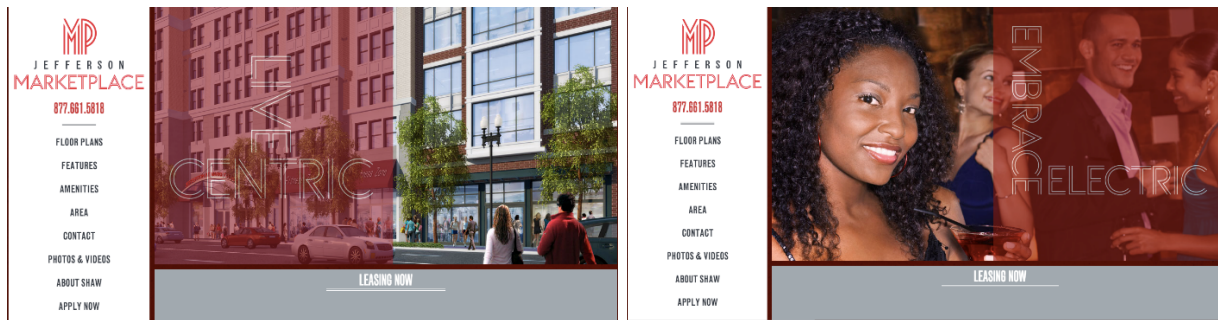


Fig. 5.16: Jefferson MarketPlace Website (Jefferson MarketPlace, n.d.).

The same can be said for the Jefferson MarketPlace – standardized modern architecture, young affluent people, emphasis on new as beautiful and old as not. This creates a sense of existing residents not belonging there.

Even the artwork and murals of the neighborhoods try to incorporate a sense of old culture, hoping to create mixed communities, making the neighborhood look millennial-friendly, simultaneously excluding all other age groups.



Fig. 5.17: Murals in Columbia Heights (DC Murals, n.d.).

As was pointed out in the literature review, a major driving point for young individuals to move into these neighborhoods has been the thrill of Black culture, and sometimes to experience the sophistication and older eras in jazz and the arts. With these experiences, the new residents do not realize the struggles and reality of Black communities in the nation – it’s almost an oxymoronic notion – the want to appreciate the culture, yet displace the very essence of it. All of these elements can be seen in the gentrified neighborhoods. Also, the advertisements have this sense of temporary living, where young individuals come to DC for job opportunities and exciting livelihood, but then eventually leave when starting a family. The concept of DC has become one of careers and opportunities, not of family living, which has become difficult for existing families to cope with. The cities are where the transportation, schools and job opportunities are, yet suburban areas have been promoted to be ideal family

locations. It has become a battle between the city and the Hill, where the government becomes a separate entity from the city, not aware of its struggles, and forcing its career-oriented ideologies on the masses of D.C. These physical elements create a sense of alienation for existing communities, causing psychological displacement before a physical one.

Insights from Organizers, Tenants and Policy Experts

As a last part of the analysis, interviews and insights were gained from organizers, tenants and policy experts on the matter. Five community organizers were interviewed, one of whom was Dominic Moulden, a shared leadership staff member at One DC – he had no problem in being identified in this research as he’s been a part of publications before. Two tenants were interviewed. The reason for two was because the ethnographic observations and community meetings was where most of the data was gathered for them, and so the results found in Chapter 4 were identified from a combination of the methodologies. Lastly, two policy experts were interviewed – Derek Hyra, an Associate Professor in the School of Public Affairs from American University, who has also written several books on the issue and was quoted in this paper; and Gregory Squires, a Sociology Professor at George Washington University. During my time in Washington D.C., my classmates and I were granted an opportunity to meet with Dr. Ben Carson, the current Secretary of HUD. He also provided his two cents on the issues of affordable housing in the city, which have been mentioned here. With these conversations, it became obvious that again, the problem has been long-term, and the changes have been slow in coming.

Perspectives on Changes

Some of the changes were described as follows by a tenant in Brookland Manor, Samantha (the names have been altered to protect the identity of the tenants):

There used to be a lot of people, activities and programs. We don't have any activities or programs no more. Most of the people is gone. We got new shopping centers. It used to be mostly African Americans, now we've got Caucasians walking around too. They really gone because their buildings has been torn down. So that's why we moved - they torn down what we have. Each management changed rules over the years - can't go outside and sit on the porch, the kids can't play, it's a whole lot of stuff, we can't have visitors. And when they do all of that and then they call the officers and put you out for some stupid stuff – "you had company come over, or you destroyed the property or whatever", and one time they didn't used to do all of that. We used to pay for our repairs and whatever and they just put you out for anything just so that White people can move in. (Samantha, Personal Communication, March 15, 2018)

Derek Hyra also described it as a process through capital investments:

Before the recession it was a process, but after the recession, it became this super gentrification. Super gentrification being defined as kind of the most wealthy people moving in. Everything was being done to help capital and investments bring themselves into DC at this point, with property rents skyrocketing, but being sold to developers at very low rates due to city government officials being pro-growth. (D. Hyra, Personal Communication, July, 26, 2017)

Trying to see where these pro-growth sentiments stem from, Dr. Hyra mentioned:

City government officials are usually pro-growth, because one, they get cash contributions from real estate developers and Washington DC never really had an industry, and so the people who had a lot of money for campaigns tended to be the real estate development industry. Real estate developers are giving you campaign donations, so you feel obligated to help them later down the line to get them low-cost land and mixed used subsidies. So that's one reason. The other reason is that politicians usually have incentives to do pro-growth things as they will return cash investments to the city. (D. Hyra, Personal Communication, July, 26, 2017)

These tax revenues then go back into the operating budget of the city which a vacant lot cannot bring, and so city officials end up prioritizing these deals. However, equitable growth has not been a result in this process.

A politician is just thinking about getting re-elected and that means doing things that will help their re-election, and that doesn't always mean helping low and moderate-income people. I think steps need to be taken to incentivize development that will improve the lives of low-income people. (D. Hyra, Personal Communication, July, 26, 2017)

Dr. Hyra did go on to say that if politicians were to prioritize such equitable growth, they would inherently receive a broader support base than before, which could be a win for both entities. However, inclusive growth has been known to reduce the rate of return to developers, and so developers might not be interested in contributing to these campaigns.

He suggested,

If you want to get your message out as a politician, you need these campaign contributions from the real estate developers that don't want to fund equitable growth, so it can get complicated. (D. Hyra, Personal Communication, July, 26, 2017)

For the tenants, due to these reasons, there seems to be a sense of alienation while living on the property, as if they are already unwanted, and will be kicked out for the most minor issue, just so the developers can gain leverage to build the luxury apartments. These struggles are not new. The fight to keep the property affordable has been around for quite some time. Another tenant at Brookland Manor stated the following about her experience with the property:

The owner created the property and made it so that larger families could move in. But it was below HUD's standards so they would investigate the property and write him up and write him up; so it came to the point that they were going to foreclose the property. That's when the people of Brookland Manor got together and we formed a resident's association, and we rose up to HUD (Erin, Personal Communication, July 27, 2017).

The above happened almost twenty years ago. The tenants had to, once again, fight for the right to affordable housing four years ago, when the owner's son came along and promoted profitability over affordability. The formation of a tenant's association 20 years ago has been

useful. Even though a couple of councilmembers went through such public housing and became public figures, the lack of empathy for the residents in such properties has been disappointing for many. Taking matters into their own hands has been the only solution for them, and of course reaching out to organizations like One DC.

We were already organized. I think they were not aware of our existence because of our name. A lot of old people like me have passed away or moved away. We are still fighting for affordable housing. (Erin, Personal Communication, July 27, 2017)

At this point, all the tenants want is some sort of prioritization that does not make them feel like they are always fighting the system to attain basic needs like housing.

Samantha: We're saying, go on ahead and tear the property down, but put us back in. But they are not putting us back in. We are kind of like in court right now fighting for us to come back.

Erin: Brookland Manor owes the people that helped save the property, some kind of loyalty.

In fact, the shift to profitability has been a more recent affair, as the tenant mentioned how Mayor Marion Barry and Elliot Sr. were some of the few who helped with hiring lawyers and forming a Tenants' Association, as they supported affordable housing. Therefore, before, it was about fighting the Federal system, but now it's become both the Federal and local officials, and so the fight seems to have become tougher for tenants and organizers. The role of race was also brought up:

I don't think they want people of color here. It's a greed and a money thing. It's not that people don't have skills or can't be trained, because they bringing in a lot of people in the city, and I have nothing against them but they are trained in jobs which people here should be able to get. And then they say it's about drugs and everything else. (Erin, Personal Communication, July 27, 2017)

The emphasis here is that black-owned businesses have been doing the same as other businesses in the industry, but have not been given an opportunity to thrive with stereotyping

of black people being crime-oriented. It's a cyclic problem where drug and crime have become embedded in these areas due to lack of opportunities and outside interests, and when parents want to make sure their kids are okay and not being dragged into the problem, developers employ strategies to prevent them, creating the exact problem they want to avoid.

"So, what are we supposed to do?", asks Samantha.

Root of the Problem

From the perspectives of the organizers, the problem stems from current policies not working for everybody, where the *"crisis has deepened over the past decade."* Land is literally being given away to developers, according to One DC, and there has been no representation of the interests of the majority working class/ poor people of the city. Capitalism has been looked down upon by them. One of the organizers stated (alternative names have been provided to some of the organizers to protect their identity):

There are a number of things in the interest of the developers such as removing working class black families. They'll just say that the smaller the unit, the more the units, and the more the profit. There's an ongoing affordable housing crisis. There are 40,000 people on the housing waiting list. (Yara, Personal Communication, August 3, 2017).

She went on to explain how city officials have been supporting developers over the DC residents through this entire process.

I see my job as exposing the contradictions of the system itself, so rather than promoting a campaign that says it's unfair that they are creating all this stuff for them but, not for us, we are saying that they are creating housing policies based on profit margins and whether or not people will have rooves over their heads. (Yara, Personal Communication, August 3, 2017).

She wants to make sure the wider community learns about how current policy is not fighting the housing crisis, but only focusing on profitability.

Dr. Gregory Squires, when asked about the role of race mentioned,

I think it's probably easier to displace people in a community where residents are predominantly people of color. They are relatively more vulnerable, less politically engaged, perhaps. (G. Squires, Personal Communication, March 8, 2017)

He reiterates the point that it's not an external force that is trying to find ways to punish people of color, but rather there is a race effect in the way things played out, without the intention. He mentions how property values are lower in Black neighborhoods than in White neighborhoods because of White people being hesitant on buying homes in Black neighborhoods. This can be an element of racism, but it's more about supply and demand, he claimed. This allows for developers to buy properties in black neighborhoods and create redevelopment.

The organizers at One DC went on to say that the problems present in D.C. are prevalent in the entire nation with a long history of injustices and inequity. *"Every institution has been set up in a way to create such inequity,"* mentioned one organizer (Nina, Personal Communication, March 26, 2018).

When talking about HUD's role, it was pointed out by Dr. Hyra that the Department has set the framework of development, which is then passed down to the local level. HUD started off with the Hope 6 Program to hand out money to local governments to demolish blighted public housing. Today, it's the Low-Income Tax Credit program that is hoping to achieve the same – fueling gentrification in these areas. Dr. Hyra realizes it to be an unfunded mandate from the federal government, and pointed out that even if their rhetoric was for equitable growth, they don't have the money to do it.

Public-Private Partnerships

When speaking with Dr. Ben Carson, he emphasized on partnerships hoping to solve the issue – especially public-private partnerships. He also suggested that internal divisions within the government had to be overcome to go into a positive direction. When asked about whether public-private partnerships would actually be able to ensure equity over profitability, he offered one example of a building in Miami that has managed to create more affordable housing units after forming a partnership – which wasn't a very representative response of the national crisis. He pointed out that the government does not have an unlimited supply of funds, and private companies need to be engaged in the process to bring the money.

Dr. Carson gave wholesome approaches to solving the problem such as eradicating homelessness, creating “envision centers”, teaching practical skills, and enforcing bipartisanship in the process. The question is, are these positive changes actually being seen? (B. Carson, Classroom Lecture, August 1, 2017).

Public-private partnerships have already taken place, as Dr. Squires explained:

What's sparked it (gentrification) is that developers see profit-making opportunities. They work with their friends and colleagues in the public sector to get the variances and the zoning laws that they need in order to do their development, and so it becomes a public-private partnership. (G. Squires, Personal Communication, March 8, 2017)

He went on to mention how there are a wide variety of developers, some who want to create affordable housing, but most that are driven by profit-making. He, however, does not think the motives lie in being “out to get people of color.” It's just an opportunity that the developer wants to take up.

The organizers, when asked about this concept stated the following:

When they give land away to private entities that will then profit off of that, they call it a “public-private partnership.” Really, it’s not a partnership of any sort. It’s a partnership between the politicians who are not representing the interests of the public – so it’s a partnership between the politicians and the developers. They claim that to solve the affordable housing crisis, we need to privatize public housing. That’s what the mayor has said in D.C. It does not make any sense at all. One of the arguments they use is that it’s about supply and demand – the more places that are built, the more units will be available and, eventually the cost of rent will somehow drive down – and that the building they are doing is to meet that demand for the people who are trying to move into the city. From our perspective at One DC, if it’s about supply and demand and we have a demand from 40,000 people at least that are on the public housing waiting list, not to mention that have housing insecurity are not on the waiting list – there’s the demand. So, where’s the supply? (Yara, Personal Communication, August 3, 2017).

Perspectives on Approaching the Issue

The concept is that housing is tied to everything else such as jobs and education. The city has adopted a strategy of paying hotels to house homeless people, but there are no fridges in these rooms to store food, and so people have to go to the nearest 7/11 to acquire food. They were even trying to house people in gymnasiums – so all these methods involve moving people around (Yara, Personal Communication, August 3, 2017). *“One method is the rapid re-housing program which is a temporary voucher,”* adds an organizer. This program only gives 6 months to people to find a job and be able to afford market-rate rent in D.C.

The reasons attributed to such outlandish policies has been the kind of narrative being put out there, and capitalizing on it. The mainstream rhetoric is that the people who are on public housing, which is seen as a disreputable service, have not put in any effort to solve the issue for themselves. *“Poverty is the fault of those who are impoverished,”* while a great amount of tax revenue is being used to subsidize property for developers. Therefore, there is a lack of support for public housing, as it is always attributed to “leeching”, and so never prioritized (Yara, Personal Communication, August 3, 2017).

If they were able to put together a plan to accommodate the Olympics, why can't they put together a plan to house everyone that needs housing at an affordable rate that doesn't require them to struggle from paycheck to paycheck, argued Yara (Personal Communication, August 3, 2017).

Dr. Hyra also mentioned the probable budget cuts that would affect the money that is given to local governments to create more equitable programs, and so has been advocating for the money to remain in the budget. The President has been setting the agenda for the budget, with Congress approval, and so with the current administration, it has become about “*zeroing out some of the important community development and equitable development funding,*” resulting in a potential policy shift if approved by Congress.

There's also the perspective that these investments are helping eradicate concentrations of poverty, which gentrification can solve. Dr. Gregory Squires mentioned that gentrification can be looked at positively based on how it's defined.

There are some positive implications in the sense that gentrification often does bring resources into a community that are necessary. The question of course is who benefits from those? (G. Squires, Personal Communication, March 8, 2017)

If people are being pushed out so new investments can come in, it's no longer a benefit to people, added Dr. Squires. Dr. Hyra proposed a process of inclusive gentrification which avoids individuals being “*culturally, politically and physically displaced within the process.*” He called it an oxymoron due to the gentrification being associated with all these kinds of displacements.

Community organizers on the other hand had given no positive connotation to the term gentrification except for how it has brought light to the issues of affordable housing, segregation and structural prejudices. They believe that gentrification has helped residents

become aware and unite against systematic biases (Cathy, Personal Communication, February 10, 2018).

Dominic added:

I am hopeful now than ever before. When things get so bad, the people then slowly see that something is wrong with the world and the world is wherever you are. So, all of a sudden these people in SE D.C. feel connected to people in Sao Paulo in Brazil etc. They realize that we are in this together and a small population controls the resources of the world. (D. Moulden, Personal Communication, February 23, 2018)

He went onto say:

Under no circumstances ever, will anybody convince me that the real term, gentrification – which is the intentional economic, cultural, political and social destruction of a people’s safety network, space and place, which creates this type of development—is ever good. (D. Moulden, Personal Communication, February 23, 2018)

The claims that gentrification has created mixed-income, diverse neighborhoods has been a false rhetoric from the perspective of the organizers as most low-income people are being pushed out. He also said:

The fundamental reason why it’s important that families remain in the city is because those cities have a social safety network that supports their livelihood. It creates economic, social and cultural upheaval. (D. Moulden, Personal Communication, February 23, 2018)

It’s unfair that low-income families be displaced to the outskirts of the city, since most of the opportunities and support systems are within the city. It gives a sense of stability. Many of these residents hold jobs in their previous neighborhoods, and If they are spending most of their time commuting to work (without a choice), they don’t have time for other aspects of their lives (D. Moulden, Personal Communication, February 23, 2018). This is the concept One DC is trying to advocate for. *“The goal is whoever is in the city, no matter who they are—they*

mostly tend to be poor people because of the global economy – to have a choice to stay in the city. Forced migration and serial displacement is what we’re trying to fight.”

Potential Solutions to Problems

In terms of solutions to the problem, there are many directions that could be taken.

The tenants are looking to be heard as a solution:

Samantha: I think they just need to have a little heart and compassion.

Erin: The councilmembers needs to visit and see what is happening. All these positions need to be investigated to see whether they are working for the people or the developers. (Personal Communication, 2017- 2018)

Dr. Hyra mentioned the following:

If we want to have more sustainable, inclusive and more just communities where we one had concentrated poverty, we would do things to stimulate investment but we’d made sure that investment trickles down and really helps the people who are living in the places where the investment is coming in. It is not in the interest of developers, it might be in the interest of politicians, but it’s really going to take the people living in the place that the investment is coming into to mobilize with organizations such as One DC and Empower DC to really fight the sort of pro-growth dynamics, to say “we’re about growth, but growth that helps people live here, now let’s work together to make that happen. (D. Hyra, Personal Communication, July 26, 2017)

Dr. Squires also called for regulated gentrification where the public needs are met in the process. He said that relying on private corporations to take on social responsibility is not the way, and so the public sector needs to play that role to achieve equitable growth.

The public sector has not sufficiently been responsive to the cost of development processes. (G. Squires, Personal Communication, March 8, 2017)

To then solve the problem, Dr. Squires suggested,

You start with a really effective inclusionary zoning. The District does have an inclusionary law but it’s not very effective. The key is for community-based organizations like One DC and Empower DC to try to put pressure on city governments when developers do get their permits and zoning variances – that there’s an enforceable commitment that a certain share of those drafts will go to local residents, and that a

certain share of the housing units will go to people whose income is below a certain threshold to see that the benefits of the development are spread equitably. (G. Squires, Personal Communication, March 8, 2017)

Gentrification has also been looked at as a place-based initiative, as mentioned by Dr. Hyra, but there are other methods of solving the problem.

If we raise the minimum wage, that would mean that are low-income would make more income and then they can make a decision about what community they want to be in. They can maybe invest in businesses in their own communities if people have more aggregate income in place. (D. Hyra, Personal Communication, July 26, 2017)

The reason for a lack of opportunities for the middle class has been the shift from a service-sector industry, which has now been taken to other cities in the nation. These manufacturing companies used to provide an income for the middle class, and now it does not, especially in D.C. (D. Hyra, Personal Communication, July 26, 2017).

“Those jobs were unionized and they provided a middle-income wage,” added Dr. Hyra.

Now, there are more high-income and low-income opportunities, but nothing in between, so these low wage jobs need to be raised to middle-wages, either through unionizing or raising the minimum wage:

People say we need to create middle-wage jobs. We are not going to create these jobs with the service sector economy of the U.S. It’s not how do we create these jobs; it’s how do we take the jobs that are already created and make them middle-wage jobs. It takes unionizing or ordinances that mandate these increases. (D. Hyra, Personal Communication, July 26, 2017)

Even policies that look at providing free child care for mothers to be able to work during the day, is a great way for adding opportunities for the middle class (D. Hyra, Personal Communication, July 26, 2017), and helps them save up for other needs such as transportation and education. The likes of universal and cooperative housing that One DC has always

advocated for were brought up by Dr. Hyra as well. When Section 8 housing was brought into the conversation, landlords not accepting the residents was given a solution as well - accepting 5% or 10% of voucher holders and spreading them around the city by mandating the acceptance, negating discrimination, and providing relocation counselors that can help the residents find a property (D. Hyra, Personal Communication, July 26, 2017).

Dr. Squires emphasized on the political strategies that need to be considered to achieve the above. He suggested providing more money to community organizing organizations for general operating expenses to achieve more *“flexibility and resources to do their work”*. It’s also about making the local residents feel heard and giving them the ability to take collective action. *“There are a number of things different sectors can do to achieve these goals,”* adds Dr. Squires.

Universal housing was brought up by One DC organizers on multiple occasions, to emphasize the need for affordable housing not being a low-income problem only, but for all families of all class structures. Those making even \$50,000 or \$60,000 have to pay at least 50 – 60% of their salary to be able to afford housing within the city, which is highly unfeasible. In addition to housing cooperatives, community land trusts were also mentioned as a potential solution to the issues of affordable housing (Yara, Personal Communication, August 3, 2017).

Unfortunately, public housing is not a prioritization of the public officials as it takes away money from developers, in turn taking away a funding source for their campaigns. Community organizers are adamant on political education and mobilization to advocate for better resources for the working class, with basic needs such as income, housing and education being universal, not a paid commodity. They believe that these basic needs shouldn’t be owned by private entities, but be available freely for everybody. In fact, it has been mentioned that

majority of the population is actually struggling, and so again, having to achieve certain income levels to attain basic needs, is an inhumane concept. Section 8 housing was brought up once again, and this time it was pointed out how a certain number of members of family had to be present within the city to get the required bedroom number. If one were to perhaps go to college, then the bedroom would no longer be available. The purpose is to keep people in a strained position, so that again, the narrative of leeching and laziness by the low-income population can be justified (Yara, Personal Communication, August 3, 2017).

Organizers have had to take on the responsibility of advocating for the rightful provisions of equity, while elected officials are caught up in their re-election campaigns. This has created a certain level of distrust by organizers for the government. Therefore, *“exposing government officials and property developers for who they are”* has also been offered as a solution. One of the organizers mentioned the idea of state-of-the-art housing for everybody. It does not have to be bad housing, but great housing that has all the amenities and is still affordable (Yara, Personal Communication, August 3, 2017). One DC organizer has mentioned that to support the cause only requires basic common sense, and therefore, a socialist approach is not a negative one, despite the promoted narrative.

Ideally, everyone should have access to healthcare. There should be no insurance companies to go through in order to access healthcare. Healthcare, education, housing should all be socialized. These are all basic human rights. (Wella, Personal Communication, July 16, 2017)

Dominic Moulden added, *“One of the things that makes the United States ignorant is that we call ourselves a democracy, but do not support multiple political ideologies. We should learn from other parts of the world in what they are doing right.”* He mentioned that countries

like Cuba, Venezuela or Spain have free healthcare, housing cooperatives, community councils or land councils etc., showing how such objectives are not nonexistent concepts, but a reality elsewhere. He also explained how the country's election system which mostly allows aristocrats to reach the top is not a global concept. In other countries, individuals who are from middle-class families have been able to reach the highest level of office in the political arena. When asked about the ultimate ideal to be achieved, Moulden concluded, *"I gave you real idealistic societies, even though the culture and society is different."*

Even nice capitalism has been shot down as an alternative by organizers where some necessities have been made public within a capitalist economy. The colonial and capitalistic approaches are hard to completely eradicate due to the norms of the global economy today, that the organizers are aware of, but do not think will ever fully free the world from private exploitation and unnecessary competition (Yara, Personal Communication, August 3, 2017). Dominic is also skeptical in achieving such goals and unity because there is a lack of political clarity with organizers locally and globally. Internal conflicts prevent them from getting the job done effectively. He asks organizers to be comfortable with *"tension and transformation"* in order to achieve the above.

Other Issues Addressed by One DC

Through the above analysis, it has become obvious that for One DC, it's not only about housing. They are working on a variety of projects targeting all aspects of human livelihood for low-income families from prison magazines for incarcerated individuals to be able to express themselves and be heard to "Making the Just City Campaign" aimed at "improving the wellness

among long-time residents facing displacement” (One DC, n.d.). The Black Worker’s Center and other cooperative campaigns have also been adopted by One DC to provide opportunities for a stable income.

Conclusions from Analysis

From the literature review and research analysis, there are several tendencies and commonalities that have been found in the issues of gentrification in Washington D.C.

1. As a means to negate blight and bring economic development within a neighborhood in D.C., the city government takes on measures to make land and properties available to developers at subsidized rates, even if that means only \$1 (Patel and Madden, 2013).
2. The interests of the city government in these redevelopments are to do with pro-growth objectives and campaign funds that only the real estate industry in the city can provide.
3. Therefore, the needs of the community are overlooked by such elected officials, which the developers take for granted. This allows them to employ tactics that causes forced migration of low-income, people of color from these neighborhoods. Loopholes in the system that benefit the industry are utilized to ensure as less resistance as possible.



Fig. 6.1: Developer Tactics Identified by One DC (One DC Archives)

4. Claims of affordable units are made, but prioritization is mostly given to profitability. Therefore, even if affordable units are built after a redevelopment, there is still a sense of alienation for the returnees. The feeling of alienation and displacement is also present in the physical and aesthetic aspects of the redevelopments.
5. This causes serial displacement of families continuously, as neighborhoods in D.C. go through gentrification.
6. It affects the economic, social, cultural and psychological livelihood of individuals and families, where they're never able to achieve a sense of stability and belonging.

7. It's a systematic problem where capitalist views are given precedence over communal growth, may it be through housing, healthcare, education or the justice system.
8. Policy experts mostly see gentrification as a policy that needs revision and attention to community needs – not necessarily by adopting a complete reversal of anti-capitalistic approaches, which is an unrealistic target to achieve at this point.
9. One DC members and staff do not deem gentrification as the solution at all, but rather nation-wide efforts to provide universal access as the ultimate solution. A starting point could be to improve on current gentrification processes, but it isn't a sustainable method of eradicating the systematic problems in the country.

Chapter 6: Policy Propositions

Based on the narrative created through the analysis and conclusions, the policy propositions are divided into two categories:

1. Alternatives within the context of current gentrification processes
2. Alternatives to gentrification as a whole.

The first policy propositions are more short-term and do not completely eradicate the concept of gentrification. They aim to modify current gentrification practices. The second set of policy recommendations are more long-term for areas that have not yet been gentrified.

The proposed solutions are summarized in the following Table 6.1.

Table 6.1: Summarized Solutions

Alternatives within the Context of Gentrification	Systemic Alternatives
Providing Tenants a Temporary Place to Stay	Community Development
Inclusive Redevelopment	Creating Platforms for Government Accountability to the Public
Affordable Housing Options in All Areas	Universal Housing, Education, Healthcare and Transportation
Local Business Options	Removing Aristocracy within High Positions

Even though Washington D.C. has a very specific context of the type of influx populations it has been attracting, and has a unique history with Federal oversight, the outcomes of gentrification are generalizable to the rest of the nation. The issues with communal needs not being met, or a lack of actual representation at the local level combined with a decline in affordability of new housing once gentrification occurs, is common to most gentrifying neighborhoods, not only in the United States, but around the world. Therefore, the

policy propositions mentioned are instrumental for any neighborhood going through (or is on the verge of) gentrification around the globe.

1. Alternatives within the Context of Gentrification

In areas where gentrification plans have already been established, the following policy propositions need to be considered:

- Providing Tenants a Temporary Place to Stay:

While current tenants are waiting for redevelopment to take place, they can be temporarily moved to housing of their choice based on the voucher system in a high-opportunity area.

Measures need to be taken by local city officials to ensure that landlords are not refusing to accept vouchers. A fine system or removal of incentives for development can be created to guarantee residents being accepted in the areas and are provided the same amenities. After the redevelopment is completed, the family can then decide to come back or stay in the original area.

- Inclusive Redevelopment:

Before the property is redeveloped, city officials with property developers need to sit down with current residents and local organizing communities to discuss the redevelopment process and requirements of current residents. This means asking about the amenities they prefer, their ideal neighborhood, and the accessibility plans that work best for them. This helps the community feel heard and avoid going through root shock after redevelopment. To ensure that the proposed plans are considered in the redevelopment process, constant accountability reports need to be created on the developers' parts to submit to city officials and community organizers. To guarantee that city officials are not swayed toward profitability goals due to

developer contributions to campaigns, state and Federal-level measures need to be established for local governments to be accountable to.

- Affordable Housing Options in All Areas

After redevelopment, affordable housing needs to be available on all properties and at equal amounts as before the redevelopment. The city government should only provide incentives for developers if they ensure the above. If they break the contract or find loopholes to developing enough affordable units, their contract should be cancelled. Concepts such as inclusionary zoning, community land trusts, regulated LITCs, Section 8 Housing and Land Trust Funds should be incorporated in the redevelopment plan beforehand to improve accountability and units of affordable housing in all areas (Affordable Housing Task Force, 2016). Housing cooperatives should also be included in the development process to allow local community nonprofits to be a part of the process.

- Local Business Options

Businesses that were owned by minority communities and present before the redevelopment should be given priority to come back once the redevelopment is completed. Plans should allot spaces for such businesses. Keeping small businesses intact will make it easier on current residents to remain in the area. Tax incentives offered to big businesses to move into the area should also be offered to small businesses. Cooperatives should also be encouraged and allotted areas of business in the plans. Likewise, ensuring that local residents are given preference through the hiring process is also a great way to include them in the post-development benefits.

The above alternatives will help current residents deem redevelopment as a positive change rather than a negative one. This can help avoid displacement, and provide access to equitable opportunities.

2. Systemic Alternatives

In areas where gentrification has not yet been introduced, a systematic change can be incorporated. This can also be applied to areas that have already been gentrified and are still facing income and racial segregation. Tying into the Critical Race Theory aspect of this research, the emphasis with these policy propositions is to overcome the systemic barriers of opportunities for the people of color.

- Community Development

It is important to consider wholesome communal development methods for low-income minority communities despite the structural issues. This can be achieved in several ways. The first two recommendations can be taken from the practices of One DC with their Black Worker's Center and People's Platform Meetings where collaborations can be made with local community organizations to create centers for individuals to work from and start up their business without having to pay for the space in monetary terms, but with volunteer time at the local organization. This can aid in elevating the income of the individual and motivate them to stay in the city. Further efforts can be incorporated to increase the political, non-imperialistic education of these communities for them to be able to learn about alternative ideologies to current capitalistic approaches. This helps empower the communities and enables to be a part of the decision-making process. Techniques of creating a larger movement, canvassing and

outreach can also be included in this form of education to ensure a unified effort. This can be done by providing more funding to such local organizations to be able to operate on a large scale and share their success models across the world.

Furthermore, simply converting the low-income class to middle-income by increasing their minimum wage, while maintaining affordable rents is a great way to stabilize the issue. The exploitation of labor by big businesses needs to be regulated at all costs. Federal and state level regulations combined with local authorization of political power can help make such businesses more accountable. Those businesses that refuse to increase the minimum wage can face repercussions by being prevented from opening new branches or practicing in certain areas etc.

- Creating Platforms for Government Accountability to the Public

To completely revamp the governmental processes at this point is unfeasible. A starting point would be to support initiatives such as a People's Congress or a People's Court for community-led hearings where governments of all levels are held accountable to the public. Since the United States is a democratic system, such concepts shouldn't be very hard to implement. This can ensure that the public is truly being heard, and the three branches of the Federal system are also being held accountable. If the Federal system itself isn't working for the people, how can we expect it to regulate the functions of the state and local governance. Therefore, true accountability to the public is necessary.

- Universal Housing, Healthcare, Education and Transportation

Simply removing the capitalistic controls over basic needs is a necessary approach. Public-private partnerships are not working. Laws allowing housing, education, healthcare and transportation to become universal concepts rather than profit-making commodities need to

be established at the legislative and judicial level. Such laws can be lobbied by organizations like One DC.

- Removing Aristocracy Within High Positions

Organizations that can fund campaigns are the ones whose interests are met at the Federal, state and local level. This takes away the chance for middle-class individuals to lobby for their needs. Such a system needs to be removed, allowing proper representation of individuals at all levels of government. The reliance on money for lobbying should be made illegal. This may also seem like a farfetched policy to achieve. However, as an evolving society, such actions are necessary to ensure true equitable access.

Research Limitations

Like with most researches, there were some limitations in the process of this study. With analyzing one specific case study in D.C., it can sometimes be difficult to generalize. However, efforts were made to ensure national and global issues were being talked about throughout the research process. Furthermore, since it was a highly qualitative study, it can be difficult to advocate and promote such researches at the government level, since positivist forms of research are still considered to be more reliable, than only qualitative methods (Denzin and Lincoln, 2018). Time and detail were also limiting factors throughout the process since it's such a complicated issue. More time and allowance for detail would be ideal for a project like this, but the result would more likely be a book, rather than a research paper.

Furthermore, the policy propositions are still abstract concepts that need more definition and direction for actual implementation. This can be done on an area by area basis, which can be outlined in further studies.

Appendix A

IRB Approved Interview Protocol

Interview Protocol for Tenants in Gentrifying Neighborhoods

Check the proper functioning of all recording equipment prior to the interview.

At the beginning of the session I will:

- Begin recording.
- Introduce myself to the participant and thank him or her for taking the time to participate.
- Read the informed consent script to the participant.
 - *As a reminder, data will be coded and stripped of any identifying information that would link data to you. Information that you give in the study will be handled confidentially. Your name, the name of your institution, and the names of any individuals you discuss will not be used in any reports.*
 - *I greatly appreciate your participation in this study, and your privacy is very important to me. ... Do you have any questions regarding your participation in the study? ... Do you consent to participate in this interview? ... Please remember that you have the right at any time to stop the interview. If you choose to do so, the recording will be stopped and deleted from my records.*
- Explain the process of conducting the interview.
 - *Thank you again for agreeing to participate. This interview will last between 30 minutes and an hour.*
 - *To facilitate my note-taking, I would like to digitally record our conversation today. Only I will be privy to the recordings, which will be stored in a secure file until they are transcribed and destroyed.*
 - *The purpose of this interview is for me to learn about the impacts of gentrification on your neighborhood and how it affects your socioeconomic wellbeing. If I ask you anything that you do not feel comfortable answering, please feel free to tell me that you do not want to answer that question. Do you have any questions for me before we begin?*

The following questions will be used as a starting guide. Since this is an unstructured interview, the majority of the questions will be based on follow-up probes within the context of each interview to elicit greater detail and information and to build rapport with the participant since I will be interacting within the community for a potentially extended period of time. The questions enumerated below are only the types of questions that I will ask; if the participant chooses to guide the conversation in a different direction, I will allow him/her to do so.

For tenants in gentrifying neighborhoods:

1. Tell me about your neighborhood.

2. How has the neighborhood changed in the last 10-20 years?
3. How have these changes affected you, your family and your community?
4. What actions have you and your community taken in reaction to the state of your neighborhood?
5. How should the city go about in future neighborhood development and maintain social equity?

If the tenant mentions the following:

1. Raised rents:

Then, the interviewee will be asked:

- Has your landlord raised rents after redevelopment or does he plan to after redevelopment?
- How will that impact your household costs?

2. Increased amenities in the neighborhood:

- What are the amenities planning to be offered after redevelopment?
- Do you see an improvement in transportation, hospitals, schools and grocery stores?

3. Resistance to gentrification:

- What actions have you or your neighbors taken against gentrification?
- Have your attempts been successful?

4. Displacement:

- Do you know any people in your neighborhood who have been displaced?
- Where did they go and how are they coping?

5. City Politics and knowledge of city developers:

- Do you think there are any city politics at play here?
- Is the city government responding to the problem like you'd like them to? How or how not?
- Do you think the city government has an interest in developers raising prices of housing and the redevelopment? What interest can they have?

6. Race/Racism:

- Do you think that any of this process is racist or affects certain races more than others?
- Do you have any other comments about race playing a role in this?

I am looking to find out information about changes in the neighborhood development through housing policy reforms, the role of the government, potential opposition (although I expect this to be peaceful opposition), and the purpose of housing in this community.

At the end of the interview, I will ask each participant:

1. Is there anyone else with whom you think I should speak?
 2. Would you like to be considered for participation in future interviews?
- Thank you so much for your time and insights.

Interview Protocol for Community Organizers

Check the proper functioning of all recording equipment prior to the interview.

At the beginning of the session I will:

- Begin recording.
- Introduce myself to the participant and thank him or her for taking the time to participate.
- Read the informed consent script to the participant.
 - *As a reminder, data will be coded and stripped of any identifying information that would link data to you. Information that you give in the study will be handled confidentially. Your name, the name of your institution, and the names of any individuals you discuss will not be used in any reports.*
 - *I greatly appreciate your participation in this study, and your privacy is very important to me. ... Do you have any questions regarding your participation in the study? ... Do you consent to participate in this interview? ... Please remember that you have the right at any time to stop the interview. If you choose to do so, the recording will be stopped and deleted from my records.*
- Explain the process of conducting the interview.
 - *Thank you again for agreeing to participate. This interview will last between 30 minutes and an hour.*
 - *To facilitate my note-taking, I would like to digitally record our conversation today. Only I will be privy to the recordings, which will be stored in a secure file until they are transcribed and destroyed.*
 - *The purpose of this interview is for me to learn about organizing low-income minority communities impacts gentrification and the socioeconomic wellbeing of people in low-income, gentrifying neighborhoods. If I ask you anything that you do not feel comfortable answering, please feel free to tell me that you do not want to answer that question. Do you have any questions for me before we begin?*

The following questions will be used as a starting guide. Since this is an unstructured interview, the majority of the questions will be based on follow-up probes within the context of each interview to elicit greater detail and information and to build rapport with the participant since I will be interacting within the community for a potentially extended period of time. The questions enumerated below are only the types of questions that I will ask; if the participant chooses to guide the conversation in a different direction, I will allow him/her to do so.

For community organizers in Washington D.C.:

1. Tell me about your role as a community organizer in D.C.
2. What have been some positive and negative socioeconomic impacts previous cases of neighborhood gentrification?
3. What are typical community reactions when you conduct outreach for organizing?
4. What, in your opinion, is the ideal you and your organizing would like to achieve through organizing communities in gentrifying neighborhoods?
5. How should the city go about in future neighborhood development and maintain social equity?

If the community organizers mention the following:

1. Disparities among services before and after redevelopment:
 - What differences have you noticed before and after redevelopment?
 - Do you think these services could have been offered before redevelopment?
3. Resistance to gentrification:
 - What actions have communities taken against gentrification till now?
 - Have they been successful?
 - What needs to change in the approach?
 - What is the ultimate goal?
4. Displacement:
 - Do you know any people in your neighborhood who have been displaced?
 - Where did they go and how are they coping?
 - Have you reached out to them after being displaced?
5. City Politics and knowledge of city developers:
 - Do you think there are any city politics at play here?
 - Is the city government responding to the problem like you'd like them to? How or how not?
 - Do you think the city government has an interest in developers raising prices of housing and the redevelopment? What interest can they have?
6. Race/Racism:
 - Do you think that any of this process is racist or affects certain races more than others?
 - Do you have any other comments about race playing a role in this?

I am looking to find out information about changes in the neighborhood development through housing policy reforms, the role of the government, potential opposition (although I expect this to be peaceful opposition), and the purpose of housing in this community.

At the end of the interview, I will ask each participant:

1. Is there anyone else with whom you think I should speak?
2. Would you like to be considered for participation in future interviews?

- Thank you so much for your time and insights.

Interview Protocol for Policy Experts and Influencers (Email)

To Whom It May Concern at *insert organization name

Dear Sir/Madam,

I am currently a public policy student at the University of Texas at Arlington. For my thesis study, I am conducting research on the impacts of gentrification on neighborhood development and low-income households, specifically in Washington D.C. As a part of my research, I would like to gain more insight from policy experts and influencers on the matter.

Please see attached the research consent protocol for more information on the privacy and confidentiality of the information before proceeding to the questions.

I am looking to find out information about changes in the neighborhood development through housing policy reforms, the role of the government, potential opposition (although I expect this to be peaceful opposition), and the purpose of housing in this community.

Therefore, here are some questions that I could like to ask regarding gentrification in Washington D.C.:

1. What positive and negative role has gentrification played in the last 10-20 years in the city of Washington D.C?
2. Do you believe the negative impacts outweigh the positive or vice versa? Why or why not?
3. What do private developers aim to achieve through gentrification?
4. What role has the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development played in gentrification in Washington D.C?
5. How can we overcome the negative impacts of gentrification?
6. What are your proposed alternatives to gentrification that can achieve the same positive developmental impacts?

I'd like to remind you, as mentioned in the consent form, **if in the unlikely event it becomes necessary for the Institutional Review Board to review your research records, then The University of Texas at Arlington will protect the confidentiality of those records to the extent permitted by law. Your research records will not be released without your consent unless required by law or a court order. The data resulting from your participation may be made available to other researchers in the future for research purposes not detailed within this consent form. In these cases, the data will contain no identifying information that could associate you with it, or with your participation in any study.**

If you choose to participate in this study, your answers will be stored securely in an encrypted drive and only the researcher will have access to the them. Answers will be kept for three years and then erased. Transcriptions of the answers will not include any identifying information. You will be assigned a pseudonym and any potentially identifying information (such as name of neighborhood, district etc.) will be censored from the transcription. In no way will you ever be identified by your personal name or likeness in any dissemination of this project.

Also, your participation is voluntary. You may decide not to participate at all or, if you start the study, you may withdraw at any time. Withdrawal or refusing to participate will not affect your relationship with The University of Texas at Arlington (University) in anyway.

If you would like to participate, please state to the researcher that you would like to be interviewed in response to this email.

If you have any queries or concerns regarding any of the questions listed above or the research protocol please let me know.

Thank you,
Regards,
Aabiya Baqai
The University of Texas at Arlington

Interview Protocol for Policy Experts and Influencers (In-Person)

Check the proper functioning of all recording equipment prior to the interview.

At the beginning of the session I will:

- Begin recording.
- Introduce myself to the participant and thank him or her for taking the time to participate.
- Read the informed consent script to the participant.
 - *As a reminder, data will be coded and stripped of any identifying information that would link data to you. Information that you give in the study will be handled confidentially. Your name, the name of your institution, and the names of any individuals you discuss will not be used in any reports.*
 - *I greatly appreciate your participation in this study, and your privacy is very important to me. ... Do you have any questions regarding your participation in the study? ... Do you consent to participate in this interview? ... Please remember that you have the right at any time to stop the interview. If you choose to do so, the recording will be stopped and deleted from my records.*
- Explain the process of conducting the interview.
 - *Thank you again for agreeing to participate. This interview will last between 30 minutes and an hour.*
 - *To facilitate my note-taking, I would like to digitally record our conversation today. Only I will be privy to the recordings, which will be stored in a secure file until they are transcribed and destroyed.*

- *The purpose of this interview is for me to learn about the impacts of gentrification on your neighborhood and how it affects your socioeconomic wellbeing. If I ask you anything that you do not feel comfortable answering, please feel free to tell me that you do not want to answer that question. Do you have any questions for me before we begin?*

The following questions will be used as a starting guide. Since this is an unstructured interview, the majority of the questions will be based on follow-up probes within the context of each interview to elicit greater detail and information and to build rapport with the participant since I will be interacting within the community for a potentially extended period of time. The questions enumerated below are only the types of questions that I will ask; if the participant chooses to guide the conversation in a different direction, I will allow him/her to do so.

For policy makers/experts and government officials:

1. What positive and negative role has gentrification played in the last 10-20 years in the city of Washington D.C?
2. Do you believe the negative impacts outweigh the positive or vice versa? Why or why not?
3. What do private developers aim to achieve through gentrification?
4. What role has the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development played in gentrification in Washington D.C?
5. How can we overcome the negative impacts of gentrification?
6. What are your proposed alternatives to gentrification that can achieve the same positive developmental impacts?

If the policy makers/experts and government officials mention the following:

1. Disparities among services before and after redevelopment:

- What differences have you noticed before and after redevelopment?
- Do you think these services could have been offered before redevelopment?

3. Resistance to gentrification:

- Do you think resistance to gentrification is the answer?
- Do you think neighborhoods being affected should unite and stand against displacement?

5. City Politics and knowledge of city developers:

- Do you think there are any city politics at play here?
- Is the city government responding to the problem like you'd like them to? How or how not?
- Do you think the city government has an interest in developers raising prices of housing and the redevelopment? What interest can they have?

6. Race/Racism:

- Do you think that any of this process is racist or affects certain races more than others?
- Do you have any other comments about race playing a role in this?

I am looking to find out information about changes in the neighborhood development through housing policy reforms, the role of the government, potential opposition (although I expect this to be peaceful opposition), and the purpose of housing in this community.

At the end of the interview, I will ask each participant:

3. Is there anyone else with whom you think I should speak?
 4. Would you like to be considered for participation in future interviews?
- Thank you so much for your time and insights.

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Biographical Information

Abiya earned a Master's degree in Public Policy at the University of Texas at Arlington. Her time at UTA granted her multiple opportunities in research within a variety of topics such as food insecurity in Texas, policy narratives on bicycle safety, the role of zoning laws in the segregation of North and South Dallas, and a study looking at the local barriers to regional transportation in the country. Due to this research project on gentrification in D.C., she is highly interested in studying more about housing policy nationally and globally, and the impacts on underprivileged communities. She hopes to eventually gain a PHD, and utilize the knowledge she earns in the United States, back in her home country of Pakistan. She aims to open up her own nonprofit aimed at research and solutions to local issues faced by minority communities, all the while involving the research subjects in the research process.

