SELLING SHELTERS:

PUBLIC PROPERTY GENTRIFICATION IN WASHINGTON, D.C.

Public property in Washington, D.C. is being sold quickly, quietly, and without a systematic method. Shelters, libraries, and firehouses have become boutique hotels and luxury condos. Perhaps no place better exemplifies these practices than the Franklin School homeless shelter. Public shelters, as a specific type of public property, offer an inroad to public property redevelopment. Franklin School appears as an historical landmark ripe for redevelopment in the urban landscape, but its presence as a "surplus" public property only hints at the breadth of aesthetic, political, and economic conditions underlying its long record of failed sales and contested use. This thesis uses the recent events surrounding Franklin School shelter's hotly contested sale and the public property management system to support a central argument about the changing relationship between public property and the urban landscape and its implications for the geography of gentrification. I argue that Washington, D.C. is experiencing a new and neoliberal form of gentrification: the gentrification of public property. I contextualize this phenomenon within neoliberalism and explore its inner logic of revaluation and dispossession, which I contend work respectively through mechanisms like historic preservation and public property disposal. Franklin School shelter's genesis and the resistance that has stalled its sale illuminate the tensions under advanced capitalism between homelessness and gentrification in particular and struggles over accumulation and social justice in general. The empirical work is based on literature reviews, archival research, open-ended interviews, and cartographic methodologies.

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By

Kathryn Jeanne Wells
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CHAPTER ONE

FROM SHELTER BUNKS TO BOUTIQUE BEDS

Introduction

The Franklin School homeless shelter in downtown Washington, D.C. was supposed to

close its doors on March 31, 2007, the last day of hypothermia season, and reopen as a

boutique hotel in 2009 (Labbe 2005). To date, the shelter is still open, still filled with 240

men, and still wrapped in a legal battle about the planned redevelopment of this "historic"

public property.

Public property in Washington, D.C. is being sold quickly, quietly, and without a

systematic method. Shelters, libraries, and firehouses have become upscale hotels and

luxury condos (Sostek 2004, Fleishman 2000). In 2007 alone, emergency legislation put a

library and firehouse up for sale (Emerling 2007); efforts to "right-size" the public school

system placed 23 schools on the chopping block (Emerling 2007); and the last family

shelter in the District closed to become a parking lot for a new baseball stadium (Lazere

2007).[1]

Perhaps no place better exemplifies these patterns than Franklin School, which

opened as a temporary emergency shelter in January 2003 after months of protest and

years of vacancy (Fugere and Luby 2003). The use of Franklin School as a shelter re-

ignited an almost half-century long debate about how the property should be surplussed,

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[1] The residents of the closed family shelter, which was operating illegally and with atrocious conditions, were given one-year vouchers for housing while the three-hundred families on the waitlist for emergency shelter were not (Lazere 2007). However, this situation is not so different from previous years. In 2006, only eleven percent of the homeless families that applied for assistance were placed in emergency family shelter space; on average they spent six months on the waitlist (Metropolitan Washington Council of Governments 2006).

Figure 1: Franklin School in 2008

sold, and redeveloped. The D.C. Board of Education sought to sell the 51,000-square-foot building in the late 1960s (Beauchamp 2006) and the D.C. City Council tried again in 1977 (Oman 1977), but it was not until 1998 that Franklin School was officially listed for disposition (Federation of Citizens Associations of the District of Columbia 1998). Ten years later the building remains in the government's hands and its future remains uncertain.

What happened the year before Franklin School homeless shelter opened marks the beginning of what may be Franklin School's end as a public property. In 2002 before the District mayor asked City Council to surplus the property, the mayor sought expressions of interest from developers (Wilgoren and C. Williams 2002). He resubmitted the request to City Council a few months later though no overt resolution transpired. Over the next couple of years he continued to solicit proposals for redevelopment and in July 2005 then-Mayor Anthony Williams signed a lease with developer Herb Miller to turn Franklin School into a "hip hotel" (Labbe 2005) at a price that was one-fourth of the market rate (Hickey 2006).[2] Within a year, the legality of the lease came under question as City Council members and community activists contended that inaction on the part of the Council to surplus a property does not result in passive approval (Labbe 2006). The mayor's office disagreed (Labbe 2006), the public staged an outcry (Jesse Smith), and the developer announced his rights to sue (Segraves 2006).

The lease for Franklin School has become a red herring in the debates about the property's future. The proposed redevelopment concerns not only the legality of City Council practices. What is at stake are the lives of the men who sleep in the shelter now,

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[2] Franklin School's land is not technically up for sale; the development rights are for purchase through the 29-year lease (Labbe 2006). I take up this distinction in Chapter 3.

the ability and priority of the District to address social service needs in the future, and the rights of the homeless to a city where public property is increasingly scarce.

In this thesis, I argue that the District is experiencing a new type and new period of gentrification. I examine why this new type of gentrification has emerged, what it means for the way cities work, and how it points to the tension between social struggle and accumulation under advanced capitalism. In order to do so, I consider the external conditions for, and internal processes of, public property gentrification as well as the contradictions that emerge.

In this chapter, I contextualize my research within the District's geography of homelessness and provide an introduction to public property redevelopment in the District. After I define commonly used terms like public property and redevelopment, explain the relevancy of homeless shelters as a specific type of public property, and review the scholarship from which this research emerged, I outline the goals and summarize the arguments for the remaining chapters.

Homelessness in Washington, D.C.

More than 11,500 individuals spent a night in one of the District's publicly funded shelters in 2007 (Community Partnership for the Prevention of Homelessness 2008). This count is up from roughly 9,4000 people who used shelter services in 2006 (Metropolitan Washington Council of Governments 2006), but neither of these counts does much to settle questions about the size of the District's homeless population, which is estimated to be anywhere from 6,000 to 16,000 in the greater metropolitan region (Turque 2006).

These numbers, whom they describe, and what they mean are debated, disputed, and form far from a complete portrayal of homelessness in Washington, D.C.

Within six months of the Community Partnership for the Prevention of Homelessness' release of the 2007 shelter usage count (the highest yet), the Partnership offered support for a regional government report that "documented" a four-percent decrease in the District's homeless population from 2006 to 2007 (e.g. Metropolitan Washington Council of Governments 2007). While the report's margin of error, which was undisclosed but estimated by authors at five to ten percent (Darlene Matthews),[3] could have easily reversed the supposed finding, media outlets praised the news and the District's attention to homelessness (e.g. Fekeiki 2007). Underlying these reports are tensions, which I explore in Chapter 2, between the Community Partnership's need to document success for renewal contracts, service providers' need to document demand for grant applications, both groups' resistance to testify before City Council, and the universal challenge of counting a population whose right to the city is shrinking.

Adding to the problem of counting a population whose visibility is in question is the dilemma of who counts (e.g. Lawson 1995). District definitions of homelessness vary from federal guidelines (e.g. McKinney Act, 42 U.S.C. § 11301, et seq. 1994), which differ from one agency to the next (e.g. United States Department of Housing and Urban Development 2008), and most of these definitions diverge from those held by advocacy and service organizations (e.g. National Alliance to End Homelessness 2008). But, all publicly funded shelters and services in the District are required to follow the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development's (HUD) definitions in annual reports

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[3] The use of the full name in parenthesis denotes information gained from an interviewee who waived the right to confidentiality. Interviews completed as part of this research are listed separately in the bibliography.

and grant applications (Cornell Chappelle). HUD's definition of homelessness is narrower than those held by the U.S. Department of Education, the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, and the U.S. Department of Justice (e.g. National Association to Restore Pride in America's Capital 2005). Legislative efforts to re-align HUD's definition with that of other federal agencies, which include people who are sharing housing or staying in motels due to the lack of adequate alternatives, have proven unsuccessful (National Association to Restore Pride in America's Capital 2005). More confusing than the agency level distinctions are the internal variances: local organizations and even the Community Partnership use definitions that deviate from the federal guidelines in outreach materials (e.g. Metropolitan Washington Council of Governments 2007).

Restricted definitions and overlapping representations of the homeless add layers of confusion to homelessness counts. People who are incarcerated[4] or institutionalized in halfway houses, mental care facilities, hospitals, foster care placements, and those who sleep on a friend's couch[5] are not deliberately counted in the District's reports to HUD (United States Department of Housing and Urban Development 2008). These reports delineate between "literally" homeless, those without shelter or temporarily sheltered, and "formerly" homeless, those in permanent supportive housing and who remain at risk without such support (A. Williams and Albert 2004).[6] The "literally" homeless category is refined further to describe "chronically" homeless persons, those who have been homeless for more than a year. About half of the District's population falls into this sub-

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[4] Washington, D.C. has the highest per capital incarceration rate of any U.S. city (Myers 2005).
[5] Homeless persons who sleep on friends' couches or floors are assumed to be the largest group missed in survey counts (Coalition of Housing and Homeless Organizations 2007).
[6] Formerly homeless persons are not included in the Metropolitan Washington Council of Government's (2006, 2007) reports.

category (Maryann Luby). Alongside these categories is the definition of a "street" homeless person, who falls under the "literally" homeless label and sometimes under the "chronic" subgroup (A. Williams and Albert 2004). In other words, in District reports persons can be literally homeless; literally and chronically homeless; literally and street homeless; or, literally, chronically and street homeless.

The limitations on who counts are complicated by limitations on when counts are performed. In 2007, a one-*night* survey reported that only 350 people live on the streets in Washington, D.C. (Community Partnership for the Prevention of Homelessness 2007). However, the "street" homeless label and its count, like all of the others, is misleading. More than half of the public shelters in the District close from 7am to 7pm, leaving shelter residents to live on the streets during the *day*. As an analyst from the Community Partnership explained during a heated meeting for homeless service organizations: "We can't count those we don't see" (Darlene Matthews). They also cannot count those whom they do not consider homeless.

Scholars have hinted at the political strategies behind these definitions and strategies, which separate street homelessness from shelter homelessness. They argue it is a matter of visibility and representation (e.g. Smith 1992, Ruddick 1996b, Mitchell 1995). Who the invisible homeless are has much more to do with the institutional landscape than with the individuals in shelters and on the streets. The statement that only 350 people live on the streets in the District (e.g. Community Partnership for the Prevention of Homelessness 2007) points to the political power of statistical representations of oppression (e.g. Lawson 1995). It is difficult for social service organizations to argue for increased funding when official counts of homelessness have

declined (Coalition of Housing and Homeless Organizations). The District is not alone in these policies; New York City made news last year when it denied shelter access to families who did not qualify as "literally" homeless (Kaufman 2007).

Disputes about definitions extend beyond the homeless population to shelter facilities. Recently, I received a newsletter mentioning a terminology change in the District's outreach materials: Emergency shelters, a HUD term, will be referred to as low barrier shelters while hypothermia shelters, also a HUD term, will be referred to as severe weather shelters (e.g. Community Partnership for the Prevention of Homelessness 2008).[7] The new terms, low barrier and severe weather, work to de-politicize the facilities and their purposes. The District has literally taken the "emergency" out of homelessness. A severe weather shelter sounds less critical (and perhaps easier to close, sell, and redevelop) than a hypothermia shelter.

Wrapped up in these definitions is the District's plan to end homelessness by 2014 (Wilgoren 2004a). This ten-year agenda includes support for new affordable housing units as the District evolves from services for emergency and transitional shelters to facilities and grants focused on permanent shelters, like affordable housing units (A. Williams and Albert 2004). As the Deputy Mayor for Planning and Economic Development explained, the District wants to get out of the "shelter business" (Neil Albert). However, the District will not be building any more public housing; the District will give financial support in the form of vouchers and rent assistance for homeless persons to stay in privately owned units (Neil Albert). The plan follows the national trend of Housing First inspired initiatives, which reverse the decades-old notion that social

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[7] Franklin School first opened as a hypothermia shelter, but within a year became an emergency shelter (Labbe 2005).

services must address personal issues before homeless persons can maintain permanent housing (Brady-Myerov 2006). Much media attention has addressed this new approach, which in the District is cited as the reason and research behind efforts to close emergency shelters (Fisher 2007b).

Still, shelter capacity is decreasing as affordable and government assisted housing options remain scarce (D.C. Fiscal Policy Institute 2005a), making the government's plan seem less and less feasible and putting more and more stress on an already exhausted shelter system. Homeless advocates point to local economic development and gentrification as factors affecting the shortage of beds in the District (Schwartzman 2006) and the relocation of beds away from the center of town and the location of need (Hickey 2006). They suggest that it would be better to create a plan to manage homelessness rather than to end it, the latter goal being shortsighted. To put everyone in a house with a one-year voucher but without the means to pay rent in the future will not end homelessness. It may temporarily conceal the phenomenon, but it will not eradicate the problem.

Homelessness is not something new in the District. The recent closures and shifts to private voucher-dependent housing are only the latest trends in what appears to be a losing battle for homeless rights from shelter expansion in 1987 to shelter retrenchment in 2007. In many ways, 1987 was the pinnacle of homeless activism in both the District and the nation, a nation that today is home to somewhere between 2 and 3.5 million homeless persons (Jones 2007, National Law Center on Homelessness and Poverty 2008).

Leading up to the U.S. Congress' monumental McKinney-Vento Homeless Services Reform Act of 1987 was the 1984 District court's decision to allow homeless persons to vote (Guillermoprieto 1984) and the 1984 popular referendum, with seventy percent of the District's support, to establish a right to shelter for every resident for every night of the year (Boodman 1984). These two laws were the first of their kind in the U.S., making the District a trailblazer of sorts (Boodman 1984). The District, alongside other government bodies, joined forces to designate 1987 the International Year of the Shelter, fund national surveys and sound calls for increased shelter resources (Ramachandran 1988). Back in the District, government buildings opened their doors as cots were stuck in hallways, offices, stadiums, hospitals, and cafeterias (Gellman 1989).

Though the success of these efforts and related hunger strikes were portrayed in movies with Martin Sheen (Oscar nominated movie *Promises to Keep* in 1988 and *Samaritan: The Mitch Snyder Story* in 1986) and publicized on television with Cher (Duke 1987), the achievements of the 1980s District homeless advocacy community were followed by years of repeals, funding shortages, and, perhaps most harmful, changed government policies. The District's Right to Overnight Shelter Act was repealed in 1990 (Wheeler 1990). The turn against homeless rights coincided with welfare reform in 1996 (which changed the makeup of the homeless population to include more women and children), closure of shelters (Bell 1990), rejection of federal funds for homeless services (Thompson 1993), and a shift from understanding homelessness as a social responsibility to seeing it as an individual responsibility (Marcus 2003). Instead of asking what is wrong with housing policy, politicians have asked what is wrong with the homeless persons. The question resonates as cities work to criminalize homelessness through the

Figure 2: Public Shelters in 1982, 1988, and 2008

resurrection of old vagrancy laws and the enactment of new laws to regulate the use of public space (Marcus 2003).

Today, the District is legally required to find beds for those seeking shelter only when temperatures are below freezing (Kovaleski and Moreno 2001). In 2007, with city shelters at capacity, three hundred homeless persons became even more homeless (or "street" homeless) when the District closed six hypothermia shelters (Silverman 2007b). The District is not alone in its inability to meet the needs of homeless residents. A recent study of twenty-four U.S. cities, including the District, found that in 2005 twenty-three percent of all requests for emergency shelter went unmet due to a lack of resources (National Coalition for the Homeless 2007). In the twenty-five years since the passage of the McKinney-Vento Act, the District's shelter system has undergone significant transformations but in 2008 is still limited by the familiar battles over basic rights to shelter.

The changes to the District's homeless shelter system are complicated by widespread poverty and increasing neighborhood divisions along socioeconomic and racial lines (B. Williams 2002). The District has the fourth-highest poverty rate of any U.S. city, which puts one in three children in poverty (National Center for Children in Poverty 2006), an unemployment rate of 6.1 percent, and the widest income gap for any U.S. city with the poorest fifth of District residents earning an average of $6,126 per year while the richest fifth earn 31 times as much, $186,830 (D.C. Fiscal Policy Institute 2004). In 2005, the Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF) welfare program was increased for the first time in ten years although the new benefit levels are still far below the amount needed to afford housing in the District (National Low Income

Housing Coalition 2005). Rental vacancy rates are the lowest in the nation (2.1 percent in 2006), helping to make the District the nation's least affordable state in terms of housing costs (National Low Income Housing Coalition 2004).

These extreme economic conditions and the decline of the shelter system as a safety net put the District and its most vulnerable residents at risk. Recent foreclosures exacerbate the issue (Downey 2007), leaving more District residents vulnerable to homelessness. Publicly owned homeless shelters serve as an entry point into larger questions about poverty, gentrification, and neoliberal policies, issues I take up in following chapters.

Defining Public Property

Public property, as defined by the District of Columbia, is "real property" owned by the municipality, including land leased and operated by other entities (D.C. Code 10-1011). I use the same definition in this research as I focus on District rather than Federal lands. However, I break the umbrella notion of public property into two categories: public lands owned by the state and public lands held in the interest of society at large. Certain properties like police stations and homeless shelters are protected, guaranteed, and owned by the state. Others like parks, streets, and sidewalks are protected and guaranteed by the state but owned by society at large. Land in the former category is subject to more extensive restrictions on control and access (Blomley 2004:27). I use the term *public property* to refer to the specific form of municipal owned property. By contrast I refer to all forms of property owned by the state and collectively by the people as *public space*. In short, I position public property as a type of public space.

The distinction between collectively owned and state-owned property is critical through overlooked in debates about public space. The relationship between public property and public spheres is also nascent at best (but see Rose 1999, Blomley 2004, Hackworth 2007, Staeheli and Mitchell 2008) despite the well-documented relationship between public space and public spheres (e.g. Sorkin 1992, Low and Smith 2006). The loss of public property (and here I mean state-owned property) matters for the generation, performance, and representation of public spheres.[8] To explain the importance of this loss, it is helpful to take a step backward to think about property in general. Property, though ambiguously defined, is a cultural organizing force (Blomley 2004). Property organizes society, a notion I take up in Chapter 2. As a social institution, property orders the space in which we live and in doing so decentralizes power into individuals. In its most basic form, property is the right to exclusion (Staeheli and Mitchell 2008). Property matters because it determines who has access to what space, like homeless residents in the District.

On further examination, public property is a contradiction of terms. The second half of the phrase relies on exclusion while the first half of the phrase points to an inclusion. Public property is a space in which most people are included (if certain and often unwritten rules are followed)[9] yet this inclusion depends on the existence of exclusions elsewhere. For persons who do not own property and do not have the right to exclude, the existence of public property is critical to inclusion in public life. The elimination of physical spaces in which people are included threatens the existence of

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[8] I attempt to remain consistent in my reference to public spheres as a plural form in accordance with scholar Nancy Fraser's (1990) notions about multiple publics.

[9] Persons without citizenship may be excluded from public space as well as persons with certain sexual deviant labels.

intangible and indispensable public spheres (Mitchell 1995). In this sense, we can see

how public property is a social and political struggle as well as the site for such struggle

(Blomley 2004).

Homeless Shelters and Franklin School

The site of struggle I consider, Franklin School, is a specific type of public property: a

homeless shelter. While it has not always been a shelter, Franklin School has always been

a public property. Prior to its use for social services, the building spent years in the

education and adult training systems (Feaver 1977). Like Franklin School, all of the

properties under investigation in this study have always rested in government hands.

Some have been transferred from Federal to municipal guardianship, but the transfers

were prior to the District's use of the buildings for shelter and the District's decision to

sell such properties, making the origin of the property in a specific level of government

irrelevant for my analysis.

In this research, I use the term *public homeless shelters* to refer to emergency

shelters that operate or operated on public property. Public shelters in the District may sit

on property leased or owned by the District; I include both scenarios in my definition of

public shelters. Because the local government spends annually $108 million on leases

(Borberly 2008), leased space is important to the geography of public property in the

District. What I do not consider are the private homeless shelters that in recent years have

received District government funds.[10]

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[10] These programs, unlike their public counterparts, may incorporate religious programming or service requirements (Coalition of Housing and Homeless Organizations).
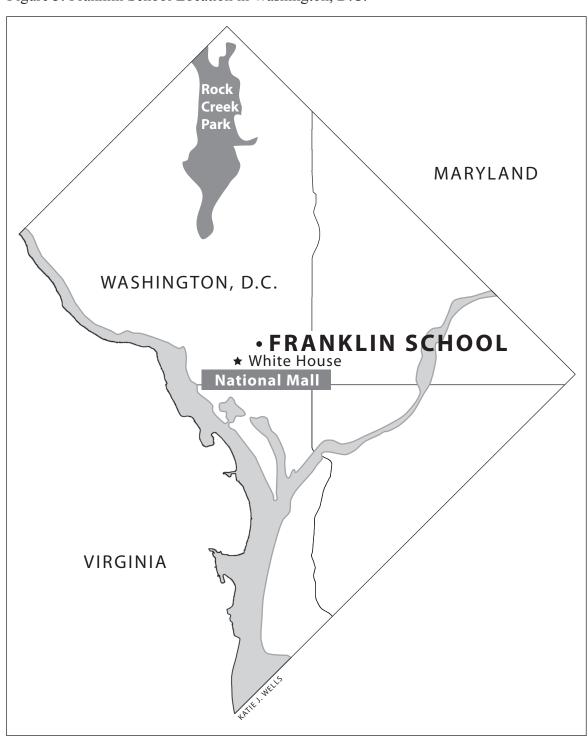
Figure 3: Franklin School Location in Washington, D.C.

The line between public and private homeless shelters becomes sticky in the face of government outsourcing. Even the District's agency for organizing and "policing"[11] homeless services, the Community Partnership, is contracted out, creating a complex web of relations between the public-private partnership, the government, and public shelter operators. (See Chapter 2 for analysis of these relationship and the effects of outsourcing.)

The qualification of a public shelter is not the only clarification to be made. An issue arises for the varying types of shelter within the public system: emergency, day, 12-hour, 24-hour, transition, and permanent shelters. Because much of the data available on District shelters in the 1980s do not distinguish between shelter types, I am unable to do so. However, my primary focus remains on the site of homeless shelter services and not the specifics of such services.

The redevelopment of public property like Franklin School is not unique in the District. Public property is disappearing. But it is not disappearing into thin air; particular and purposeful policies funnel land from the public's portfolio into the private sector. Property is also, I suspect, not being purchased by the government at a rate to reverse this trend. Still, data to support claims about how much property the District sells and buys each year proved difficult to obtain and cumbersome to synthesize. The District did not make accessible an inventory of its real property, as required by D.C. Code 10-1011, until June 2007. The Office of Property Management (OPM), Office of the Surveyor, and the Office of Economic Development and Planning declined to put forward older copies of public property inventories (e.g. Neil Albert, Lars Etzkorn, Mike Furnish) while City

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[11] A representative of the Community Partnership said the aim of the organization is to "police" homeless service providers (Matthew Winters).

Council members insinuated that such records were incomplete if existent at all (David Hammond). The District's tax records proved helpful for sales and assessment data on particular properties, but the tax database cannot provide aggregate information on the 609 public properties in the District. A large-scale or citywide study of all public property sold or leased in the District was not feasible due to the quantity and quality of available data as well as time constraints. There is room for further work in this area and I hope to take up the task with others in the future.

For my research, homeless shelters serve as a microcosm of larger public property trends. Although shelters are only one of many public property types up for sale, the shifts in ownership and use of land are most visible in them. The ramifications of public library sales (e.g. Silverman 2007) would be more difficult to discern as shelters affect one of the most, if not the most, disadvantaged and high-risk populations for whom it is possible to see an immediate and adverse impact from public property sales. Their right not only to participate in the public sphere but in some cases merely to live relies on the right to public property.

Of the 22 public shelters used in the District in the past 25 years (which were not hotels, government office buildings, stadiums, hospitals, armories, or leased properties), 7 have been or are about to be sold and redeveloped (see Appendix A and Chart A). More importantly, 9 others were at risk at one point for disposition. The District placed on the cutting board 16 out of 22 (or 74 percent of) public shelters in use between 1982 and 2007. In other words, what has happened to Franklin School is not unusual.

But Franklin School itself is unusual. It has become the poster child for recent debates about homelessness, public property, and gentrification in the District (e.g.

Fugere and Luby 2003, Montgomery 2004, Schwartzman 2004, Moffatt 2005).

Demonstrations have received widespread support and ongoing media coverage (e.g.

Metro in brief 2003, Dvorak 2005, Neibauer 2007)—and for good reason. The irony of

boutique hotel beds replacing shelter bunks with the government's support is too good of

a story to put to sleep. The stark contrast between the class of people within the building

now and the class of people who will be sleeping in the bed in years to come raises

questions about the social costs of development. The sales of abandoned government lots

are much more difficult to frame as controversial and worthy of debate.

Franklin School has inspired more than dialogue and disputes. Legislation was

introduced twice on its behalf in an effort to amend the District's policy for surplussing

and disposing of public property (e.g. David Hammond and D.C. Bill 17-0527). The most

recent effort in 2007, which I discuss in Chapter 5, would not apply to Franklin School

but its impact could be far reaching. The proposed sale of Franklin School also prompted

the creation of the Save Franklin School (David Pirtle) and People's Property Campaign,

two grassroots organizations.[12]

Space is a needed yet scarce resource in the District. Social services that address

drug abuse, literacy, inmate re-entry, and mental illness list limited space as the number

one barrier to efficient operation and expansion (e.g. District of Columbia Office of

Planning 2002, National Capital Planning Commission 2004, District of Columbia Office

of Citizen Neighborhood Action and Community Involvement 2006, District of

Columbia Office of Planning 2006). The shortage of affordable and public housing is also

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[12] It was through involvement with the latter that my interest in public property took form. I testified before City Council, conducted interviews with public radio, wrote letters to newspapers, and organized workshops about the social value of public property and the unique possibility the District has to realign its needs—space—with its assets—property.

at an all time high with more than 54,000 District families on the waitlist for government-subsidized housing vouchers and 30,000 households on the waitlist for public housing (D.C. Fiscal Policy Institute 2005). While more than thirty percent of the District's homeless population is reported to have mental illness or disability, twenty percent of homeless adults are employed (Metropolitan Washington Council of Governments 2007), hinting at the primary role affordable housing scarcity plays as the cause of homelessness (United States Conference of Mayors 2004). The sale of property from what I describe as a square footage-needy government exposes more than poor judgment. The decision to redevelop public property showcases the priorities of an economic development-hungry government. When social service and other programs that work to prevent and tackle homelessness compete with economic development for property, it is no surprise that roughly 11,500 District residents remain homelessness (e.g. Community Partnership for the Prevention of Homelessness 2008).

Homelessness is an on-going (and debatably increasing) problem in the District. Sold public shelters have not been replaced. One of the central impediments to Franklin School's sale is the inability on the part of the District to find a space for replacement beds in the downtown area, however loosely defined (Silverman 2006a). If homelessness were decreasing (and by more than the contested four percent), a decrease in the number of public homeless shelters could seem logical. If affordable or public housing were increasing at such a rate to prevent future need for shelters and address current need, the closing of shelters could also seem rational. Even if these conditions were the case, a lack of need for shelter space does not negate the need for public property. In order for a shelter to be surplussed, the property must be declared of no use to the public—not just

the homeless population. In Chapter 5, when I examine the surplus process, I consider what it means for a property to be useful and who makes these definitions and decisions.

Homeless shelters serve as a meaningful inroad to analysis of the treatment of public property for other reasons as well. All shelters in this study originated as some other type of public property. If I analyzed schools or libraries, for instance, I would not be able to grasp as large of trends for public properties that switch hands, sit vacant, and become the center of redevelopment efforts. Shelter buildings have long-term histories that shed light on city resources, practices, and visions for the future.

Moreover, the geography of shelter closures goes hand in hand with the geography of development. Shelters are not closed for the purpose of sitting idle; the properties are labeled as surplus to forward development. The seemingly sporadic and scattered shelter sales are deeply connected to issues of representation, power, and politics. It is these issues that underlie the collision of development efforts and social struggles at Franklin School.

Defining Redevelopment

The downsizing of homeless shelters is not an aberration or something new in the U.S., but it has yet to be examined with a focus on the redevelopment of public property—as opposed to the privatization of social services or other social service rollback policies. The selling of public property like Franklin School is not unique to the District nor is redevelopment. Detroit's recent sale of public school buildings to condo developers made national news (e.g. Mackinac 2007), but critical analysis of such a sale is minimal.

Before I consider the attention given to public property sales, it is useful to clarify the act of selling from the act of redeveloping public property. A sale confers a transfer of ownership rights and often results in a name change, aesthetic alterations, and shifts in access. I do not want to downplay these transformations as they are significant and have been considered at length by scholars (discussed below) in various social science fields.

However, what makes the redevelopment of public property distinct, I argue, is that it involves a change in *use*.[13] At Franklin School, the redevelopment of public property would transform a homeless shelter into an upscale hotel. While the use of the building to temporarily house people seems similar before and after development, it is anything but.

When a public property changes ownership through a sale but the function remains the same, it is not an example of what I understand to be public property redevelopment. For instance, when New York City sold its newspaper stands to a private company, the newsstands continued to hold newspapers (e.g. Garcia 2003). When the District of Columbia sold its bus stops to Clear Channel Communications, the properties continued to serve as bus stops (e.g. Layton 2005).

Understanding how redevelopment changes use helps to explain why renovations to public property also do not constitute redevelopment. What is happening to Gales School shelter, which is under renovation in the District after a lengthy and successful public battle, is not an example of redevelopment (e.g. Maryann Luby). The facility will remain a shelter after the building is remodeled.

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[13] The prefix "re" in redevelopment implies the change in use. In this prefix there is also a sense that something is fixed through redevelopment as it is done over in a new or better way.

A caveat emerges in these categorizations: The redevelopment of public property does not necessitate a change in ownership. A government could redevelop its own property by turning a public library into a public pool facility or transforming an administrative school building into a public shelter, as in the case of Franklin School. The District, I argue, facilitates the redevelopment of public property concurrently with sales of such properties to the private sector. Public properties are not sold to federal, state, or international bodies. They are shifted from public to private hands, as is the case of each shelter sale I examine. In Chapter 3, I contend that the District's redevelopment of public property amounts to a particular form of gentrification, which results in displacement and change in class.

Public Space and Gentrification Debates

The questions that led to this argument in particular and my research in general developed out of literatures on public space and gentrification. My studies have oscillated between these two hubs of discourse.

A wealth of scholarship examines public space, pseudo public space, publicly accessible space, and public-private space, forming what I call the public space debates. Scholars within and without the geographic discipline consider what public space means for the city and public spheres (e.g. Sennett 1974, Davis 1992, Sorkin 1992). Extensive and critical literature explores the loss and privatization of public spaces, its origins in neoliberal policies, and its implications for democracy (e.g. Sorkin 1992, Mitchell 1995, Ruddick 1996a, Kohn 2004). Through these writings, public space is analyzed as both a form of and site for struggle (e.g. Blomley 2004).

Public property, a specific type of public space eliciting its own sorts of struggles, is seemingly absent from but increasingly important to the debates. A significant amount of this work on public space and its disappearance concerns open space (see Low and Smith 2006 for a summary). Literature is beginning to address the relationship between public space and public property (e.g. Blomley 2004, Hackworth 2007, Staeheli and Mitchell 2008) and how the latter raises questions about hegemonic notions of ownership and individual rights. I draw heavily on these important sources to build my argument about why public property gentrification is a critical struggle of the moment.

While the public space debates appear to embrace new turns, another set of debates seems to stand still. The wealth of scholarship about gentrification in the 1980s and 1990s has not been met with new and critical work in recent years (Slater 2006). Urban geographers explored at length the gentrification of private property (e.g. Smith 1982 and 1996, Deutsche 1996, Ley 1996, Lees 2000, Zukin 1995,) and debates flourished on the causes of gentrification, ranging from economic pressures to social and cultural forces. Whether it was the lack of resolution among scholars (which I doubt) or the more recent surges in the real estate market, this discourse hit a plateau from which few scholars have moved beyond.

Despite early concern in the literature for leading causes of gentrification, the phenomenon today is most readily defined by its consequences. This trend is surprising as there are little empirical data to support claims that gentrification results in displacement, segregation, and homelessness (e.g. Smith 1998). The lack of research on these correlations and causal relations may have contributed to the cleansing of the term. The New Oxford American Dictionary defines gentrification as a process "to renovate or

improve so that it conforms to middle class taste" (Oxford English Dictionary 2008). The definition elides social and political implications. Slater (2006) is correct in his assertion that gentrification is no longer a "dirty" enough word (e.g. Smith 1996).

More critical studies about direct connections between gentrification and displacement are needed (Smith 1998). Analysis of how gentrification occurs (whether it is through one process or many) and where it occurs must address questions about spatial and social implications. Whether or not gentrification is a generalized process or a generalized result of specific but different processes, its relationship to displacement, segregation, and homelessness must be further considered as the urban landscape prevails as a site for and product of struggles over individual rights and social justice.

Missing most from the gentrification literature is convergence and conversation with the public space debates. I contend that public property is subject to more than privatization and gentrification is not limited to private property. I situate my research as an extension of existing literatures about privatization of public space and the gentrification of private property. Through my analysis I hope (in a small way) to push radical gentrification and public property studies further as individual disciplines and bring them closer as collective grounds for geographic study. Nonetheless, there are numerous other ways in which to combine these two sets of scholarship. The direct correlations between these two phenomena (public space loss and gentrification of private property) remain to be explored, for example. Future research must consider whether the loss of public space leads to gentrification or if gentrification leads to the loss of public space and how these phenomena can be studied in an empirically rich way.

The redevelopment of homeless shelters is a productive starting point for examinations of the relationships between public space and gentrification. The relationships between public space and homelessness have been well established (e.g. Mitchell 1998a, 1998b, Wright 1997, Lees 2003), but shelters as a specific type of public property remains to be explored. Similarly, analysis of public property is absent from research that links homelessness and gentrification. This absence is not unlikely given that homelessness, when linked to gentrification scholarship, often emerges as a token but unproven consequence of gentrification. A notable exception to the lack of property studies in gentrification and homelessness literature is work on single room occupancy hotels (SROs) and their destruction, which swelled the need for shelters (e.g. Kasinitz 1986, Groth 1994).

Much research focuses on engagement with homeless populations in attempts to understand the concepts of home (e.g. May 2000), in-between-ness (e.g. Kawash 1998), public-private boundaries (e.g. Ruddick 1996a), shelterization[14] (e.g. Marcus 2003), and interior geographies of shelters (e.g. J. Williams 1996). Much research also addresses issues of personal mobility for homeless populations (e.g. Wolch *et al.* 1993, Wright 1997, Mitchell 1998a, 1998b). In following a small but significant shift away from the 1990s' focus on homeless *identity politics* (e.g. Takahashi 1998, Hopper 2003, Lobao and Murray 2005), I concentrate on homeless *shelter politics*. Like studies on the location and re-location of shelters (e.g. Simon 1993, Lyon-Callo 2001, Brinegar 2003), my research focuses on struggles for and opposition to this "controversial" social service. Through research I seek to better understand shelter politics as a microcosm of public property

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[14] Shelterization is the adaptation process experience upon entering emergency or temporary shelter facilities; Marcus (2003) describes the process as a socialization into inmate status.

treatment in the District. From this position, I am better able to grasp the challenges faced by homeless populations as public property is redeveloped.

Although my initial research questions emerged out of public space and gentrification scholarship, my research is informed by a triad of phenomena: public space (specifically public property), gentrification, and homelessness. The following chapters develop from this convergence as I build an argument about the changing urban landscape.

Chapter Layout

My research began at Franklin School and so it is there I return at the beginning of each chapter in attempts to better understand what is happening to Franklin School in particular and public property in general. I do not intend to portray Franklin School as a tipping point, a metaphor that problematically magnifies its importance. Instead, I call attention to how the redevelopment of Franklin School is panning out and offer it as a window into changes in the District. I saw this research project as an opportunity to both critically analyze the redevelopment of public property and help residents, homeless or not, articulate a claim to public property. I now see this writing as a form of resistance.

Accumulation crises have always been wrapped up in social struggles, but neoliberalization creates an illusion of separation between the two (Harvey 1978). In Chapter 2, I argue that an examination of public property redevelopment offers insight into how accumulation and social struggles interact and how they are pulled apart through processes of neoliberalization. Moreover, I contend that public property redevelopment is becoming a critical site for these struggles. By understanding how

neoliberalization frames accumulation and social struggles and the contradictions that emerge as they collide, we can better understand neoliberalism itself. This neoliberal context (the context created by and for these processes) is a critical condition for the emergence of what I contend in the following chapters is a new type of gentrification.

In Chapter 3, I argue that the restructuring of cities through the redevelopment of public property constitutes a new period and new type of gentrification: the gentrification of public property. I consider why this new type of gentrification has emerged (though I do not suggest this phenomenon is unique to the District), what it means for the way cities work, and how it points to new sorts of tensions between social struggle and accumulation under advanced capitalism. The issue of homelessness at Franklin School may seem like a separate issue from that of the redevelopment of Franklin School into a "hip hotel," but gentrification and homelessness are two sides of the same coin (e.g. Harvey 1978), two forms of social struggle and accumulation.

I contend that these issues are intimately related and their convergence at Franklin School is not an anomaly but an archetype of neoliberal relations. Gentrification and homelessness form a logical yet contradictory pair. They work against each other at the same time that they rely on the existence of each other. Gentrification involves a particular type of accumulation that relies on a revaluation and dispossession of spaces, issues I take up in Chapters 4 and 5. Still, I claim that gentrification also needs social struggles to defray revaluation—to stagger capital's revaluation and distribution not just across space but across time.

I turn in Chapters 4 and 5 to the internal processes of public property gentrification, making sense of the theoretical arguments within earlier chapters and

linking them to what is happening on the ground in the District. Public property

gentrification necessitates two steps, as noted above: the revaluation and dispossession of

public property. The process of revaluation occurs through several mechanisms, one of

which is historic preservation. Similarly, the process of dispossession occurs through

several mechanisms, one of which is a public property disposal system. Through these

chapters, I argue that historic preservation and public property disposal are integral to the

logic of gentrification at Franklin School in particular and public property gentrification

in general. First, I consider historic preservation, as the process of revaluation often

precedes if not ignites dispossession. Then, I consider the District's property disposal

system and the ways in which it sets the stage for the gentrification of public property.

In Chapter 4, I contend that historic preservation is a selective and strategic

mechanism used to support particular types of development. Historic preservation relies

on the past (one made up of buildings but not relationships) to project a future and in

doing so tends to ignore the present. I consider what kind of past it is conjuring up (a

prosperous and pre-integration one—not the one of the District abandoning its public

property), what kind of future it is portending, and what kind of present it is effacing. I

look specifically at the political implications of historic designations and districts on

development in Washington, D.C. and how these features of the landscape revalue

particular parts of the past and in doing so affect social struggle today. Historic

preservation is critical to the dynamics of property and poverty in the District because it

demonstrates how social struggles and contemporary issues are sometimes pushed to the

side in favor of economic development and at what cost. A study of Franklin School and

historic preservation's role helps to demonstrate the relationship between the processes of revaluation through preservation and accumulation through gentrification.

In Chapter 5, I explore how public property disposal puts land the government deems surplus into circulation, expands the market for capital, and fundamentally alters the risk of speculation for development in the District. In doing so, the government dispossess the public of one of its chief resources (land) and commodities (land use). I argue that the public property disposal mechanism produces the legal means, economic incentives, and physical space for the gentrification of public property, a political process. Historic preservation makes public property seem valuable as public property disposal makes property accessible to private capital.

While many factors are at play in property redevelopment (and a thoroughly different but effective analysis could highlight a host of other mechanisms), the underlying processes of revaluation and dispossession must not be overlooked. It is the manifestation of these steps in particular mechanisms like historic preservation and public property disposal systems that go under-examined. Through close examinations of historic preservation and surplus processes in Chapters 4 and 5, I conclude that both mechanisms allow for the emergence and success of public property gentrification.

CHAPTER TWO

THE NEOLIBERAL CITY

Introduction

With both hands folded on the table, Neil Albert (Interview) calmly and confidently

explained that in the next four years the District of Columbia intends to cut in half its

portfolio of public properties. The District should be a facilitator for development, he

stressed, not a developer in its own right (Neil Albert). While these sound like words that

might come from someone at the Office of Property Management (OPM), they did not.

This talk about the District's move away from property ownership came from the

District's Deputy Mayor for Planning and Economic Development, a man whose

understanding of the economy seems to have as much to do with business plans as it does

with land.

Albert (Interview) went on to say that the District wants out of the "shelter

business," reflecting the District's position on public property holdings and pattern of

social service cuts.[1] In some ways, however, the District is already out of the "business."

Since 1994, the District has outsourced its homeless services to the Community

Partnership for the Prevention of Homelessness, a public-private partnership whose task

has been described by employees as everything from "mandat[ing]" (Cornell Chappelle)

to "policing" shelters (Matthew Winters).

The task, as laid out in the Department of Human Services' (DHS) contract, puts

the Community Partnership in a precarious role. It is not a government agency that can

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[1] The retreat from shelter services also reflects the shift toward Housing First initiatives (e.g. Brady-Myerov 2006), which work to permanently house people prior to addressing social service needs.

stand side-by-side with the city, but it is also not an advocacy organization that can protest publicly. Because of its status as a contractor, the Community Partnership is prohibited from demonstrating in public forums, publicly criticizing the city's decisions, and testifying proactively before City Council on contentious issues, like the future of Franklin School shelter (Cornell Chappelle).

Another string of contracts complicates the relationship between the government and its homeless services and in turn alienates the latter. The Community Partnership provides a set of grants to non-profit organizations that operate public shelters, transforming once advocacy-oriented groups into client-like service providers. For instance, Franklin School shelter is run by Catholic Charities, maintained by DHS' Office of Facilities Management, and supposed to be protected by a security company under a separate government contract (Chapman Todd). But exactly which agency or organization is responsible for oversight of the security services, whose failings to prevent abuse of shelter residents across the District is widely reported, is still up for debate (e.g. District of Columbia Office of the Inspector General 2006). Through layers of outsourcing, the government's hand in social services appears more protected and less accountable.

In the midst of this bureaucratic mess is the challenge posed for non-profit organizations to be both a good contractor and a good advocate. Many of the groups that lobbied the District to increase shelter services in the 1980s now receive District money in some capacity (Brian Anders, Coalition of Housing and Homeless Organizations, Chapman Todd), placing new limits on political involvement, as it is hard to "bite the hand that feeds you." For some, this shift points to an ingenious strategy on the part of

the District to quiet and co-opt agitators (Brian Anders). The recent award of an AmeriCorps Fellowship to Jesse Smith (Interview), then resident of Franklin School shelter, supports such a claim. The fellowship stipulated that Smith would refrain from political activity and resign from his presidency of the Save Franklin Campaign. And, he did (Jesse Smith). However, he was not the only leader of the Save Franklin Campaign to be offered a way out of the shelter and silenced in the process. When David Pirtle (Interview) received a year of housing vouchers from the District government, he (temporarily) relinquished the ability to criticize District government. Contracts, business-model like relationships, and even awards have silenced the politics of homelessness.

What complicates this already complex story about homeless shelters and public property are two recent job switches. The first concerns the District's former mayor, Anthony Williams, who orchestrated and signed the Franklin School lease. Since leaving office in 2007, Williams has become a real estate mogul for a private entity that specializes in the purchase and redevelopment of public property (Woodlee 2007). If the role of public property in big business was not evident enough, the replacement of OPM's director with a member of Albert's staff in the Office of the Deputy Mayor for Planning and Economic Development (DMPED) made the notion sound.

The implications of the District's shift in public property treatment, rollback of social services, outsourcing of government functions, and silencing of homelessness politics are far reaching from Franklin School to contemporary urban politics. I seek to understand what is at stake under these new forms of governance and how rights to the city are called into question. Discussion about the possibility of a downtown replacement

facility points to some of the complications inherent in these issues. What does it mean that a senior advisor on homelessness in the Williams administration said, "I do not believe that we owe specific locations to people" (Hammond 2006)? What does it mean when the homeless services director at the Downtown Business Improvement District went a step further to say (Chet Grey): "I can't live downtown, so why do the homeless need to?"

To make sense of what is happening to Franklin School and how public property redevelopment comes about necessitates an understanding of what is happening more broadly within the neoliberal context. In this chapter, I explore the key components, contradictions, and contestations of neoliberalism. I consider how, for the most part, literature has yet to address what is happening to public property in general even as public property has become a critical site for struggle over rights to the city in particular (be it rights for development or rights for social justice). Then, I examine the context created by and for neoliberalization processes, which I claim is a critical condition for public property redevelopment.[2] Specifically, I conclude that public property redevelopment (and gentrification) emerges from a perceived separation of struggles over accumulation and social welfare in the city. Through this analysis, I can better understand the neoliberal discourse as a lens that distorts reality and has material consequences, such as the transformation of public property into an economic asset and the proposed redevelopment of Franklin School shelter into a "hip hotel." The goal of this chapter is twofold: one, to add to understandings of public property redevelopment through an examination of the conditions under which this process emerges; and two, to add to

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[2] In this chapter I avoid the phrase public property gentrification as I have yet to unfold the argument and focus instead on public property redevelopment, the precursor to this particular type of gentrification.

understandings of neoliberalism and neoliberal resistance by pointing out public property as a key site for contemporary struggles.

Neoliberal Ideology and Discourse

Like globalization in the 1990s, neoliberalism is the hot topic of the 2000s. But overuse by social scientists has led to a devaluation of the term and miscommunication of the ideology (Hackworth 2007:9). In the following section, I parse out the meaningful details of this thing that has become all and nothing. Then, I show how the processes of neoliberalization make the redevelopment of public property seem innocuous by prioritizing development and rationalizing political power.

Neoliberalism, based on the construction of the neoliberal ideal, is a discourse about the market, a noninterventionist state, and individual rights. One way to approach this discourse is as a political-economic theory of governance (Jessop 2002). Whereas neo-conservatism adheres to a moral ideology about a certain set of social conditions, neoliberalism concerns a set of economic conditions (Harvey 2005).[3] Neoliberal discourse relies on the belief that open, competitive, and unregulated markets, liberated from all forms of state interference, represent the optimal mechanisms for economic development (Brenner and Theodore 2002). Through such descriptions of neoliberalism, we can see two important elements of the ideology: one, economic development is a central if not the paramount goal; and two, this goal is believed to be best achieved through a liberated market. Neoliberalism concerns the liberation of the markets—not society.

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[3] Urban geographer Jason Hackworth (2007) suggests that the former ideology is a mask for the latter.

Neoliberal discourse is an extension and evolution of certain ideologies about liberalism. Geographer Jason Hackworth (2007:9) explains that neoliberalism is "an ideological rejection of egalitarian liberalism in general and the Keynesian welfare state in particular, combined with a selective return to the ideas of classical liberalism, most strongly articulated by Hayek (1944; 1960) and Friedman (1984; 1962)." In other words, the state's transformation from egalitarian liberalism to neoliberalism coincides with two important shifts: the shift toward market-led policies (Harvey 2005) and the shift from welfare to workfare, which provides the economy with a new boost of labor (Peck 2001).[4]

Although neoliberalism returns to some of the ideas of classic liberalism, a critical distinction remains. Classic liberal ideology favors limited state involvement, but does not, like neoliberalism, rest this proclivity on the assumption of state failure. Through the neoliberal ideology, a cyclical discourse is set in motion. Because the state is assumed to have failed, the state is expected to allow the private sector, which some feel will do a better job, to perform many of its functions. And so, the state sets up outsourcing through contracts. In turn, the state is able to do less and so the state does less, exacerbating the notion of state failure.

Neoliberal discourse and its underlying ideologies, like state failure, are best examined through the processes of neoliberalization or the set of associated practices that define neoliberalism (Peck and Tickell 2002). By looking at the material consequences of the discourse, we can start to see contradictory yet complementary moments of rollback neoliberalism (such as the 1980s Reagan/Thatcher deregulation and cuts in government

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[4] In addition to these shifts, the transformation under neoliberalism from private property to public property gentrification, which I discuss in Chapter 3, provides the economy with a new boost of land.

services) and rollout neoliberalism (such as the 1990s Clinton/Blair securitization and increase in private regulation) (Jessop 2002). The dialectical relationship between these two forces, which sheds light on how neoliberalization plays out, is characterized as a "creative destruction" (Peck and Tickell 2002). The destruction of social services, like homeless shelters for example, leads to the creation of private security forces that monitor behavior on public property and the resurrection of vagrancy laws against homeless persons.

The selling of public property is another extension of this neoliberal trend. After rolling back shelter spaces, the government rolls out spaces for real estate development and provides a boost for capital investments. The prioritization of economic development, evident through discourses and practices about free markets and state failures, is naturalized through another process of neoliberalization: the rationalization of political power.

As a political-economic theory, the arrangement of power and individual rights is as essential to neoliberalism as is the prioritization of economic development. The sociologist Nikolas Rose (1999) examines how the position and treatment of power is changed under neoliberalism. In his adept analysis of governmentality, Rose is quick to point out that freedom is not the absence of power but a mechanism of it. From this purview, he examines why liberal and neoliberal governments focus on freedom and not power (Rose 1999). Power is hidden, diffused, and rationalized, which allows the idea of freedom to seem to exist apart from power. That freedom cannot exist without a certain degree of government power is forgotten.[5]

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[5] The Patriot Act is a strong reminder of these debates about the costs of liberty.

The relationships between those exercising political power and those they seek to govern are organized through specific claims about power (Rose 1999). Rose (1999) distinguishes liberal government from other types of government due to its interest in framing power in thoughts as opposed to demonstrating power in practices. He does not suggest that liberal and neoliberal governments are not bound up in issues of practice. Rather, he attests that what makes liberal and neoliberal governments unique is their fixation with "authority for one's authority" (Rose 1999:27). To govern within a liberal or neoliberal context is to recognize a human's ability to act and choose not to squander the ability to act under dominant force but control through coercion (Rose 1999). Under neoliberalism, power takes the quiet form of coercion, whereas under classic liberalism power takes on a more a direct form of domination.

As a result, political power and practices are framed as logical and rational. A liberal or neoliberal form of government legitimizes its status from popular votes (Hannah 2000) and defends its decisions to do what is in the "best" interest of the people (Rose 1999). Margaret Thatcher's response, "there is not alternative," to questions about economic globalization and more recent arguments about social mixing as a merit of gentrification are examples of the ways in which governments justify actions (Slater 2006). These sorts of discourse and practice differ greatly from the physical acts of domination common in authoritarian and empire-type governments (Rose 1999).

What makes neoliberalism unique from these types of government in general and classic liberalism in particular is its diffusion of power (Hardt and Negri 2000). Theoretical frameworks situated within neoliberalism shift the central scale of analysis on urban governance from the city to the city-region level (Ward and Jonas 2004). By

"treating metropolitan institutions and city-region systems of governance as a functionally separate arena of political struggle and strategy, removed that is from the substance of urban and regional politics and detached from wider scales of state interests," neoliberal power dynamics are neutralized (Ward and Jonas 2004:2128). Economic strategies emphasize bottom-up policies, which distribute political power among local players on the city-region scale.

The diffusion of power among various local actors and service contractors challenges resistance to neoliberal policies, as discussed in the next section. The decision to sell Franklin School highlights the way in which power becomes hidden from view. When I started my research at Franklin School, no one could tell me which or how many government agencies and offices were involved in the proposed sale (Brian Anders, Cornell Chappelle, Lars Etzkorn, David Hammond, Maryann Luby, David Pirtle, Art Rodgers, Chapman Todd). My running tally of local actors now includes the Mayor's Office, the District City Council, the Office of Planning, DMPED, OPM, Department of Human Services, and the Community Partnership. Decentralized decisions and practices are viewed differently than they would be if imposed from a centralized source (Ward and Jonas 2004). As in the case of Franklin School, neoliberalization's treatment of power works to de-politicize projects and practices.

The shift toward diffused power in neoliberalism creates a sense of distance on several fronts. A distance between local actors in the decision-making process spans agencies and departments. My difficulty in obtaining complete information from any of the offices involved in the sale of Franklin School points to the way in which diffused power also affects public access to the political sphere. In a similar fashion, the

outsourcing system establishes distance between the government and its citizens in a process known as the "governmentalization" of community (Larner and Butler 2006). Words like consumers, clients, customers, and users reposition citizens as entities with choices rather than needs (Rose 1999). When Albert (Interview) used the term "shelter business," he positioned social services as a business ran by the government and the homeless persons as clients. Likewise, the former OPM director Lars Etzkorn (Interview) described himself as "customer focused." It is through this process of prioritizing economic development, naturalizing accumulation, and rationalizing political power that shelter appears as an optional undertaking for the District and not a right for its citizens. The redevelopment of public property, consequently, seems innocuous.

In some ways the naturalization of redevelopment is curious. Neoliberalism has failed to do what it says it will do: stimulate economic growth across the globe (Harvey 2005). This failure is what urban geography scholar David Harvey (2005) considers as he writes that there are differences in neoliberal practices and yet despite these differences there are still such few achievements, such little economic advancement. The uneven economic geography of neoliberal states remains. This failure Harvey attributes to neoliberalism's character as a contemporary political project for restoring class power. Although he does not elaborate on the mechanics of this assertion, its implications are important for my understanding of public property redevelopment as a class-based phenomenon.

Neoliberal Resistance

From these analyses, neoliberalism emerges as both a set of discourses and a set of

practices about economic development and government power. These sets are interwoven

as discourse and discursive formations have material consequences for everyday lives

and practices (Roberts 2004). However, neoliberal discourses and practices do not always

line up.

Harvey (2005) sees the disjuncture most readily between neoliberal claims to

protect the rights for all and neoliberal practices that protect the rights for some by

limiting the rights of others. (Harvey exposes those contradictions in neoliberal processes

of financialization, privatization, and commodification.) Still, it is not just a misreading

or misrepresentation of the neoliberal discourse that causes this split; it is not simply

something to be fixed or re-aligned. Values of individual freedom espoused by neoliberal

discourse are not necessarily compatible with values of social justice (Harvey 2005:41).

Neoliberal discourse, whether it is about economic policies or social responsibility,

evades questions about whose freedoms are protected and at what cost (Ong 2006). In

this section, I seek to explain how the naturalization of economic development and

rationalization of political power make resistance difficult. I consider how the processes

of neoliberalization change and challenge resistance and how these changes create a

context for the emergence of public property redevelopment.

Moments of resistance are argued to be the best way in which to examine the

nature of neoliberal policies (e.g. Peck and Tickell 2002), such as public property

redevelopment. The gaps in fissures of neoliberalization—like resistance to the selling of

Franklin School shelter—"hold a mirror" to the neoliberal project (Peck and Tickell

2002).[6] Resistance simultaneously contests and shapes neoliberalism, which in turn contests and shapes resistance. In other words, these two seemingly opposite forms of power and politics are not so easily separated.[7]

Because neoliberalism in the beginning was a strategic contestation against and radical response to a normative form of politics (see Peck and Tickell 2006 for a summary), I must make explicit my definition of *neoliberal resistance*. I am not referring to the original moments of neoliberal ascendancy in the 1970s when that set of discourses and practices worked to resist the then-normative politics. By neoliberal resistance, I mean resistance to neoliberalism or acts of struggle that work to change and dismantle part if not all of the neoliberal hegemony today (see also Leitner *et al.* 2006). Although my research concerns resistance to normative neoliberal policies and processes, other scholars (e.g. Ong 2006) make significant contributions to understanding exceptional neoliberalism or neoliberalism in places outside of the normative neoliberal state. In such cases, the neoliberal components become the exceptions and forms of resistance. My definition of neoliberal resistance assumes a neoliberal context and does not include these forms of exceptional neoliberalism.

Still, what neoliberal resistance includes is not exactly clear. Is advocacy work part of resistance, even if it means picking up the pieces for rollback neoliberal policies (Leitner *et al.* 2006)? Is counter-mapping or squatting part of resistance, even if it means using the same tools, representations of space and ownership of space, as those of the

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[6] Still, geographers Helga Leitner, Jamie Peck, and Eric Sheppard (2006:117) warn, "the ways in which particular instances of localized urban conflict are, and are not, related to more general economic and political processes frequently escape careful consideration."

[7] Rose (1999) claims that resistance has been romanticized by Marxists and stuck in a dominance/resistance binary. He offers little evidence and the way in which Peck and Tickell (2006) offer a historical analysis of the neoliberal continuum from resistance to dominance works against Rose's claim.

dominant powers (Blomley 2004)? Is fighting for government assistance part of resistance, even if it means jeopardizing opportunities for further political activity (Hackworth 2007)? Perhaps most relevant to my research and least addressed in the literature is the question about whether analysis of neoliberal resistance is a means for resistance or a mechanism that unintentionally essentializes the discourse and processes of neoliberalization. I sift through conceptualizations of neoliberal resistance with these queries in mind.

The characterization that neoliberal resistance is fragmented (e.g. Hackworth 2007) holds water, but so do several other portrayals. I turn here to examine how specific neoliberalization processes, like those explored above, affect resistance and echo scholars' claims that neoliberalization challenges resistance in new and critical ways (e.g. Leitner *et al.* 2006). Specifically, I pay attention to how neoliberal resistance contends with a re-scaling of governance to the city-region level, which fragments institutional operations and diffuses power through outsourcing. I also relate analysis of the co-option that non-profits and advocacy organizations undergo within the neoliberal context to changed definitions of the public.

Because neoliberal governance is re-scaled (or up-scaled) to the city-region scale, neoliberalism on the local and urban levels is difficult to pin down and contest (Hackworth 2007). Despite this ambiguity, the urban scale is still where neoliberalization is most obvious and where resistance is most likely (Leitner *et al.* 2006). (I do not mean to conflate urban with local, but there is overlap.) Since neoliberalism floats between scales (with regional governance scaling up and neoliberal phenomena most associated with scaling down), neoliberal resistance often faces difficulties in selecting and

accessing appropriate tools and mechanisms for change (Leitner *et al.* 2006). The disconnection between appropriate tools and productive scales can alienate local activists (Leitner *et al.* 2006). For example, when public housing advocates lobbied HUD directly to include tenants in conversations about property changes, they lost (Hackworth 2007). When they went to court, the advocates also lost (Hackworth 2007). The resistance in local offices and courts did not allow activists to address regional or larger scale issues; the struggles became locally stuck as municipal and state litigation often cannot be used to win what appears to be a local battle but in actuality is a federal issue with government agencies (Hackworth 2007). The in-between-ness caused by a re-scaling of neoliberal governance hints at the impending limitations for neoliberal resistance (Miller 2006:245).

The neoliberal diffusion of power, generated by the re-scaling of governance, also sets up the conditions through which resistance is co-opted (Eick 2006). Some types of advocacy and resistance work seem to sustain neoliberalism by picking up the slack of downshifted social and economic responsibilities (Eick 2006), a process that limits arguments about the wrongdoings of neoliberalization. Resistance movements struggle to come to terms with both helping people and not helping the powers that be (Eick 2006:285). For instance, the increase in private shelter services in the District in the past twenty-five years (Chapman Todd) provides a context for the District's former OPM director to understand and rationalize the downsizing of public shelters (e.g. Lars Etzkorn).

Co-option also occurs on a different level through neoliberalization. Political struggles are jeopardized, as evident in the history of the Community Partnership (Cornell Chappelle), when the social service industry goes into business with the

government as a contractor (Hackworth 2007). In addition, competition within the social

service industry for such contracts works to silence politics (Hackworth 2007). When

there is not enough of a particular resource to go around, activists must choose between

participation in political demonstrations or receipt of benefits and business (Wainright

2006).

These various moments of co-option hint at the complicated and contradictory

lines between non-profits, advocacy organizations, social service providers, and political

movements. Advocacy organizations are not necessarily part of the resistance movement,

as non-profit does not mean zero interest in profits or total commitment to political

change (Leitner *et al.* 2006). Political scientist Volker Eick (2006:275) grapples with the

complicated nature of a non-profit security business: "Employing a minority of the

homeless population on Skid Row as a policing entity excludes the majority from the

same area." In other words, non-profits, like the homeless security business, may

willingly aid neoliberal governance.

Washington, D.C.'s Downtown Business Improvement District (BID) is involved

in a similar venture through which they "clean up" the streets by temporarily employing

homeless persons to serve as BID ambassadors for lower-than-minimum-wage stipends

(Chet Grey). But is *StreetSense*, a D.C. grassroots newspaper written and sold by

homeless persons, any different? *StreetSense,* for whom I volunteered on a weekly basis

as a graphic designer, writer, and receptionist in summer 2007, provides its homeless

vendors with t-shirts, printed yellow vests, and name badges, which work to "clean up"

their street appearance. From my experience, the change in visual appearance assured

some vendors of their ability to sell papers.[8] Yet, I wonder how the visual change affects the perception of homelessness as a critical issue in the District, where more than 11,500 spent a night in a shelter in 2007 (Community Partnership for the Prevention of Homelessness 2008). Does *StreetSense* unintentionally take away from the visual impact of homeless persons' neediness by outfitting them with a semi-uniform? I suspect that it does, and this contradictory set of goals is the challenge faced by service organizations and resistance in the neoliberal context. They have to juggle the distinct roles of serving and demonstrating, which sometimes work against one another. As Eick (2006:285) explains, there is no evidence whatsoever to support the idea that the non-profit sector can challenge neoliberalization processes.

Geography and planning scholar Jason Hackworth (2007) shifts the debate about neoliberal resistance away from traditional governance issues, like re-scaling and co-option, toward institutional mechanisms. He offers a perspective on fragmented resistance through a focus on bond-rating agencies, real estate investment, and development processes (Hackworth 2007). These initiatives, which facilitate the shift to neoliberalism, are outside of governmental and local spheres and thus seem removed from politics and difficult to resist (Hackworth 2007).

Most importantly, Hackworth develops an argument about the ways in which neoliberalism has fragmented resistance through dispersion, which is distinct from but complementary to the diffusion of power. The diffusion of power, examined above, refers to the layout of governmental and institutional actors (Ward and Jonas 2004). By

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[8] I also wonder how the visual change affects homeless persons who panhandle and cannot take the financial risk of buying papers they might not be able to sell. (*StreetSense* vendors are given their first ten papers free and are able each month to trade in ten old papers for ten new ones. Still, risk remains when papers cost twenty-five cents apiece.) Does *StreetSense* unintentionally hurt one sector of the homeless population while helping another?

contrast, dispersion caused by neoliberalization refers to the layout of resistance efforts and individuals. As more and more government responsibilities are contracted out, the persons in charge of these tasks and the locations at which they perform these tasks are physically spread out (Hackworth 2007). Dispersion in service providers, as opposed to centralized governmental provision, fragments citizen and resistance bases (Hackworth 2007). Hackworth argues, and I agree, that: one, neoliberalization, through the same process that diffuses power, creates a dispersal of citizen bases; and two, dispersal jeopardizes citizens' ability to mobilize.

Employing the history of public housing, Hackworth (2007) identifies the ways in which one fight against neoliberalism has changed. Due to the rollout of HOPE VI programs and rollback of Section 8 assistance, a new geography of poverty—with vast differences in the public housing provisions and scattered recipients—challenges the ability of tenants and advocates to ideologically come together around common matters and physically get together. The District's move toward more Housing First programs (Maryann Luby), which re-located shelter residents through private housing vouchers, reflects this dispersion.

Alongside these scatterings are changed definitions of the dispersed public (Staeheli and Mitchell 2008:71). Such varying definitions challenge neoliberal resistance and ability of political activists to build consensus and common identities. The shift from collectivist to individualist thinking in neoliberalism strains collaboration as social justice takes a back seat to individual rights (Rose 1999). Moreover, the neoliberal project to restore class power (Harvey 2005) seems to work by creating distance between citizens, which invariably gives rise to exclusions and erodes the public good and public sphere

(Brenner and Theodore 2002, Smith 2002). The resulting graduated levels of citizenship (Ong 2006) alongside the diffused power, dispersed actors, and blurry lines of the non-profit world splinter resistance.

In addition to challenges faced by neoliberal resistance, Hackworth (2007) points to the internal inadequacies of neoliberal resistance. The liberal left, he asserts, lacks a unified vision about economic justice and social justice; they are ambivalent about which should come first and often focus on the latter in isolation (Hackworth 2007). The gap between the resistance movement's positions on social and economic justice is what he hints we need to bridge in order to change the neoliberal behemoth (Hackworth 2007).[9] This failure to do so contributes to the illusion of distance between individual rights to accumulation and collective rights to social welfare. Neoliberal governance struggles to separate social and economic issues as neoliberal resistance struggles to connect the two matters.

Public Property as a Site for Struggle

Several authors have started to tackle the gap between neoliberalization and spaces of neoliberalism; we would be wise to follow in their footsteps methodologically and theoretically (e.g. Ong 2006, Hackworth 2007). Public property offers a critical inroad to this lacuna in the neoliberal literature. However, a direct connection between critical analyses of neoliberalization and property has yet to emerge. Before I look specifically at

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[9] Critical literature assumes but does not explain why neoliberalism's demise is likely to be at the hands of the resistance (e.g. Leitner *et al.* 2006). If resistance is necessary for the fall of neoliberalism, is resistance inversely related to neoliberalism? If resistance increases, will neoliberalism come apart? Such a correlation would imply that any strengthening of neoliberalism would make it that much more arduous for resistance to rise. Or, is there a threshold, like the democrats like to believe at the moment, where republican strength will bring about its own demise? While scholars acknowledge and stress the interdependency of resistance and neoliberalism, they do not engage in predictions about what sorts of resistance or situations will bring about change.

public property's potential contribution to the literature, I closely examine property. I explore the significance of property, how it establishes order and decentralizes power, its use as a tool for resistance, and its performance through visualizations in order to better understand the unique role of public property in a neoliberal context.

Property, as geography scholar Nicholas Blomley (2004) argues, is at its core a cultural organizing force. Property is a relationship between people and spaces, a relationship that is guided through the ownership model (Blomley 2004). This idea, like many in Blomley's text, is guided by exchange with fellow geographers Lynn Staeheli and Don Mitchell, who explain that property is the right to exclusion (Staeheli and Mitchell 2008). While Blomley focuses more on private property and Staeheli and Mitchell emphasize public property, both pieces of literature feel like the record of an ongoing (and exciting) conversation. It is this from this conversation that my research evolves.

Through a close reading of Henri Lefebrve, Blomley (2004) suggests that the term property is shorthand for private property. He deconstructs the relationship between public property (or the commons) and private property in order to explain how Lefebvre's concern with "the right to the city" leaves ambiguous ideas about public and private spaces.[10] What Blomley and Staeheli and Mitchell (2008) stress are the political and legal relations behind "the right to property," the fundamental issue for rights to the city.

Underlying Blomley's (2004) argument about the significance of property to the neoliberal city is a thorough analysis of property ownership. Like Hackworth's (2007)

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[10] See Staeheli and Mitchell (2008) for scholarship on a continuum of public and private spaces and activities.

emphasis on the decentralization of public housing tenants and its implications for collective resistance, Blomley (2004) considers the way in which the private property model decentralizes power into individuals. Because of its reliance on finite boundaries and absolute spaces, the ownership model exerts control and establishes order through space (Blomley 2004:23). Land use planning both reflects and ensures social order, institutionalizing reliance on moral understandings of what space ought to be (Blomely 2004). Political and social theorist Timothy Mitchell (quoted in Blomley 2004:68) explains, "The appearance of order means the disappearance of power." This management of social order and minimization of social discord resonates with neoliberalization's naturalization of economic development and rationalization of political power.

As well as a tool for oppression, property is a tool for resistance: "Although property discourses and practices are the means by which poor and racialized city dwellers are dispossessed, such discourses and practices are also a crucial political resource in challenging these dispossessions" (Blomely 2004:xix). Opposition relies on arguments about real property, obligations, displacement, and land as well as connecting physical changes with actual persons (Blomely 2004). While development entails the displacement of real people, it is also caused by real people (Blomely 2004:98).

Public property in Washington, D.C., for example, did not just become vacant, run down, or abandoned. State leaders made those buildings what they are—and what they are not. By de-mystifying development industries and political actors, the identities of those who speak for and through the city are revealed (Blomley 2004:319 quoting

Deutsche 1996). What neoliberalism does best is create veils; what the resistance must seek to do is disrobe and unveil.

In this sense, property rights are performative (Blomely 2004). Visualization, more applicable to property law than any other field, is one of the ways in which property rights are asserted and challenged (Blomley 2004). Property claims and counterclaims use visuality (such as signs, cartoons, advertisements, editorials, poetry, and graffiti) to detach space, render it abstract, and highlight particular meanings (Blomley 2004). A parallel emerges between what visualization does through maps that reify boundaries and public planning efforts that zone spaces and what neoliberalization does through ideologies about economic development and political power. Neoliberalization, as discussed earlier in this chapter, makes accumulation and social justice seem separate from one another. Visualization of counter claims, by contrast, can make such issues seem inseparable. Blomley's (2004) work to re-politicize and de-neutralize the property model of ownership is akin to my efforts in this chapter to re-politicize and de-neutralize processes of neoliberalization.

Missing from these important analyses of property are in-depth engagements with neoliberalism. The term neoliberalism comes up just once in the body of Staeheli and Mitchell's (2008) recent book although their scholarship is crucial for recognizing public property as an important site for struggle in a neoliberal context. Blomley (2004:31-32) draws a slightly greater number of direct lines between neoliberalism and the politics of property when he, like Hackworth (2007), briefly describes urban housing markets as "flashpoints" of neoliberalism. While we know that economic development is put forward as a paramount goal by neoliberal discourse (Harvey 2005), we do not know

what is the role real estate development plays in the process or why it is important.

Hackworth (2007) asserts that real estate investment is the leading edge of neoliberal

urbanization, but does not explain why. Linking neoliberalism to development, Blomley

(2004:30) momentarily expounds on the relationship: Neoliberalism is, in part, "a

language of property—a return to central axioms of eighteenth-century liberalism, which

places private property as the foundation of self-interest, which when exercised through

the free market, is to lead to optimal social good."

If neoliberalism is a language of property (Blomley 2004) and the erosion of the

public good (Brenner and Theodore 2002), public property is an important starting point

for the under examined relationships between property, development, and neoliberalism.

Public property's potential contribution to the neoliberal literature rests in its ability to

not only de-neutralize the processes of neoliberalization but also serve as an initial space

for studies of the geographic dimensions of neoliberalization. Public property, I suggest,

can accomplish both of these tasks because it is a site for and production of struggles over

accumulation and social welfare.

Conclusion: Distorted Lens

In this chapter, I explored the context generated by and for neoliberalization processes.

Specifically, I examined how neoliberalization makes the redevelopment of public

property seem innocuous by prioritizing economic development and rationalizing

political power; and how neoliberalization has significantly changed and challenged

resistance. Because of neoliberalization, the indiscreet and indiscriminate disposal of

public property, like Franklin School, has become difficult to resist. From this

engagement with scholarship on neoliberal governance and resistance, I hope to have contextualized Franklin School within larger struggles for social services, public property, and rights to the city.

I hope to have also pointed to the ways in which neoliberal processes, like the naturalization of economic development, rationalization of government power, and challenges for resistance, establish a sense of distance between individual rights for capital and collective agendas for social justice. When real estate development is heralded at all costs, as is the case in Washington, D.C., the poor and homeless can be essentialized as populations that exist in their own right but are not affected or created by these particular real estate practices and economic policies (e.g. Leinberger 2008). The separation encourages neoliberal adherents to forward ideas about economic development without consideration of the social costs.

In the disjuncture between the right to accumulation and the value for social justice, which Harvey (2005) argues are not compatible, is where neoliberalism succeeds as a lens to distort reality. I argue that it is this neoliberal lens—and its separation of accumulation and social struggles—that allows for the emergence of public property redevelopment.

The redevelopment of Franklin School grows out of the neoliberal context—specifically the distance between accumulation and social struggles, where issues of accumulation are framed as separate from those of social welfare. The convergence of accumulation tensions and social struggles at Franklin School might seem random and ironic, however, in the following chapters I argue that Franklin School is not an anomaly

but an archetype of neoliberal processes and policies, like the gentrification of public

property.

CHAPTER THREE

PUBLIC PROPERTY GENTRIFICATION

Introduction

The Central Union Mission, one of the oldest homeless shelter services in the District,

sold its Fourteenth Street Northwest building for $7 million in 2006 (Layton 2006a).[1] In a

move away from the gentrification on Fourteenth Street area where Whole Foods, wine

bars, and a series of art galleries have replaced pawn shops and auto body garages, the

Central Union Mission, a private faith-based organization, bought a property farther north

on Georgia Avenue not far from the border of Maryland (Schwartzman 2006). However,

plans to erect a state-of-the-art shelter with revenues from the $7 million sale came to a

halt as fears of reduced real estate values from the shelter's future neighbors led to City

Council lobbying, restrictive zoning, and stalled construction schedules (Schwartzman

2006). With the impending move-out date of 2009 around the corner and developers

ready to begin turning the shelter into luxury condos, the Central Union Mission is

scrambling to find alternatives for the 84 men who live in the soon-to-be up-scaled

facility (Schwartzman 2008).

Perhaps not surprisingly, the District's City Council has taken strides to help the

Central Union Mission find a substitute site (e.g. Schwartzman 2008). But what is

surprising about the Council's effort is the emphasis on finding a "downtown"

alternative. The move to Georgia Avenue would have been the third stop in the Central

Union Mission's northward trajectory from the Pennsylvania Avenue corridor in the

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[1] The Central Union Mission, which is currently located a block and half from where I lived in the District, requires overnight guests and longer-term shelter residents to participate in church services and gospel trainings (Julia Smith).

1970s to Fourteenth Street in 1983 to Georgia Avenue in the 2000s (e.g. Schwartzman 2008). A move downtown would reverse such a path and challenge notions about where shelters are and are not going in a city consumed by gentrification.

Although local and national newspapers present gentrification as a welcome change for the District (Layton 2006c), an urban development "theme" alongside walk-able space, preservation, and public-private partnerships (Lazo 2007), a topic for debate in middle school (Layton 2006b), and a transformation that *The New York Times Style Magazine* explains has finally made the city "cool" (Cooper 2007), the relationship between what is happening across the city and how the poor are affected does not go unnoticed. For homeless activists (e.g. David Hammond, Maryann Luby, David Pirtle) and academic scholars (e.g. Knox 1991, B. Williams 1988, 2002, Modan 2007), gentrification's role in the shifting geography of poverty is obvious and indicative of larger social trends.

Since 2000, the city has lost six percent of its black population and gained fourteen percent in its non-hispanic population (primarily white and Asian) (Aizenman 2007). By 2020, the city's long-term black-majority status, which is a reflection of the city's historical role as a slave-trade center (Modan 2007) and which reflects its contemporary label as the last colonial city in the country (B. Williams 2002), is expected to vanish (Aizenman 2007). Although black residents of the city, who are five times more likely to be unemployed than white residents (Woodlee 2008), are shifting outward, poverty in the District is intensifying and accelerating upward.[2] One in five District residents is in poverty—a ten-year high (Moreno 2007).

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[2] Overall, the poverty rate for blacks is three times that of whites in the District (Moreno 2007).

And yet, housing prices and sales are soaring. New condominiums in the District market totaled 20,217 in 2007 (Trejos 2007) while the average price of District resale homes was $438,000 (Lengel 2007) or eight times the median household income (Lewis 2008). "The city is in a transition from black and poor to white and wealthy," explains former Franklin School shelter resident David Pirtle (Interview), and gentrification is the culprit. These extreme economic disparities and social conditions help to explain why the redevelopment of the Central Union Mission and Franklin School shelter, which primarily house black men (David Pirtle), becomes a flashpoint for the changing geography of the city as well as the changing geography of homelessness.

The geography of homelessness in Washington, D.C. is in transition. Shelters are moving outward (Lengel 2000, Leonnig 2001, Maryann Luby) and eastward (David Hammond) as gentrification changes the face of the urban landscape. In 1982, 34 shelters (public and private) congregated in the city's center. In 2000, 28 shelters across the city show a distinct thinning near the center. The increasingly dispersed locations of shelters and the still concentrated location of services (like transportation, health care, soup kitchens, day centers, job opportunities, and safe(r) parks in which to sit) help to explain why Franklin School shelter advocates have fought so hard to ensure a replacement facility in the downtown area. For some, losing Franklin School shelter means losing the right to the city.

In light of these trends, the City Council suggestion that the Central Union Mission could find a downtown location for its shelter seems preposterous. Where would the replacement facility go? Would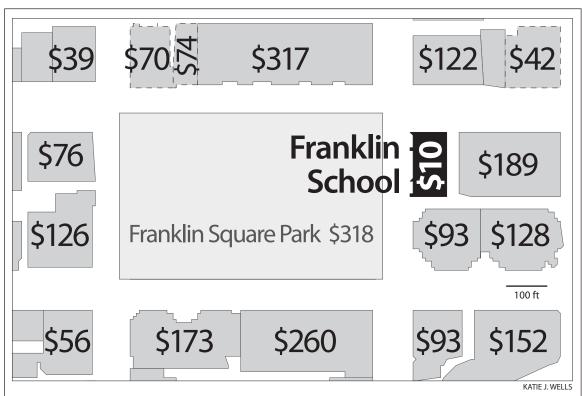 the City Council's search for the Central Union Mission turn up an open property even though they have been unable to do so for

Franklin School shelter? While the direct message City Council sends about where

shelters should be located and where potential properties might exist appears mixed in

these two stories of homelessness versus gentrification, the underlying sentiment is

straightforward: The preservation of land values on Georgia Avenue and redevelopment

of the Central Union Mission into luxury condos and Franklin School into a boutique

hotel take precedent.

The Central Union Mission's decision to cash out on its location is not unlike the

District's plan to sell Franklin School's development rights. Franklin School's

redevelopment debate comes at a time when the District's 2008 land and improvement

assessments place the value of Franklin School more than one-tenth below that of its

neighbors (District of Columbia Citizen Atlas Reports 2008), buildings that are almost

exclusively zoned for commercial office or hotel use and were entirely remodeled during

the late 1990s (District of Columbia Citizen Atlas Reports 2008). The average assessment

for the 16 closest buildings to Franklin School in Franklin Square is $125 million, hinting

at neighborly pressures to redevelop the $10 million property (Labbe 2005) and continue

the gentrification of Washington, D.C. (see Figure 3).

The ongoing battles of the Central Union Mission and Franklin School shelter

point to the pervasiveness of gentrification across the city, whether it is downtown in

Franklin Square, uptown on Fourteenth Street, or on the outskirts at Georgia Avenue.

Gentrification is not happening in isolation. However, gentrification is also not happening

in the same way. The Central Union Mission is a private entity with religious aims while

Franklin School is a public property maintained by social service goals. These properties

experience gentrification (and its internal mechanisms of revaluation and dispossession)

Figure 4: Franklin School Neighborhood Map with
Property Assessments in Millions of Dollars

The District of Columbia 2008 land and improvement assessments in millions of dollars
place the value of Franklin School well below that of its neighbors (District of Columbia
Citizen Atlas Reports 2008). All buildings are commercially zoned for office use with the
exception of Franklin School, two hotels, and a private club designated by dashed lines.

in significantly different ways. I place the issue of the Central Mission Union alongside that of Franklin School to highlight an important distinction: the role of the state. The redevelopment of the Central Mission Union is the result of a private organization whereas the planned redevelopment of Franklin School is the result of civil servants' not-so-public decision-making processes (see Chapter 5). The District's intimate engagement with the redevelopment of Franklin School, as opposed to the regulatory nature of its involvement in the Central Union Mission move, suggests an increasingly active role in gentrification and commitment to surplus value production through the surplussing of public property.

In this chapter, I turn away from the two case studies to develop a theoretical argument about the impact of such processes of redevelopment on the restructuring of cities. I argue that the redevelopment of public property, like Franklin School shelter, constitutes a new period and new type of gentrification: the gentrification of public property. I use gentrification guru Neil Smith's (1996) scholarship to make this argument and to consider why this new type of gentrification has emerged (though I do not suggest this phenomenon is unique to the District), what it means for the way cities work, and how it points to new sorts of tensions between social struggle and accumulation under advanced capitalism. Specifically, I situate these analyses within the relationship between surplus land and surplus value productions. The issue of homelessness at Franklin School may seem like a separate issue from that of the redevelopment of Franklin School into a "hip hotel," but gentrification and homelessness are two sides of the same coin (e.g. Harvey 1978). I contend that these struggles over social welfare and accumulation are

intimately related and their convergence at Franklin School is not an anomaly but an archetype of the neoliberal city.

Urban Frontiers and Revanchism

The New Urban Frontier highlights urban geographer Neil Smith's (1996) work in the gentrification field over the past twenty years. The important text is not an introduction to the field, but it is an introduction to Smith's empirical and theoretical work. The book pulls together two arguments about social struggle and accumulation, which I dissect in order to build my understanding of gentrification processes.

First, urban frontier ideology, which encouraged and rationalized gentrification has been replaced by revanchist urban policies. Smith (1996) invokes the term revanchism, a derivative of the French definition of revenge and formerly used by a nineteenth century French political movement, to describe the type of right-wing politics that surround gentrification at the end of the twentieth century. Gentrification, he suggests, is in a wholly new context. (Smith argues if we unwrap gentrification through frontier ideology we can more clearly see the role gentrification plays in the (then) new revanchist policies and practices.[3]) The frontier discourse of the 1980s is gone and in its place has come the revanchist city of the 1990s, "an effort to retake the city" (Smith 1996:xviii). Vicious reaction to the perceived theft of the city by minorities, terror, danger, eviction, crime, and brutality has led to the "rediscovery of the enemies within"

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[3] Using Frederick Jason Turner's western frontier, Smith (1996) traces how the urban frontier ideology, once irrational, became a rational description of and proponent for both economic and social urban change. The city, like nature, is viewed as a landscape separate from that of people—a landscape that is not made by people or made for people, but something that exists apart from society. Under this guide, inner-city populations are seen as natural and wild elements of this urbanscape that need to be tamed (Smith 1996:xiv). It is in this frontier myth that we can see the social meaning of gentrification: "The new urban frontier erases the social histories, struggles, and geographies that made it" (Smith 1996:17).

(Smith 1996:212). Because of gentrification's failure to create an even landscape of white upper middle class seclusion, the city has taken a different turn: toward revanchist urban policies. This "villianization of the city" (Smith 1996:217) coincides with mass incarceration, criminalization of poverty, and emphasis on individual behaviors that cause homelessness rather than societal shifts (Smith 1996:225). Gentrification is at the heart of this new revanchist city.

In considering gentrification as a mechanism for accumulation specific to advanced capitalism, Smith (1996) moves forward with his second central argument: He efficiently and effectively argues that gentrification works through the rent gap theory on the local scale and is a reflection of uneven development on a global scale. In other words, global changes are tied to local forms of urbanism. To support his argument, Smith examines different terrains of gentrification using the same capital-oriented approach. His concern lies not with the very different experiences of gentrification but with the underlying generalities. Smith argues that the rent gap works well and will continue to work well outside of Manhattan. But it is neither the historical conditions nor the internal logic of gentrification that ensures its success. Smith's case study on Harlem's failed gentrification demonstrates the importance of historical conditions (rather than misinformed notions about postgentrification or degentrification which Smith debunks). His triplet of European case studies similarly stresses the importance of gentrification's internal logic. Gentrification, like capitalism, is a specific process emerging from both external conditions and internal processes and contradictions.

Smith follows in Marx's (1967) analytic footsteps as much of his text oscillates between arguments about gentrification's historic conditions, like the frontier discourse

and revanchist policies, and others about its internal logic, such as the rent gap and uneven development. Gentrification becomes a window through which to see not only the relationship between social struggle and accumulation, two sides of the same coin (e.g. Harvey 1978), but capitalism's external conditions and logical constitutions.[4]

Thus, we come to see gentrification as a reflection of and process for economic restructuring. However, at the time of its release, *The New Urban Frontier* engaged with several intellectual debates in geography and in the social sciences more broadly about the relationship between social forces and economic pressures (Smith 1996); this disagreement about the causes of gentrification remains unsettled to an extent today and seems to inhibit moving forward with analyses on the consequences of gentrification (see Chapter 1 for a summary). Through this (Smith 1996:67) text and earlier works (e.g. 1986), Smith maintains that gentrification is generated "more by economic than cultural forces."

In response to such claims, geographer David Ley (e.g. 1986) put forward an alternative theory of gentrification based on changes in the labor market, specifically in the service-based industry. Ley elevates collective agency at or above structure and capital in his 1996 text, *The New Middle Class and the Remaking of Central City*. Capital, Ley (1996) argues, can respond to the world in the same way that it can change it. By contrast, Smith (1986) saw capital always as the stimulus for change. Still, he (Smith 1996:72) acknowledges the merits of Ley's (1986) work and more importantly applauds sociologist Sharon Zukin's (1987) efforts for pointing to the ways in which the rent gap theory omits connections to social change. Zukin (1987) added to the

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[4] I follow this theoretical analytic, based on Marx's (1967) work, to structure my analysis of global conditions of public property redevelopment in Chapter 2 and the local processes in Chapters 4 and 5.

gentrification debates with her integration of cultural and capital-centered approaches. Like Smith and Ley, Zukin released a book, *The Culture of Cities*, in the mid-1990s that sough to explain gentrification as something much more than political economic shifts.

In using Smith's (1996) text as a starting point for my theoretical analysis of the redevelopment of Franklin School, I do not intend to undervalue the importance of Ley's (1996) and Zukin's (1995) scholarship. Their works are critical to my understanding of public property redevelopment and the complex relationship between social struggles and economic realities, like those of homelessness and gentrification. Yet, my focus in this research is not the causes of all gentrification everywhere, be it social change or economic pressures. My research concerns the processes afoot in the gentrification and redevelopment of public property in Washington, D.C., one particular case. My work, concerned with public property and material change in public land holdings, thus benefits more at this time from a close reading of Smith's (1996) work than that of Ley (1996) or Zukin (1995).

Social Struggles and Accumulation

The New Urban Frontier makes the case that gentrification though uneven and unknown in many ways is here in large part due to economic forces. The case not made involves the frontier and revanchist arguments. Neither of the arguments is well integrated into the case studies, but this disjuncture would not cause as much concern if the connection between urban frontiers discourse and revanchist policies were theoretically grounded. Smith (1996) tells us about the connection but does not show it to us. He claims that urban frontier ideology has been replaced by revanchist policies at the same time that he

claims it is through the evaporated frontier ideology that we can best see the critical role gentrification plays in the new revanchist city. These claims seem like contradictory ideas: If frontier ideology is gone, what is its value as an inroad to analysis? Smith does not guide us to see that frontier ideology, like colonialism, might be gone but is still a valuable way to understand how the world works. The imprint of frontier discourse calls for analysis.

However, it is not these empirical or theoretical shortcomings that fail the frontier and revanchist arguments. The failure comes from the way in which accumulation and social struggles are portrayed within these arguments. While gentrification and homelessness lie at the center of Smith's (1996) text, the relationship between them is far from developed. In hopes of better understanding the rationale for Smith's frontier and revanchist arguments, which prove to be significant for my reading of Franklin School, I here try to unfold this relationship.

Smith (1996) does not suggest that gentrification as a type of accumulation and homelessness as a type of social struggle are codependent. He portrays social struggles and accumulation as opposing forces, rather than necessary conditions for each other, or both. In earlier works he argues that the development of value in one place is connected to destruction of value in another; these two are always linked (Smith 1982). Other than to show the danger gentrification causes, homelessness struggles are not framed in *The New Urban Frontier* as critical to capitalism's success. The presence of the homeless is not an aberration but a natural and critical response to advanced capitalism's success and its need for a relative surplus population (Marx 1967:591). Smith does not consider how revanchism could put in jeopardy the surplus labor army on which capital depends nor

does he make clear how social struggles work to mediate the growing disparity and act in some ways to capitalism's benefit by restoring balance through redistribution.

Similarly absent are considerations of how gentrification, as a mechanism for capitalist accumulation, might need homelessness. Smith (1996:28) hints that these phenomena are related, but does not go further to explain how "gentrification and homelessness in the new city are a particular microcosm of a new global order etched first and foremost by the rapacity of capital." Gentrification is by definition a displacement. It depends to a critical degree on the shifting of persons in order to shift capital to and from devalued spaces. Whether people are made homeless temporarily or permanently, the process of gentrification arguably causes some degree of homelessness. The process, however, comes into question in a scenario where all homeless persons are given a permanent shelter. What would be the degree to which gentrification occurs, if at all, in a place where there are low levels of homelessness and household mobility? (This question assumes that there is a correlation between areas with high household mobility and homelessness. Future research must take up this assumption.) If everyone were housed, at least momentarily, a crisis for gentrification would emerge. Because capital grows in one place at the expense of another (Marx 1967), which constitutes the contradiction of uneven development (Smith 1982), it is not to capital's benefit that devaluation or revaluation would occur widely across a place or scale. Gentrification needs devaluation to prepare its next gentrification landscape otherwise a future phase could be stymied. In order for gentrification to be profitable, devaluation must exist. Social struggles prevent devaluation and revaluation from happening too quickly or too

broadly, essentially preventing a self-implosion of gentrification.[5] In this sense, we can see how as gentrification expands it needs social struggles to defray devaluation—to stagger capital's revaluation and distribution not just across space but across time.

The relationship between gentrification and homelessness is best explained through Harvey's (2006) theory of accumulation by dispossession. Harvey's theory develops Marx's (19967:685) general theory of accumulation, which presents accumulation as the result of exploitation of living labor in production. Marx's (1967:668) theory rests on the understanding that a different type of accumulation, which divorces the producer from the means of production and in doing so generates property rights and privatizes common resources, had already occurred. This primitive accumulation is positioned as something that was a relic of earlier periods of capitalism, necessary to its success, and a completed process.

Harvey (2006) called into question the notion of primitive accumulation and argued that this form of accumulation is an ongoing process. He reframed it as an accumulation by dispossession, which both allows for and generates the general form of accumulation (from the exploitation of unpaid labor) (Harvey 2006:359). While both scholars were concerned with surplus value production, Harvey focused on its genesis through the social production of space whereas Marx (1967) explored surplus value through the social production of time. Neither primitive accumulation nor accumulation by dispossession can be understand as anything other than the disposal of certain people's rights.

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[5] Revaluation is distinct from the process of reinvestment (Marx 1967). Revaluation refers to the value added to the commodity (property in this case) while reinvestment refers to the capital added to the commodity. Similarly, devaluation is a decrease of value while disinvestment is a decrease in capital injections.

Figure 5: Franklin School Shelter

In Washington, D.C. this process is afoot on a larger scale. Instead of dispossessing private persons of their rights, capital accumulates land from the state and dispossesses the collective public (see Chapter 5). Dispossession, which is something very different but complementary to displacement, must occur for gentrification to exist. Dispossession is in some ways the ultimate form of devaluation; an owner(s) has been dispossessed of a property's value and use. Displacement follows dispossession, which must happen en masse as gentrification is not something that happens to one house in isolation. It is in this moment that we can start to see the relationship between surplus value production (i.e., gentrification) and surplus land production (i.e., spaces for new capital). Gentrification needs dispossession to create spaces for new capital mobility. It works through this process of devaluation/revaluation, dispossession, and displacement, through scholars typically talk about the first and have yet to prove the last. I suggest that dispossession's role in the process provides an inroad to understanding the series of processes that link gentrification to homelessness and place these phenomena on two different sides of the same coin (e.g. Harvey 1978). In other words, although homelessness and gentrification appear as separate issues, like heads and tails on a coin, these phenomena are linked at the core.[6] I argue that the production of surplus property, like the plan to turn Franklin School shelter into a "hip hotel," connects homelessness to gentrification.

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[6] Harvey's (1978) scholarship uses the metaphor of a two-sided coin to explain the connection between increases in homelessness and increases in accumulation activities. I suggest an alternative metaphor: Homelessness and gentrification are stuck on an elevator together. As one goes up, so does the other. As long as accumulation continues to rise, so will the expanse of social struggles like poverty.

Transitions and Transformations

Although Smith's (1996) scholarship on the frontier discourse as a rationalization for gentrification and a precursor to revanchist policies is weak, I see in his work another argument. I push his text in a slightly different direction to think about periods of gentrification, types of gentrification, and the ways in which gentrification must struggle with social issues like homelessness.

Although quietly, Smith's (1996) work portrays gentrification as a sequence of different periods and types of gentrification. The notion of periods and types as separate but co-determining might be problematic, but these analytic terms help deconstruct the layers of Smith's text and help construct an understanding of public property redevelopment in Washington, D.C. It is not just that gentrification is happening in new and different ways with particular logic; it is that these new and different types are happening in some chronological order where historical conditions matter. The urban frontiers and revanchist periods mark not only the transformation of internal logic but the transition in historic conditions for gentrification.

Smith (1996) traces gentrification pre-1960s from a sporadic and exceptional occurrence to a widespread, systematic, and integrated process of capitalism that climaxed in the late 1980s. He argues that gentrification went through a transition between these two distinct yet complementary periods, laying groundwork for my argument that another period has transpired.

There is an implicit argument within the text as Smith (1996) moves us from a frontier-like gentrification to a revanchist form of gentrification that these are two different periods of gentrification. Gentrification moves chronologically from a city of

frontier discourse to a city of revanchist policies though Smith is vague about the nature of this transition. It is not clear if the context for gentrification has changed or if gentrification itself has changed. Smith suggests the city is what changes. I argue that through gentrification both the city and the process of gentrification itself are changed. Historical conditions affect internal logic. (In other words, the periods and types of gentrification have changed and changed one another.)

Gentrification goes through not only a transition of different historical conditions (see Chapter 2) but a transformation of internal constructions (see Chapters 4 and 5). Frontier-like gentrification focuses on external space and portrays the city as something to be tamed and conquered; change is externalized. By contrast, gentrification in the revanchist city looks inward and attempts to cleanse the city of terror; change is internalized. There is a clear departure between these two versions of a related process. Smith's (1996) portrayal of gentrification as part of a criminalizing force in revanchist policies diverges from his notion of gentrification as a reclamation of land under frontier discourse. The deconstruction of urban frontiers leads to a second cut version of gentrification—that of the revanchist city.

Smith (1996:86) does not mention different types of gentrification per se, yet his reference to "gentrification in the residential sphere" implies that gentrification happens in other spheres and other modes. Gentrification could happen in a sphere outside of the private residential market; it could happen in the public sphere—and I argue that it does.

What Smith's (1996) analysis means for my theorization of public property gentrification is significant. I argue, in response to his text and the work of other gentrification scholars (e.g. Zukin 1995, Ley 1996), that public property gentrification is

both a new period of gentrification and a new type of gentrification. The changes in

historical conditions and internal logic help to explain what we are seeing at Franklin

School in Washington, D.C.

Public Property Gentrification

The gentrification of public property, like Franklin School, is inherently different from

that of private property, like the Central Union Mission in Washington, D.C. I look to

Smith's (1996) text for examples to make this case. At one point, Smith (1996:68) refers

to "private-market gentrification" hinting that the phenomenon could occur in a different

market. Smith's (1996:32) private property gentrification primarily takes place in

residential spaces and through an influx of private capital. Alternatively, public property

gentrification occurs through an influx of public capital into the market and concerns

collective or state owned spaces like parks, roads, schools, and even homeless shelters

like Franklin School.

Public property's role in gentrification is not absent in Smith's (1996) text or

those of Zukin (1995) and Ley (1996). The examples provided point to the ways in which

gentrification has never been an entirely private venture. Public property gentrification is

similarly not possible without cooperation between private and public sectors. However,

this interdependency does not negate the existence of two distinct processes.

Cooperation between the redevelopment of public property, often portrayed as a

support, and private property gentrification is changing.[7] Smith (1996:190) recognizes

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[7] Smith (1996) does not deconstruct the relationship between redevelopment and gentrification, leaving
room for interpretation. He argues advanced capitalism restructures the economy, which in turn,
restructures the city. The redevelopment of property through investments in fixed capital is one such

that reinvestment can take the form of "private rehabilitation of the housing stock or

public reinvestment in the infrastructure," but the difference between reinvestment in

private property and reinvestment in public property remains untouched. These forms of

investment lead to gentrification yet do not constitute gentrification in their own right;

they do not change ownership or use (see Chapter 1). This form of reinvestment,

however, in infrastructure, like roads or firehouses, is what I call *state-sponsored*

gentrification. As Smith (1996:126) notes, "the purpose of the state was to re-create the

profitability of urban real estate." The state tried to make the neighborhood profitable

again for private reinvestment, literally and figuratively laying the groundwork for

gentrification. "The state…initiated much of the early gentrification in the U.S. as a

continuation of urban renewal projects, and though it plays a lesser role today, state

subsidies and sponsorship of gentrification remain important" (Smith 1996:68). Smith

goes on to say that the state played a key role in returning abandoned properties to

developers at "fair market" values, effectively working towards devalorization.

State-sponsored gentrification, I argue, develops from the original type of private

property gentrification. I attempt to distinguish in my argument between *types* of

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restructuring. Gentrification comes into play as a type of restructuring though it was first seen in the redevelopment of mostly private housing stock.

Smith (1996:39) does not elaborate on this positioning of gentrification as a type of redevelopment other than to reference his intellectual trajectory from seeing these as two disparate things (redevelopment concerned new construction while gentrification concerned rehabbed properties) to seeing them more aligned. He does not answer, for instance, what types of redevelopment do not fall into the gentrification category. I agree with his distinction between redevelopment and gentrification, but the difference should have been more explicit as to what redevelopment means.

Moreover, Smith (1996:51) problematically returns to the idea of gentrification being distinct from new construction. Still, I read the relationship between gentrification and redevelopment as follows: Redevelopment means an investment of capital that results in a change in use (see Chapter 1). Public property gentrification, through an investment of capital, means a change in ownership, structure, and function. If a building were redeveloped through investments in fixed capital but the same socio-economic class occupied the building after the change, gentrification did not occur. At times Smith elides the difference and the impact the distinction makes for his rent gap theory. Future scholarship must address how the rent gap plays out in cases of redevelopment as opposed to those of gentrification.

gentrification, like private property and state-sponsored processes, and *periods* of gentrification, like the urban frontiers and revanchist cities that Smith explores. I argue that *public property gentrification* can be characterized as both a new type and a new period.

The most obvious differences between state-sponsored and public property gentrifications appear in the mechanics of the processes. In state-sponsored processes, cities jump start gentrification by giving tax breaks and wooing development. In public property gentrification, however, cities give away public property as they physically and metaphorically provide the grounds on which capitalist accumulation takes form. State-sponsored gentrification tries to set the stage, but public property gentrification takes on this task in a more aggressive and arguably more successful manner.[8]

More than anything, public property gentrification is a response to the failures of state-sponsored gentrification to ignite accumulation activities. In this sense, the various types of gentrification are natural responses to market forces; this conclusion holds true to Harvey (2006) and Marx's (1967) analyses of crisis. Capital constantly revolutionizes because of obstacles and competitive pressures (Harvey 2006:97). State-sponsored gentrification responds to the challenges and contradictions set up by private property gentrification in the same way that public property gentrification responds to the crisis of state-sponsored forms.

In Smith's (1996:25) text we can see the first kernels of public property gentrification in the New York City's decision to sell public housing stock after the failure of its efforts to both keep vacant city-owned properties in the public's hands and

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[8] As discussed in Chapter 1, gentrified publicly owned properties are sold and redeveloped for an entirely different class of people than that which the properties originally services.

promote redevelopment. In short, public property gentrification is a response to crisis in

capitalist accumulation. Through the process, the externalized contradictions of one type

of gentrification become internalized in the next.[9]

Each period of gentrification, which addresses the contradictions of earlier phases,

responds to the crisis of speculation and seeks to alleviate risk in order to better safeguard

investments. The revanchist phase of gentrification, for instance, tries to make the

landscape more amenable to fixed capital investments by criminalizing poverty (Smith

1996). Because private property gentrification failed to create an even landscape of white

upper-middle class seclusion ripe for capitalist accumulation, public property

gentrification responds as a much quieter and more dangerous form.

In the District, the government alleviates risk for speculation through efforts like

historic preservation (see Chapter 4) and public property disposal (see Chapter 5), which

through revaluation and dispossession make the land ready for development. If redlining

gave rise to many of Smith's (1996) rent gaps and landscapes for disinvestment, historic

preservation and the disposal of public property work in the opposite direction. After the

government abandons these spaces, it allows private developers to reinvest and generate

surplus value at the expense of the taxpayer.[10] The District government, in other words,

officially makes spaces for reinvestment. As a result, developers, like Herb Miller in

Washington, D.C., experience less risk in knowing the District is backing up the sale,

zoning, and development of particular properties and neighborhoods. When the District's

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[9] The transformation from state-sponsored to public property gentrification signals a sectoral switch for where capital investments are going (from private property to formerly public property) and from where capital investments are coming (from private sector to public sector).

[10] Supporters of these practices often counter that citizens benefit more via year-after-year property tax revenues as opposed to the holding of a not-so-useful space. While these claims are important, they are not yet backed by empirical work (e.g. Ed Lazere).

Deputy Mayor for Planning and Economic Development makes efforts to sell off half of the city's property portfolio in the next four years (Neil Albert, Fisher 2007a), he ensures a developer's dream. In doing so, he fundamentally changes the process of speculation in the District and furthers accumulation by dispossession, exemplifying the shift to public property gentrification.

Public property gentrification necessitates three phenomena: a change in ownership (or sale), a change in use (or redevelopment), and a change in the class of people who occupy the space. Redevelopment, as stated in Chapter 1, is a change in the function or use of a space. A sale of property, as also earlier stated, is a change in ownership. Public property gentrification incorporates both of these switches (in ownership and in use) and in doing so results in its most important change: a shift in the class of people occupying the space. If gentrification is a change in class of people in a neighborhood or on a private property, public property gentrification is a change in the class of people on a public property.

Public property gentrification differs from private property gentrification simply in what is being gentrified: public instead of private lands. How public property gentrification differs from state-sponsored forms requires a more nuanced definition. Public property gentrification is intense and aggressive in creating landscapes for accumulation in ways that state-sponsored forms are not. Public property gentrification is not just preparing the public infrastructure for accumulation landscapes; it is creating the private commodity to be exchanged.

The distinction from private property and state-sponsored gentrifications matters because these changes (in ownership, use, and class) come at the expense of the public.

Public property gentrification, especially in the Franklin School case, concerns significant shifts in the treatment of public property. Public resources are being sold and turned into private commodities. The notion of public property gentrification helps to explain the two central effects of this process: the displacement of particular classes and the dispossession of the collective public. More than anything, the notion helps to raise questions about for whom public property is sold and redeveloped.

The gentrification of public property, I argue, develops from the failures of earlier versions of gentrification. I hesitate to portray these periods and types in a linear chronology; rather, I suggest the forms continue to evolve alongside one another as I point to the importance of change and transition that Smith (1996) includes in his analysis of gentrification. He noticed something had changed in the 1960s for gentrification. I claim something else has changed for it in the 2000s: the role of the state in the production of surplus land.

Conclusion: Surplus Value and Surplus Land Productions

What we gain from thinking about types of gentrification and phases of gentrification is insight into how these transitions and transformations affect the relationship between social struggles and accumulation. The contradictions and challenges faced by public property gentrification shed light on future evolutions in fixed capital accumulation processes. *The New Urban Frontier* announces and affirms gentrification as a permanent but dynamic feature of the changing urban landscape. Accumulation crises have always been wrapped up in social struggles, but public property gentrification is adding tension to this already taught line. It is the next urban frontier.

Public property gentrification is a frontier where relationships between social struggles, like homelessness, and accumulation activities, like real estate development, are clarified and intensified in new ways. A brief analysis of public property gentrification can show how accumulation and social struggles are linked (and two sides of the same coin, e.g. Harvey 1978).

Although public property gentrification is a general form of accumulation that concerns the accrual of capital, also known as surplus value production, it is a particular type of gentrification. What makes public property gentrification unique is its dependence on both surplus value production and surplus land production; the state orchestrates the latter through sales of places like Franklin School.

The dependence on surplus land in order to obtain surplus value is where the relationship between homelessness and gentrification can start to be seen. The relationship between homelessness and gentrification, which I theorized earlier in this chapter, becomes clear as we unravel the contradictory and yet complementary pair of surplus value production and surplus land production.

Surplus land production is one mechanism through which the public, and the homeless, are dispossessed of property. In order for public property gentrification to exist, this dispossession of the public's property and the production of surplus land must take place. I contend that this relationship between surplus value and surplus land, which is elucidated by public property gentrification, underlies the inherent and important tensions between homelessness and gentrification in particular and social struggles and accumulation in general. The tension between social struggles and accumulation, which I consider in Chapter 2, stems from a division between these two forms of production:

surplus value and surplus land. When surplus land production is understood as an important component of gentrification, a particular type of surplus value production, the collision of homelessness and real estate development interests in Washington, D.C. seems anything but exceptional. What is happening to Franklin School is not an anomaly but an archetype of the neoliberal state.[11]

Through such connections between surplus land and surplus value production, we can also see how the state's role intensifies under public property gentrification. The state acts as a generator for surplus value production through surplus land production (see Chapter 5), taking on a new role. The state's facilitation of public property gentrification can be seen as a response to crisis in gentrification and crisis in capitalism. Public property gentrification offers a new way for the state to sustain balanced accumulation (an impossibility in itself). However, the state's involvement in the market and attempts to regulate crisis are nothing new. Marx (1967:528) explores the contradictions of state intervention and how it can falsify natural economic relations. Similarly, Harvey (2006:328) describes the state's attempts at regulating crisis as a means to prevent catastrophe, which could challenge its power. Though neither scholar puts forward a theory about state roles under capitalism (and Harvey calls for one), it is clear from both authors that state intervention in the market becomes a form of self-survival.

Public property gentrification responds to crisis, but it also sets up new obstacles and points to new tensions between social struggle and accumulation under advanced capitalism. In the same way that organized labor might save capitalism from itself, it may be possible to argue that public portfolios of land save capitalism from itself by securing

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[11] To return to the original stories of Franklin School's redevelopment and that of the Central Union Mission, it should be clear how the former is a form of public property gentrification, sparked through surplus land production, and how the latter is not.

a reserve of future (land) markets. If this is the case, the sale of public property could have unforeseen and disastrous results for capitalism and society at large. The District might expand the market and add capital to circulation, but in the process it drastically reduces support for particular forms of social reproduction, which in the end may hurt capital. For capitalists, when necessities for social reproduction are subsidized by the state, the effective price of labor goes down (Marx 1967). As the state moves away from socialized provisions the cost of labor for capitalist production will rise. The shifting terms of the District's provisions serve as much as a source for future struggle for social welfare activists as for capitalists.

CHAPTER FOUR

HISTORIC PRESERVATION OF VALUE

I turn in the next two chapters to the internal processes of public property gentrification. I contend that this type of gentrification necessitates two steps: the revaluation and dispossession of public property. The process of revaluation occurs through several mechanisms, one of which is historic preservation. Similarly, the process of dispossession occurs through a variety of mechanisms, one of which is a public property disposal system. Historic preservation makes public property seem valuable as public property disposal makes the land accessible to private capital. Through these chapters, I argue that historic preservation and public property disposal are integral to the logic of gentrification at Franklin School in particular and public property gentrification in general. First, I consider historic preservation, as the process of revaluation often precedes if not ignites dispossession. Then, I consider the District's property disposal system and the ways in which it sets the stage for the gentrification of public property.

While many factors are at play in property gentrification (and a thoroughly different but effective analysis could highlight a host of other mechanisms), the underlying processes of revaluation and dispossession must not be overlooked. It is the manifestation of these steps in particular mechanisms like historic preservation and public property disposal systems that go under examined in the literature. Through close examinations of historic preservation and surplus processes in these chapters, I argue that both mechanisms allow for the emergence and success of public property gentrification.

Introduction

Built in 1869 as part of the first free public school system in the District and celebrated as an architectural masterpiece at the 1873 Vienna World Exposition (Feaver 1977), Franklin School gained notoriety for a number of reasons, not least of which were its classrooms in which presidents' children sat (Hedgpeth 2005) and its third floor from which Alexander Graham Bell made the first successful telephone call (Eckenweiler 2005).

Therefore, it was not a surprise that the public staged an outcry when District school board officials proposed to knock down the structure in 1956 (Replacement 1956; Demolition 1961). Ten years later, similar plans were still in the works for Franklin School and several other Adolf Cluss[1] buildings (Von Eckardt 1964). However, two events changed the terms of battle: Local preservationists created a list of historic sites in 1964 (Von Eckardt 1964)—which gave Franklin School its first of many historic designations—and the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 expanded national registries to include public properties (U.S. Code 16-470). As a result, the District government in 1968 took up a new strategy, still in play today, to sell Franklin School (Feaver 1977).

In 1972 protestors and preservationists, who soon organized into the group Don't Tear It Down, led a bike-in with 140 riders from City Council Hall to the steps of Franklin School (Beauchamp 2006). They argued for the re-use and rehabilitation of Franklin School rather than the sale of the property as surplus, fearing a sale would lead to the destruction of the structure (Taylor 1972). As a tactical measure, Don't Tear It

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[1] German architect Adolf Cluss, renown for his design skills, was a good friend of Karl Marx (Forgey 2005).

Down rounded up support to put Franklin School on the National Registry of Historic

Places (and was successful) in 1973 (Feaver 1977). District officials fought these efforts,

assuming the designation would inhibit the sale (Taylor 1972).

Over the next few years as the District gained political independence from

Congress,[2] the preservation movement, which enjoyed public support, won political

backing. In 1978 the District established its first preservation ordinance, today one of the

most stringent in the nation, and transformed Don't Tear It Down into the official D.C.

Preservation League (Knox 1991). The school board also joined forces with

preservationists, voting to encourage historic designations for its buildings (Beauchamp

2006). Interest again arose on the part of the District government to sell Franklin School

in the late 1970s, but this time with a focus on the historic value of the property (Oman

1977). Although no purchase transpired, this moment is significant in the history of

Franklin School and public property gentrification. It marks the fusion of historic

preservation and government interests and sets the stage for what was to come.

In pursuit of these interests in preservation and others in economic development,

city officials made a deal with developers at the site adjacent to Franklin School in 1990

(Sutner 1991). The neighboring project would be allowed greater density and receive

better zoning if the developers provided $3 million to renovate the exterior of Franklin

School (Forgey 1992). They did, and by 1995 Franklin School, which had sat vacant for

years, was again attracting attention. The school board, which had moved its offices from

the building in the late 1960s to a leased facility, decided to move back to Franklin

School and approved a renovation of its interior (Brown 1995, Horwitz 1994). In 1996,

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[2] The District's Home Rule was established in 1974 and allowed the District government to determine, among other things, land use planning (Modan 2007).

Figure 6: Franklin School Timeline

+ FRANKLIN SCHOOL

1869 Opens as part of the first free public school system in the District
1873 Celebrated at the Vienna World Exposition

1956 **Proposal to tear down building** + public outcry
1964 Local historic designation *despite* government efforts
1966 National preservation act
1968 **Proposal to sell building** + public outcry
1973 National historic designation *despite* government efforts
1978 **Proposal to sell *historic* building**

1990 Exerior renovation
1996 National landmark designation *with* government support
1998 **Proposal to sell building**

2002 Interior historic designation
        Request for proposals
        Surplus request
        Public outcry

2003 Shelter opens

2005 **Lease signed for redevelopment of building into 'hip hotel'**
        Closure date set for March 2007 + public outcry

2006 Legality of lease questioned
        Replacement facility cannot be found
        Shelter to stay open in perpetuity

April 3, 2008 Closure date set for October 2008 (see Epilogue)

the fully occupied (Wheeler 1996) and partially remodeled building was given a National

Historic Landmark designation, becoming one of four District-owned properties to have

such a title (Beauchamp 2006).

But within a year, the school board's offices had shut down, tours of the closed

building were being offered, and reconstruction of the interiors stopped altogether

(McCoy 1997). What happened to Franklin School in 1997 was a small footnote to a

large and controversial story about District governance. The U.S. Congress took over

control of the District in 1996 to "rescue" the local government from financial ruin and

"save" city services (Vise 1997). One of the D.C. Control Board's first business actions

was to disband the school board and overhaul the education system (Vise 1997).[3] It was

not a shock that Franklin School found itself on the District's property disposal list again

in 1998 (Cleary 2000). Still, no sale ensued.

What did prevail were efforts to list the building as one of the District's most

endangered sites and amend the District's historic listing of Franklin School with an

interior designation, a designation given to only eight other buildings in the District

(Donovan 2005, Beauchamp 2006).[4] However, this amendment was added more than five

years after the completion of initial interior renovations. This delayed distinction seems

odd until we consider that 2002 was also the year that the mayor solicited expressions of

interest for the redevelopment of Franklin School, asked the City Council to surplus the

property, and released a request for proposals (Wilgoren and C. Williams 2002).

The interior historic designation re-ignited development efforts as well as kick-

started public debate about how the property should be used. The application for the

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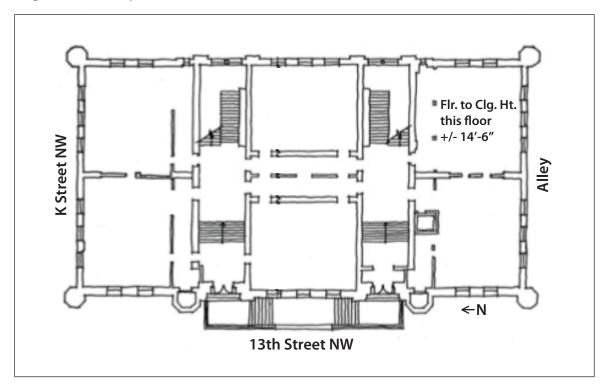[3] In 2007 Mayor Fenty threw out the board again to overhaul the system (Nakamura 2007).
[4] The interior and exterior designations require the District's Historic Preservation Review Board to
approve all changes made to the building (District of Columbia Historic Preservation Office 2008b).

interior designation, referenced in the District's request for expressions of interest, suggested that the building would best be used for higher education or cultural purposes, purposes that could preserve the layout of the facility (Irwin 2002). In response, the radical homeless and housing advocacy group MayDayDC staged a take-over of the building to argue for the opening of the empty structure as a homeless shelter, specifically for the more than 150 residents of the adjoining Franklin Square Park (Metro in brief 2002).

Five months after the arrests of MayDayDC protesters, the District government agreed to open Franklin School as a temporary shelter (Nakamura 2002). The D.C. Preservation League quietly rejected the "inappropriate" use of the structure and publicly testified before City Council on the potential damage to the facility (Tanya Beauchamp, Rebecca Miller). When the mayor announced in 2005 intentions to turn Franklin School into a "hip hotel" (Labbe 2005), which would ultimately divide up the space in a similar manner but drastically different style than that of a shelter, preservationists accepted the plan (Art Rodgers).

Through this excerpt of Franklin School's history, we can start to see preservation as a major actor in the property's on-again off-again relationship with development. What we cannot see is how the role of preservation is playing out or why the politics of preservation are overlooked in debates about the future of Franklin School. Ed Lazere (Interview) of the D.C. Fiscal Policy Institute hinted at some of these underlying tensions when he said, "While homeless need to be in nice buildings, they don't need a place like that." At Franklin School, social justice is inherently wrapped up in architecture, aesthetics, and this thing called preservation.

Figure 7: Franklin School First Floor Plan
Showing Major Partitions
August 19, 2002 by Fetterman Associates

K Street NW

Flr. to Clg. Ht.
this floor
+/- 14'-6"

Alley

←N

13th Street NW

To unfold these politics, I consider the role historic preservation plays in public property gentrification. In this chapter, I argue that historic preservation is a selective and strategic mechanism used to support particular types of development and integral to the revaluation of property in the District. Historic preservation relies on the past (one made up of buildings but not relationships) to project a future and in doing so tends to ignore the present. I consider what kind of past it is conjuring up (a prosperous and pre-integration one—not the one of the District abandoning its public property), what kind of future it is portending, and what kind of present it is effacing. I look specifically at the political implications of historic designations and districts on social struggle today, which are sometimes but not always pushed to the side in favor of economic development.[5] More than anything, a study of Franklin School and historic preservation's role helps to demonstrate the relationship between the processes of revaluation through preservation and processes of accumulation through gentrification.

Defining Historic Preservation

Based on a value for the past, historic preservation is both a set of discourses and a set of practices. I briefly address the former in order to look more closely at the latter. Within the phrase historic preservation particular messages and meanings are bundled together. The terms historic (Oxford English Dictionary 2007) and preservation (National Park Service 2007) combine four distinct goals associated with the past: to record, convey, save, and repair. The mission statement from the National Trust for Historic Preservation

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[5] An exception to this use of historic preservation is the recent campaign (Gonzales 2007) by a working class apartment building's tenant association in New York City, which is in the process of fighting a proposed buy-out and redevelopment of the building by a Trump developer. In this case, historic preservation is used to preserve a social community at the expense of real estate development.

(2008, emphasis added), the largest domestic preservation group, focuses on the latter, to

save and repair: It "provides leadership, education, advocacy, and resources to *save*

America's diverse historic places and *revitalize* our communities." Through these goals,

preservation discourse frames the past as an economic, political, and social asset.

As a way to take-back the city from poverty, destruction, and white abandonment,

historic preservation emerged from the failed, but highly destructive, urban renewal

strategies of the 1950s and early 1960s (Deutsche 1996:32, Woods 2005:1010). Political

critiques and physical violence in response to large-scale urban renewal projects led to a

shift in economic development policies and created a discourse about urban decline that

was fundamental to historic preservation's ascendancy (Reichl 1997).[6]

Historic districts and individual property designations developed in the 1970s as a

new political strategy for the same old goal of urban renewal (Wilson 2004). The

National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 evolved from various pieces of legislation,

like the Antiquities Act of 1906, the Historic Sites Act of 1935, and the Shipstead-Luce

Act of 1930 (Oldham 1979), but more than anything it developed from the needs of

policy makers, city planners, zoning commissioners, and developers to organize the city

in a particular way (e.g. Hamer 2000). Preservation legislation stresses adaptive reuse

(Coulson and Leichenko 2004) and has widely been regarded as the only successful tactic

and consensus-building scheme for urban development in the past thirty-five years

(Muschamp 1994 in Reichl 1997).

Since the late 1970s, tax policies have reinforced preservation as a means to urban

development. This economic strategy became institutionalized (Smith 2002) through the

Tax Reform Act of 1976 and Economic Recovery Act of 1981, which made funds

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[6] The urban renewal projects were funded by the Housing Act of 1949 (Mollenkopf 1983).

available for rehabilitation, offered tax credits and became a subsidy of sort for

commercial redevelopment (Hamer 2000). Historic preservation creates investment

opportunities for real-estate capital (Wilson 1996) and tax-abatement programs for

speculative capital (McCann 2002), which many agree result in increased property values

and tax revenues (Coulson and Leichenko 2004). Chris Bender, a former spokesperson

for the Office of the Deputy Mayor for Planning and Economic Development in the

District, attested to this economics-propelled preservation policy, "We want to see

[Franklin School] rehabilitated and become something that will generate revenue for the

city" (Hedgpeth 2005).

In addition to being politically and economically driven, historic preservation is

socially driven. Cultural shifts in commercialization and urban consumption patterns

attract higher-income populations and transform the historic into a luxury (Zukin 1995).

Supported by national organizations, like the National Trust for Historic Preservation and

its local chapters, magazines, conventions, and paint colors, preservation has become an

industry in its own right. Some cite the emergence of this industry-like historic

preservation as a response to modern architecture's inability to symbolize class status and

provide differentiation (e.g. Wolfe 1981 in Reichl 1997). In other words, preservation's

physical embodiment is not only a luxury but also a class-defining tool. Regardless of it

use, historicity has become a staple of postmodernism (Harvey 1989), postmodern

architecture, and the postmodern city (Knox 1991).

Preservation, Property, and Poverty

Historic preservation is critical to the dynamics of property and poverty in Washington, D.C. In a place where development is booming (Schwartzman 2007), 17 percent of the land is covered by one of 45 historic districts, and more than 438 properties are listed on the National Register of Historic Places, the presence of preservation in the urban landscape is not hard to find (District of Columbia Citizen Atlas Reports 2008). What is hard to find is its power in the gentrification of public property, specifically public homeless shelters.

Franklin School's story of on-again off-again development plans and the interjections of historic designations along the way is unusual in its length but not unique in its format. Many other public shelters in the District have experienced similar trajectories from historic designations to public property disposal and private redevelopment. Through my research on the history of public shelters, for which comprehensive data collection proved difficult, I found a correlation between public shelters that have been up for disposition and public shelters that have received historic designations.

As mentioned in Chapter 1, 15 of the 22 public shelters in the District used in the past 25 years (which were not hotels, government office buildings, stadiums, hospitals, armories, or leased properties) were at risk for disposal at some point (see Appendix A for methodological narrative). Because roughly half of these 15 shelters have historic designations, a historic shelter is just as likely to be sold or considered for sale as a shelter without such a designation.

However, a shelter with a historic designation is 3.5 times more likely to be sold or listed for disposal than one without historic status. Of the District's 22 current and former public shelters, 9 of the properties have historic designations. Of these 9 shelters, 7 properties have been on the cutting board for disposal: 3 were sold and redeveloped into a museum, condominiums, and lofts while 4 others have been or are at risk for sale, including Franklin School.

Franklin School is not the only closed-school turned shelter. Of the District's 22 public shelters, 13 were former schools or located on school property, like the Crummel School trailers. Franklin School is also not the only closed-school turned historic property turned homeless shelter. The District's 9 historic shelters include 8 former school properties. Thus, 1 out of 3 public shelters used in the past twenty-five years in the District has been a historically designated school property.

The highly decentralized and segregated past of the District's school system (Price 1998) plays a big part in why 41 percent of public shelters have historic designations. Integration freed up a lot of the space and also left a lot of other space to be abandoned (Kruse 2005). Of the 52 public schools in the District that have either national or local historic designations, at least 22 have been sold or leased and turned into lofts, condos, townhouses, a museum, a Results Gym, and a litany of charter schools (Fleishman 2000, Sostek 2004).[7] Today, 23 more schools are on the list for disposal (see Fleishman 2000 and Sostek 2004 for summaries of schools turned into private residences). An article in *The Washington Times* highlighted one of the schools in which

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[7] This pattern may change as the charter schools now have the first right to buy any public school, a contested law passed by Congress in 2004 that points to the ongoing federal oversight issues in the District (Strauss 2004).

developers are most interested, Stevens Elementary; the school, not surprisingly, has a historic designation (O'Connell 2007).

The treatment of vacant property in historic districts also reinforces the relationship between preservation and development. The percentage of vacant property in historic districts, the majority of which are in the northwest and wealthiest quadrant (United States Census 2000), is a third less than that in the District as a whole: 5 percent of land in historic districts is vacant compared to the District's average of 17 percent (District of Columbia Citizen Atlas Reports 2008).

From this brief analysis of specific properties, we can see how preservation has played a starring role in the story of public property gentrification, especially with regard to homeless shelters. Historic preservation, through its individual designations and larger districts, has become a form of prescriptive cartography. By prescriptive cartography, I mean a form of mapping that sanctions and encourages certain types of change in the city. The creation of a historic district or designation is akin to reverse redlining for shelters and public property. Preservation boundaries designate structures or spaces for investment rather than for disinvestment. As evident in the case of Franklin School and other District shelters, these boundaries do more than designate spaces for investment—they set the gears in motion for public property gentrification. While my research is too limited to argue what kind of a causal relationship exists between historic designations and development, my work illustrates a strong correlation and calls for future work on the topic. As historic preservation engulfs the city and its public properties, it becomes increasingly important to understand its ramifications for the urban landscape.
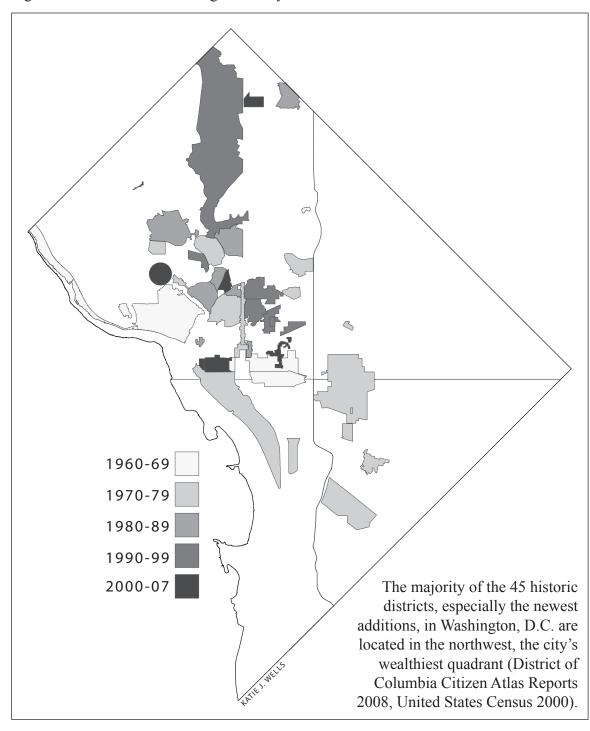
Figure 8: Historic District Designations by Year

1960-69
1970-79
1980-89
1990-99
2000-07

The majority of the 45 historic districts, especially the newest additions, in Washington, D.C. are located in the northwest, the city's wealthiest quadrant (District of Columbia Citizen Atlas Reports 2008, United States Census 2000).

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Displacement and Gentrification

Up until recently, historic preservation had not been critically examined (Wilson 2004, Smith 1998). Scholarship has begun to address the implications of preservation as a socially organizing force (e.g. Smith 2002), a development tool (e.g. Datel 1985), and a feature of the restructured city under advanced capitalism (e.g. Knox 1991) in important ways, but there is much work yet to be done.

Scholars have explored the ways in which architecture and aesthetics are de-neutralized in preservation discourse, which hide social debates and make decisions about development seem unrelated to those about social justice (e.g. Low *et al.* 2002, Hackworth 2007). Architecture and the practice of preservation are not recognized as social institutions (Deutsche 1996) despite preservation discourse's emphasis on repairing and revitalizing communities (see previous section). Because historic preservation reveals more about contemporary culture than about the past (Deutsche 1996), it is helpful to think about preservation as a social construction and tool for socialization (DeOliver 1996), which some scholars say is directed by the neoliberal project (Wilson 2004).[8]

Likely a result of its small size and newness, most preservation literature concerns private property. An exception is the attention public monuments have received, specifically for the ways in which they tell particular stories (e.g. Low *et al.* 2002). "Successful monuments transcend the 'trivialities' of social conditions such as poverty and homelessness," explains art historian Rosalyn Deutsche (1996:36). Still, what

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[8] Specifically, historic preservation is related to a creative destruction by destroying one set of cultures to create another (Wilson 2004).

historic preservation means for public property that can be sold and redeveloped is unknown.

The largest debate to emerge in the historic preservation literature concerns the relationship between preservation and gentrification. Perhaps predictably, the debate whether historic preservation policies and practices cause displacement, segregation, and gentrification is split along disciplinary lines. Social scientists engaged with preservation tend to see a causal relation (e.g. Datel 1985, Smith 1998, Scarpaci 2001, B. Williams 2002, Wilson 2004) while those from planning and policy fields do not (e.g. Gale 1991, Clark and Herrin 1997, Listokin *et al.* 1998). For example, public policy professor Dennis Gale (1991) uses findings from his study to claim historic preservation does not result in displacement in (of all places) Washington, D.C. Deviating from this trend is the work of economist N. Edward Coulson and geographer Robin Leichenko (2004) that frames historic preservation as a mechanism to prevent demolitions and one that in no way causes gentrification or displacement. While Gale's research is less than rigorous and Coulson and Liechenko's work omits consideration of social and cultural elements, varying perceptions of preservation in the urban landscape persist.

The complication between preservation and gentrification, however, lies not only in the disciplinary disjuncture. Because the consequences of gentrification are not known in an empirical sense (see Chapter 1; also, Slater 2006), linking historic preservation to gentrification is difficult. Many scholars grapple with these connections. Geographer Robin Datel (1985) explicitly argues historic preservation results in gentrification, which in turn results in displacement. Other studies conflate these processes by linking historic preservation directly with displacement rather than seeing gentrification as a middle step.

Urban geographer Joseph Scarpaci (2001:725) tries to clarify the order: "Indirectly, historic preservation unleashed gentrification." He links preservation with displacement, segregation, restructuring of a new international division of labor, disparity between household incomes, and economic and social exclusions. For Scarpaci, preservation sparks these processes. Still, neither he nor other scholars explain if preservation alone can start or maintain this fire. The disinvestment and reinvestment cycles that mark gentrification are a big part of historic preservation (Smith 1998) though it is not explicit how these processes, like the revaluation of property, play out.

To locate gentrification in relation to preservation also requires a more nuanced understanding of what preservation does to encourage development, which causes displacement, which results in gentrification. Many critical geography scholars agree that preservation encourages development through tax incentives (McCann 2002) and other investment opportunities for real-estate capital (Wilson 1996). Other scholars go a step further to position preservation as a product of and producer for capitalism (Knox 1991). It "works through the established mantra of 'freeing up' of the urban economy," explains geographer David Wilson (2004:55). But, how does this "freeing up" work when we are freeing up the public economy, as in the case of public property gentrification? My research arises from such a question. Historic preservation often goes hand in hand with development, either to prevent it or pursue it, but the mechanisms of this relationship are under examined and its costs are not widely recognized (Datel 1985).

While I agree with claims that gentrification has severe consequences like physical displacement and social segregation (e.g. B. Williams 2002) and my work supports the link between gentrification and preservation (e.g. Wilson 2004), I do not

insist here that historic preservation alone causes gentrification. Rather, I argue that preservation sets up the conditions under which public property gentrification occurs. I contend that preservation's revaluation process is a crucial mechanism for the gentrification of public property. In doing so, I show historic preservation as one of the key players in redevelopment processes and hope in a small way to respond to urban geographer Neil Smith's (1998) still-relevant call for further study on the connection between historic preservation and gentrification.

Selective and Strategic Mechanism: Past, Present, and Future

Historic designations are often applied as objective labels to buildings, parks, and districts. Seemingly straightforward lines, drawn between what is historic or worth preserving and what is not, are not only misleading but deceptive (DeLyser 1999). In this section I argue that historic preservation is a selective and strategic mechanism used to support particular types of development. It memorializes parts of histories and skips over others, essentially erasing them from view (DeOliver 1996, Johnson 2005). Preservation relies on certain visions of the past to project a future and in doing so tends to ignore the present. I consider what kind of past it is conjuring up, what kind of future it is portending, and what kind of present it is effacing.

The sort of past preservation portrays is prosperous (Deutsche 1996), pre-integration (B. Williams 2002), and one made up of buildings rather than social relations. Historic preservation revives only a single moment of a structure or a space's past and it is typically the thriving one. This economic selectivity becomes problematic when the urban landscapes that are most often cherished and revived through preservation pre-date

urban disinvestment and white flight of the 1950s (Reichl 1997). In other words, historic preservation, which memorializes the segregated city, is racially selective (B. Williams 2002).

Akin to some conservationists' conceptions of nature (e.g. Brooks 2005), preservation typically defends and perpetuates a history of physical constructions to the exclusion of social relations. Conservation efforts to protect "natural" spaces (e.g. Norton 1996) and preservation efforts to safeguard "historic" spaces often remove people from histories and landscapes. The built environment and the natural environment are the relics to be cherished as opposed to the social interactions that went on or go on in those spaces. Geographers James Duncan and Nancy Duncan's (2001:387) argument that the celebration of nature conservation masks the links between aesthetics and class identity can be applied to historic preservation: "The seemingly innocent pleasure in the aesthetic appreciation of landscapes and the desire to protect nature [or history] can act as a subtle but highly effective mechanism of social exclusion and the reaffirmation of elite class identities." In other words, historic preservation is one way to legitimize (Scarpaci 2001) and maintain (DeOliver 1996) the history, aesthetics, and cultural elements of certain social groups.

We can see this selectivity playing out at Franklin School in Washington, D.C. Preservationists' histories of the building point to the prosperous years—not those of race riots, prostitution, and poverty (e.g. D.C. Preservation League 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007). Images in preservation materials remember Franklin Square, the adjacent and largest park in the downtown area, during its heyday of white-collar business endeavors and wealth (e.g. Hedgpeth 2005, D.C. Preservation League 2007, National Park Service 2008). That

the original school administration offices left Franklin School in 1968 after citywide race riots is part of the building's forgotten history, not like the telephone experiment that is memorialized through a plaque on the structure's façade. Avoided also are the 1970s when the building was used for adult education and the 1980s when the space offered free G.E.D. courses, trade training, and classes for the unemployed (Barker 1986). Perhaps the most contested histories, the ones preservation seeks most to erase and development efforts seek to permanently reverse, are those of the 1970s and 1980s' prostitution rings, sex businesses, and single room occupancy hotels (SROs) that were popular in Franklin Square (e.g. Eisen 1986, Lynch 2001). Franklin Square Association, launched in 1983 as a public-private partnership to "clean up" the area, beautify the park, and rid the area of its nightclubs, accomplished much of these tasks (Forgey 1990). By 1989 the association had closed 19 of the 22 sex oriented businesses (Dinardo 2007) and in 1996 made Franklin Square the center of Washington, D.C.'s first business improvement district (Hall 1996). A new history of Franklin Square, focused on development, is being written as the ties from the 1970s, SROs, and poverty, which are critical for understanding the homeless' presence in the park facing Franklin School, are in danger of deletion.

Similar in fashion to the forgotten legacy of poverty in Franklin Square is the erased history of public property abandonment in the District. District officials and publications from OPM (e.g. Lars Etzkorn), Office of Planning (e.g. Art Rodgers), and the Office of the Deputy Mayor for Planning and Economic Development (e.g. Neil Albert) employ the word vacant to describe properties ripe for development. The use of the term vacant instead of vacated, evicted, or abandoned properties, erases agency from
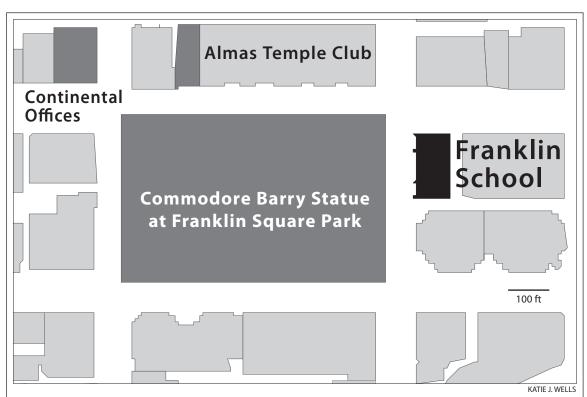
Figure 9: Franklin Square Historic Sites

Almas Temple Club

Continental Offices

Commodore Barry Statue at Franklin Square Park

Franklin School

100 ft

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The Commodore Barry Statue, Almas Temple Club, and Continental Offices are listed, like Franklin School, on the National Register of Historic Places and as National Historic Landmarks (National Park Service 2007).

the phrase. In other words, the government's decisions to leave the properties and stop repairs at some point in time are swept under the rug.

In addition to its selectivity about the past, historic preservation sidesteps the present. Veneration for the past seems to supersede concern for contemporary needs. Several newspaper articles on Franklin School and its historic status omit mention of its current use as a shelter (e.g. Donovan 2005, Eckenweiler 2005) while preservation publications continue to present its current use as temporary (e.g. D.C. Preservation League 2005, 2006, 2007). One publication in particular by the D.C. Preservation League (2007) puts protection of the physical structure above current needs of homeless persons. This brochure on endangered properties frames the historic infrastructure and aesthetics at Franklin School as equally if not more desperate than the daily needs of current shelter residents:

> Since 200[3], the building has been used as a shelter for the homeless. *DCPL recognizes the need for shelters at the city center, but the Franklin School is in desperate need of interior restoration.* DCPL will advocate that the District government and Historic Preservation Office identify the necessary repairs and provide minimum heating and ventilation to safeguard the interior structure until a decision on the building's use can be made. (D.C. Preservation League 2007, emphasis added)

Ironically and perhaps purposefully, in the same publication, Franklin School is referred to as "unoccupied," further framing the homeless residents as temporary tenants (D.C. Preservation League 2007). Franklin School's current use is peripheral information as historic preservation turns the past into an economic resource for the future (Scarpaci 2001:726).

The future historic preservation portends can be gleaned through the types of development supported by its guidelines and the District government. From the mission statement of the National Trust for Historic Preservation (2008), referenced above, and the District of Columbia Historic Preservation Office's goal (2008a), quoted below, we can see how a value for the past is transformed into a concern for a particular type of future: "The future of our city will, in large measure, be determined by our ability to successfully revitalize residential communities and the downtown area, and thereby capitalize on the unique assets of the past." The word unique sends a particular message that preservation is not concerned with all histories, but the use of the word capitalize sends a stronger message about the sort of future preservation intends to create—an economically successful one.[9]

In this sense, historic preservation constructs utopian landscapes through its discourse about functional and dysfunctional spaces (Wilson 2004). The power behind such preservation visions lies with those who define what is decline. Former District planning director Andrew Altman clarifies the sort of utopian future the District is working toward when he says, "the city's goal is to find a use that will preserve [Franklin School] structure's historic significance, generate enough revenue to pay for necessary renovations, and draw people to what is now a *dead zone* after 5 p.m." (Wilgoren and C. Williams 2002, emphasis added). The District's request for proposals for Franklin School specifies the goal of redevelopment as "to help make Franklin Square, which the school overlooks, a 'vibrant, active destination'" (Irwin 2002). The word vibrant to describe the future surroundings contrasts dramatically with what is portrayed as the present-day

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[9] Because the idea that physical change results in social change is at the heart of historic preservation, preservation planning gets used as a tool to combat social ills (Swope 2004).

deadened neighborhood. The characterization of Franklin Square as a diamond in the rough is important for understanding how preservation takes hold of the urban landscape and pushes it in a particular direction.

Reinforcing preservation's economic and social strategies are government notions about how historic properties should be used (District of Columbia Office of Planning 1998, emphasis added): "Every effort should be made to provide for the continued, *appropriate* uses of all historic properties." If adaptive reuse is necessary, the District government should design these spaces as "a significant and complementary attribute" of the area (District of Columbia Office of Planning 2006, Action HP-2.1-D). Preservation histories are prosperous, complimentary, and the kinds that attract investment and social prestige (B. Williams 2002). American studies professor and District scholar Brett Williams (2002:103) explains: "To survive, Seafarers [a black, working class boating group] must try to receive Historic District Designation, which demands projecting the kind of histories that gentrification promotes" and not the kind of histories experienced by the Seafarers.

Thus, historic preservation is a paradoxical embodiment of economic and social strategies, selective histories, and forgotten presents. Its policies and practices simultaneously orient and disorient (Low *et al.* 2002). Datel (1985:134) explains the irony in this pattern: "A goal of the historic preservation movement as embedded in the 1966 act was to give transient Americans a sense of stability and belonging. In pursuit of this goal, preservationists sometimes have abetted the displacement and the disorientation of persons rooted by their own experience." In other words, historic preservation can cause the change in society it hopes to prevent in buildings. Perhaps this disjuncture

between implications for buildings and society is purposeful, as one of historic preservation's most common uses is to revive more than just structures.

Conclusion: Revaluation Process

Historic preservation revives value in properties. By placing worth on the past, preservation processes add exchange value (Marx 1967) to specific spaces in the urban landscape. Historic preservation through the added value makes property ripe for development, investment, and speculation through revaluation (McCann 2002). Preservation is, after all, a new form of urban renewal (Deutsche 1996).

Propelling the disposal of public property by revaluing old and run-down sites, historic preservation lays the foundation for public property gentrification. Smith (1996) convincingly argues place-specific devaluation is a necessary condition for gentrification and explains how devaluation happens. In this chapter I showed how revaluation happens through historic preservation and point to the ways in which this process constitutes an internal and integral mechanism of a new form of gentrification in the District.

Historic preservation facilitates the revaluation process by shrewdly selecting particular histories, strategically focusing on the future, and problematically ignoring the present. The case of Franklin School demonstrates how a valuation for the past turns property into an economic asset for the future. Historic preservation works out the process of revaluation through a variety of political, economic, and social strategies, but it is through all of these mechanisms that contemporary issues can be forgotten. Neglecting the present is a critical step for privileging the past and creating certain investment opportunities for the future.

The implications of this omission are twofold. First, the neglect turns the past into an economic and political asset and puts it in the hands of developers. Enabled by preservation, the revaluation process primes the landscape for investment. (I discuss the way in which revaluation makes the landscape ripe for investment further in Chapter 5.) We can see this relationship through the District's public shelter history, which goes hand in hand with development.

Second, the revaluation process, which depends on forgetting in order to add value to particular histories and create landscapes for accumulation, affects social struggles. As evident in the case of Franklin School, the revaluation process intrinsic to preservation fabricates a separation between matters of economic development and those of social welfare (see Chapter 2). Preservation, arguably a neoliberal process (Wilson 2004), can push social struggles and contemporary issues to the side.

Franklin School, because it is historic, becomes a place about history—not about the present. Preservation plays an important yet quiet role in the dynamics of property and poverty in Washington, D.C. Its discourse and practices work to sculpt the urban landscape under advanced capitalism into a selective and strategic version of the past.

Although it is clear that preservation through the revaluation process favors landscapes of accumulation over those of social welfare, questions remain about contradictions in the spatial arrangements for accumulation activities. Historic preservation sifts and sorts land, but invariably sets up a number of barriers in the process. What does not make sense is why, if flexibility in land use is prized and profitable for capital (Harvey 2006), do developers and investors encourage the application of preservation designations and districts, which ultimately limit the use of

space in particular ways. Any investment in the fixed environment ultimately proves as a

barrier to further accumulation and development (Harvey 2006:352), making the

introduction and expansion of preservation restrictions counter-intuitive to capitalist

interests. Zoning commissioners, like those in the District, try to contain the dynamicism

of the landscape in order to make it more prone to economic development. Ironically,

their policies inhibit conditions for capital accumulation by limiting the flexibility of land

use. Because under capitalism there exists in the built environment the possibility of

changing land use in order to obtain higher levels of surplus value (Harvey 2006), future

research must address how capital will respond to the contradictions of preservation

landscapes. In the meantime, I take up these general contradictions and the revaluation

process in particular within the next chapter, examining the public property disposal

system as a compliment to historic preservation and a similarly necessary mechanism for

public property gentrification.

CHAPTER FIVE

PUBLIC PROPERTY DISPOSAL

Introduction

After months of searches for an alternative property downtown, Brenda Walker, a senior

official in the mayor's office, announced on October 10, 2006 that Franklin School would

remain a rehabbed shelter for the foreseeable future (Silverman 2006a). The shelter was

temporarily saved. On-going efforts to find substitute space for the 240 beds had failed

and in the process derailed development (Labbe 2005, 2006; Neibauer 2007).

Why the efforts failed has a lot more to do with larger issues facing the treatment

of public property in the District than lack of effort involved in Franklin School's

particular case. A former director of the Office of Property Management (OPM), Carol

Mitten (Interview), explained, "We scoured downtown to find alternatives." Motivation,

in other words, was not an issue. What was an issue and what remains an issue is the

disjuncture between the city's inability to find a replacement property for Franklin School

shelter (e.g. Labbe 2006) and the city's ongoing efforts to surplus half of its inventory

(e.g. Neil Albert).

This disjuncture serves as the starting point for my analysis of how and why

public property gets surplussed in Washington, D.C. In this chapter, I explore the public

property management system, specifically general procedures like inventories and master

facilities plans, emergency options, and congressional oversight. I consider the economic

framework for and implications of public property disposal. In doing so, I argue that the

disposal mechanism provides the legal means, physical space, and economic incentives

for the gentrification of public property. Historic preservation makes public property seem valuable (see Chapter 4) as property disposal makes public property accessible to private capital. Because, to my knowledge, scholars have yet to theorize processes of public property disposal, apart from the general trend of privatization (e.g. Harvey 2005) and prescriptive policy analyses (e.g. Hemmer and Denison 1981, Skaburskis and Qadeer 1992), I spend considerable time in this chapter laying out the details of how public property disposal works.

Surplussing Public Property

Throughout the course of my research no one with whom I spoke knew for sure which government agency was responsible for Franklin School at the time of the government's decision to surplus the property (Neil Albert, Lars Etzkorn, David Pirtle, Art Rodgers).[1] Today, I am still not sure whether it was the Department of Human Services, D.C. Public Schools, the Office for the Deputy Mayor of Planning and Economic Development (DMPED), or OPM, which controls a third of the city's properties (Emerling 2007).[2] What I do know is that oversight and undocumented inter-agency transfers are not the only obstacles facing the District government's public property management system. The challenge to figure out which agency was responsible for Franklin School raises

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[1] In an attempt to parse out the details and strategies of the disposal system, I asked the then-current director of OPM about his understanding of the system. He replied, "The law. Have you read it? That's my understanding" (Lars Etzkorn). His terse response echoed already-expressed annoyance at my questions about Franklin School's future ("I'm annoyed at that question"), but it also hinted at resistance on the part of the government to discuss the process. My emails to the District of Columbia Office of the City Administrator about past inventories of public property elicited an unexpected call from a real estate specialist at OPM (Regina Payton). Concerned about my inquiries, which had been kicked from one agency to the next, the specialist posed a series of detailed questions about my position at Syracuse University, my research funding, and the origins of my study on public property (Regina Payton).

[2] Other agencies, including the Office of Tax and Revenue and DMPED, control much of the remaining swaths of public land (Emerling 2007).

questions about what public property is available, where it is listed, how it is determined to be no longer needed for public use, and which purposes for re-use are prioritized. Before I address such issues, I turn to a close reading of the city code to parse out exactly what happens and what does not happen in the process of surplussing property.

The public property disposal system is far from transparent with bureaucratically messy policies, minimal public notices, inconvenient hearing schedules, and last minute emergency legislation. In the District, real public property, land titled in the name of the District or that in which the District has a controlling interest (like leased properties) (D.C. Code 10-801.01), is subject to disposal through a sale, lease (greater than twenty years), transfer, or exchange (D.C. Code 9-401). OPM, which the District established in 1998 to manage and maximize property assets, is responsible for the disposal of all city-owned surplus property (District of Columbia Office of Property Management 2008).[3]

However, before any disposal may take place, each property must be deemed surpluss, or approved for disposal, by the D.C. City Council (D.C. Code 9-401). The D.C. City Council, an elected board of thirteen representatives established in 1974 (D.C. Code 1-204.01), facilitates the surplussing process despite its sometimes-contradictory roles of both creating legislation and providing executive oversight to District committees, commissions, and agencies, like OPM (Council of the District of Columbia 2008).

To surplus a property, the first step in the property disposal process, the City Council must find that a property is no longer required for public purposes (D.C. Code 9-401a). The City Council reviews properties for surplussing at the request, and only at the request, of the mayor. The mayor must put together a proposed resolution that attests to

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[3] There is one exception: OPM is not responsible for the disposal of sports complexes (District of Columbia Office of Property Management 2008).

the lack of public need for a certain property, a description of the property, and a proposed method of disposal, which can vary from public competitions to any means the mayor finds appropriate (D.C. Code 9-401b). Although D.C. Code (9-401b) requires that the mayor present City Council with analysis of how competition is maximized in the recommended disposal method, there is significant room for discretion in the law, allowing for backroom deals and unsolicited proposals (Lars Etzkorn). In requesting the City Council to surplus a property, the mayor must also present analysis of the economic factors that were considered, such as revenues, fees, and creation of jobs (D.C. Code 9-401b); economic development is at the fore.

Once submitted, the City Council has ninety days to review the proposed resolution; if during that period the Council does not take action to approve or disapprove the proposed surplussing of the property, the resolution is thrown out (D.C. Code 9-401c). If City Council votes to surplus the property, the disposal must take place within the next two years (or the approval will expire) (D.C. Code 9-401d). Once the property is surplussed, the mayor may determine that the disposal process will require longer than two years and may submit an additional resolution detailing the need to extend the original disposal period. If the Council does not take action on the amended proposal within thirty days, the resolution to extend the timetable is passively approved (D.C. Code 9-401d).

This provision for passive approval is important for understanding how the District mayor's office found the legality of its lease for Franklin School in jeopardy (e.g. Labbe 2006). The mayor submitted a request in October 2002 to the City Council for the disposal of Franklin School; the Council referred the resolution to the Committee on

Workforce Development and Government Operations, which held a hearing but did not re-introduce the bill to the full Council and thus the bill died at the end of the ninety-day period (Labbe 2006). In February 2005, the mayor's office resubmitted a request for proposals though again no action on the part of the City Council transpired (Labbe 2006); by July 2005, the lease for Franklin School with developer Herb Miller was signed (Labbe 2006). The mayor's office seemed to believe or at least argued that the passive approval for the disposal timetable applies to the original resolution to surplus as well (Labbe 2006). While the legality of the lease has yet to be resolved, the shortcomings of other District codes are gaining attention (Emerling 2007).

What specifically has caused concern for the public and press is the lack of community involvement and consideration of citywide needs in the disposal process (Emerling 2007). District code (9-401f) states that the mayor should take steps "to ensure community input," but does not specify what those steps entail other than a final notice of the terms and conditions for the sale of a property to an Advisory Neighborhood Commission (ANC). While the ANCs may comment on the proposal, they have no legal authority to challenge such a decision other than as a member of the public (D.C. Code 1-309.10).[4]

Meanwhile, the District has no legal responsibility to consider the needs of local agencies in a formal capacity prior to property disposal or give preference to nonprofits that would put a surplussed property to use for the public's interest. Both of these measures are required by federal legislation pursuant to the Federal Property and Administrative Services Act of 1949 (40 U.S.C.). Moreover, in 1987, the federal

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[4] Any power for change in the ANCs derives from their ability to rally the public and encourage the City Council via lobbying and protests to rescind unpopular legislation, like the emergency disposal of a library and firehouse in fall 2007 (Silverman 2007).

government added homeless shelters to the list of prioritized uses for surplussed federal

property (McKinney-Vento Homeless Assistance Act 1987: Title V).[5] Today, the U.S.

Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) publishes a weekly notice to

identify surplus federal properties to assist the homeless (McKinney-Vento Homeless

Assistance Act 1987: Title V).[6]

Public Property Management: Inventories, Audits, and Master Facilities Plan

While not mandated to give priority to public use for surplussed properties, the District

mayor is instructed by law to establish "a centralized automated database" of all public

property with information on the following: street address, square and lot number, current

or last use, zoning for property, area of square feet and number of floors, and the ANC in

which the property is located (D.C. Code 10-807). When the first inventory was

published in June 2007 (e.g. District of Columbia Office of Property Management 2007),

OPM released the list in a Portable Document Format (and has since released one

updated version in Microsoft Excel format)—not a centralized or automated database of

any sort. While the inventory includes the details noted above for each property

(including Franklin School's future use as "TBD"), it does not incorporate the following

specifications, which District code also demands: the method by which each property was

acquired, current assessed value of the property and any improvements, and whether the

real property is located within a historic district or is designated as a registered historic

landmark under District or federal laws (D.C. Code 10-807). (If the latter had been

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[5] Other public uses prioritized by the federal government (McKinney-Vento Homeless Assistance Act 1987: Title V) include airports, prisons, jails, schools or education, historic purposes, law enforcement, emergency management, park and recreation, public health, wildlife conservation, and port authorities.
[6] Unfortunately, I have yet to find a week in 2007 or 2008 where this list includes federal property in the District.

included, my analysis on the relationship between historic preservation and public

property redevelopment would benefit; see Chapter 4.)

In addition to this basic database (which has yet to be completed), OPM is

required (D.C. Code 10-1011) to submit to City Council a more extensive inventory of all

real property assets, based upon information provided by each District department and

agency on facility conditions, annual budgets for maintenance, and estimates of needed

repairs. This inventory should also be maintained by OPM in "a centralized automated

database" and updated for City Council at least once every three years beginning in

March 2007 (D.C. Code 10-1011).[7] While OPM claims to have made such an inventory

available to City Council (Lars Etzkorn), some City Council members think otherwise

(Parisa Narouzi).

Beyond debates about the completeness of the list or questions about what "a

centralized automated database" means, issues arise with regard to the public's right to

access. Neither of the District codes, which mandate the overlapping inventories (D.C.

Code 10-1011, 10-807), spell out whether City Council, OPM, or the mayor must make

such lists accessible or searchable. The recent development of an online mapping tool for

the District's website and pages of downloadable Geographic Information Systems (GIS)

data are important for showcasing the District's collection of diverse information.

However, these tools do not facilitate comprehensive or large-scale assessments; the GIS

downloads are inaccessible by nature of the software program while the maps show

highly decentralized data. For instance, I can make a map of schools in a neighborhood,

but I cannot obtain a comprehensive list of detailed property information, like

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[7] Funds of no less than $1.2 million to develop a facility inventory and conditions assessment are stipulated for OPM (D.C. Code 10-1032).

assessments or square footage, for school properties. All detailed information for specific properties, business improvement districts, or historic districts must be individually gathered, a tedious process that severely inhibits accessibility and public oversight.

One specific issue for which public oversight has been called is the District's leasing of private property for government functions, which is estimated at $108 million per year (Borberly 2008). OPM is required to conduct annually an audit of all leased property (where the District is the renter and where the District is the grantor of a lease) and an analysis of the benefits and costs of continuing such agreements (D.C. Code 10-1012). The accessibility of these audits is also in question as they have to yet to be made public (Lars Etzkorn).

In addition to the inventories and audits for which OPM is responsible, the District requires the City Council to create a master facilities planning and program coordination advisory committee, which under the direction of the City Administrator develops a master facilities plan (D.C. Code 10-1031). The advisory committee is well described in the District code: it should be composed of nine members; six members will be appointed by the mayor (and one of whom the mayor shall designate as chair) and three members will be appointed by the City Council chairperson. The purpose of the non-paid advisory committee is to review OPM inventories, hold a public hearing on mayoral plans for the master facilities plan, and provide advice to the City Council about relationships between OPM inventories, the master facilities plan, and the District's Comprehensive Plan (a non-binding governmental publication).[8] Despite these explicit instructions, including a timeline for when nominations by City Council were supposed

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[8] The District's 2006 Comprehensive Plan (District of Columbia Office of Planning 2006, Action CSF-1.1-B: Criteria for Re-Use 1103.16) recommends the establishment of formal and measurable criteria for determining when a public property can be surplussed.

to be submitted to the mayor in 2003, no advisory committee or master facilities plan has been formed (District of Columbia Office of the City Administrator, Parisa Narouzi).

Thus, we can start to see how there are two initial problems facing the public property disposal system in the District: one, the details of the District code, which do not require or make explicit several procedures, like community involvement or public accessibility; and two, the execution of the District code to, for example, complete inventories or create a master facilities plan. Underlying these issues and arguably the root of the most significant obstacles in the system are ambiguous interpretations of the term surplus. To surplus a property in the District is to claim that the city no longer needs it for public use (D.C. Code 9-401). Public use, however, as it applies to the disposal of public property is not defined in the District code.

Procedures for vacating a surplussed property are also not spelled out in the code. Vacancy of property is not a pre-requisite for the surplussing process, as evident in the Franklin School case and numerous others. Of the 22 public shelters used in the District in the past 25 years (which were not hotels, government office buildings, stadiums, hospitals, armories, or leased properties), 16 have been at risk at one point for disposition. Of these 16 shelters, at least 9 were occupied at the time that they were listed for disposal or sold to be redeveloped—a startlingly high percentage that hints at some of the more contentious aspects of the public property disposal system.

Of the 609 properties listed as vacant on the District's inventory (District of Columbia Office of Property Management 2007) of public property, only 2 of these properties, which are not currently shelters, have a future use noted as a shelter. The landmass of these 2 properties totals just 0.7 percent of all vacant public property,

emphasizing the government's choice to not address homelessness or replace shelters with available space.[9] Moreover, if 10 percent of the District's public landmass is vacant (Carol Mitten) and the District intends to sell 50 percent of its portfolio in the coming years (Neil Albert), surplussed properties will have an increasingly higher chance of occupancy. The allocation of vacant public property gives rise to concerns about where and how the District in the future will provide social services, especially homeless services, which typically open in abandoned and vacant public properties (Chapman Todd).

General Procedures and Emergency Options

The administrative issues that plague the disposal process, although seemingly more benign than the disposal of occupied properties, are crucial; these issues center around City Council procedures for assigning and publishing committee hearing schedules. During the consideration of a proposed resolution, the City Council committee to which the bill has been assigned for further review (the Committee on Workforce Development and Government Operations in Franklin School's case) must schedule a public hearing or roundtable. While the District makes stipulations about when public hearings must be announced, public roundtables require less notice (Montes 2007). The public hearing must be listed fifteen days in advance in the D.C. Register, a publication of the City Council that is available online or in hard copy at City Council offices.[10] Hearings are

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[9] I use landmass to calculate the percentage of vacant property dedicated to additional shelters in the future because many of the 609 properties are small parcels of land on which it would be difficult to build a structure.

[10] One of the District's Capacity Building Strategic Plan's (Council of the District of Columbia 2008) recommendations for City Council is to publish the committee hearing schedules in as far as advance as possible and prepare more timely updates (within 48 hours) of hearing schedules.

typically held on weekdays during working hours at City Hall, where childcare is not available and attendance is often low (Parisa Narouzi).[11] The public can testify for up to three minutes apiece, assuming that each member of the public registers in advance; paper copies of testimony are requested.

Feedback from such a City Council hearing or roundtable is considered by the committee in charge of the review as they vote to recommend that the full Council approve or disapprove the bill.[12] If no action is taken, the bill dies in committee. If the committee recommends the approval of the bill, the chairperson of the committee will place the resolution on the once-a-month legislative meeting for the full Council. At the legislative meeting, the bill is read, debated, and possibly amended. If a majority of Council members vote against the proposed resolution, the bill is considered dead. If a majority of Council members vote to approve the legislation, the bill is scheduled for a second reading at a subsequent legislative meeting.[13] It is at this time, during the second reading, that the council officially votes to approve the surplussing of a property. If the vote supports disposal, the property is turned over to OPM, which conducts the actual sale, lease, transfer, or exchange of the public property (Council of the District of Columbia 2008).

This general procedure for disposal hearings can be overstepped through emergency legislation, which the City Council may adopt for ninety days, or temporary legislation, which the Council may adopt for up to 225 days. Two-thirds of the City

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[11] In order to testify before City Council in December 2005, I and other members of the People's Property Campaign who could afford to do so used a half-day of vacation time.

[12] Each committee is comprised of five City Council members, including a chair selected by the City Council chairperson. Committees are required to review, analyze, and make recommendations to the full Council and are each approved for four full time equivalent positions to assist in such tasks (Council of the District of Columbia 2008).

[13] Another possibility for the Council is to return the bill, by majority vote, to the committee of origin for further consideration (Council of the District of Columbia 2008).

Council must agree to emergency circumstances in order to consider such legislation although only a simple majority is needed to pass the act (Council of the District of Columbia 2008). For instance, on an evening in early July 2007, the District City Council passed emergency legislation to sell a library and firehouse to a developer of the Ritz-Carlton Hotel who had plans to create a mixed-use and up-scale residential and retail space (Montes 2007); while the City Council eventually rescinded the deal (Emerling 2007), the emergency procedure that allows such a process remains on the books.

Emergency legislation grants the District City Council two key powers: one, the authority to bypass the lengthier process of committee reviews, public hearings, and legislative meetings; and two, the authority to bypass the U.S. Congress. Every legislation passed by the District City Council, with the exception of emergency and temporary laws, are subject to Congressional review (Council of the District of Columbia 2008). The U.S. Congress' mandate to review legislation on the criminal code within sixty legislative days and all other types of legislation within thirty days (Council of the District of Columbia 2008) is both a legacy of the pre-Home Rule days when the District did not govern itself or have elected officials and a reminder of the federal government's more recent takeover of the District during bankruptcy in 1996. If the U.S. Congress does not disapprove of a District act by adoption of a joint resolution of disapproval, the City Council-passed legislation is sent to the U.S. president and becomes law when she signs it.

Congressional oversight, while generally contested, is especially controversial with regard to public property disposal. In 2004 the U.S. Congress, without support from the District government, gave charter schools the first right to buy surplus District school

property and the right to purchase or lease such property at twenty-five percent less than appraised values (Strauss 2004, D.C. Code 38-1802.09). The latter decision to sell the property at less than its value is perhaps the most egregious part of the legislation as it financially hurts the District's public school system, which is already in the red and was subject to an emergency takeover, and systematically usurps the District's ability to make land planning decisions for itself. Although Franklin School is exempt from this agreement (its redevelopment was arranged prior to the passage of the U.S. law), for the three current shelters that are on public school property the jurisdictional entanglement remains a cause of anxiety (Brian Anders).

Local Economic Development

From this analysis of how public property disposal puts land the government deems surplus into circulation, I turn toward the economic framework for and implications of such an injection of landed capital. I surmise why and consider how the state expands the market for capital. In doing so, I argue that the disposal mechanism provides the legal means, physical space, and economic incentives for the gentrification of public property.

Commercial real estate and upper-income housing combined with tourism and sales put the District's tax revenues in a surprisingly healthy position, especially after a bout with bankruptcy a decade ago (Ed Lazere). Nonetheless, the District's decision to sell public property at a rapid pace (e.g. Neil Albert) is reminiscent of crisis mode behavior. The disposal of public property appears as a short-term solution to a long-term problem of economic sustainability. Aside from the general arrangement of the decentralized U.S. tax system, the largest factor inhibiting the District's tax revenues,

which make up the core of its operational funds, is the federal ban on taxing income earned in the city by non-residents (D.C. Fiscal Policy Institute 2007). This federal prohibition is a legacy of congressional control; many U.S. Congress members live in Maryland and Virginia but work in the District, creating a situation where the members do not want to be taxed twice (Ed Lazere). The second largest factor is the mass of land in the District exempt from property taxes (D.C. Fiscal Policy Institute 2007). Of the District's sixty-one square miles, only forty-three percent is taxable (D.C. Fiscal Policy Institute 2007). And, of the tax-exempt properties, which are owned by non-profits or federal agencies, the District of Columbia retains ownership on little less than ten percent (National Association to Restore Pride in America's Capital 2005).

While newspaper articles (e.g. Irwin 2002, Wilgoren and C. Williams 2002, Hedgpeth 2005) and city officials (e.g. Neil Albert, Lars Etzkorn, Carol Mitten) have made it clear that local economic development is the motivation behind public property disposal, they have not spelled out the details of such reasoning. I speculate here to name three primary incentives for the (planned) increase in public property disposals (e.g. Neil Albert): one, an instant cash bonus from the sale of public property; two, relief from property maintenance and management costs; and three, the gift that keeps on giving—an increased tax base (e.g. Cox and Jonas 1993). The redevelopment of Franklin School, for instance, is estimated to bring in $1 million in annual tax revenues (Week in Review March 2005).

On one hand, the District seems to be selling public property in hopes of increasing revenue streams. On the other hand, it is granting copious amounts of tax abatements and creating numerous tax increment financing districts, which cut its

revenue stream.[14] Although the city does not have a comprehensive list of tax

development deals (e.g. Neil Albert) and there has been no outside analysis on the

number or amounts of such tax breaks (Ed Lazere), their presence sends a strong message

about how and for what the government will use its resources.[15]

Through the public property disposal system, the government uses its resources to

create a commodity. The state turns a public resource (land) into a private commodity

(land use), eroding the public sphere (Harvey 2005). Public property is not just disposed;

the public is dispossessed. The public property disposal process acts as a slow and quiet

form of accumulation by dispossession (e.g. Harvey 2006) and is critical to public

property gentrification. The gentrification of public property and success of such projects

(like Pierce School, which was turned into luxury condos, e.g. Sostek 2004) depends

directly on the revaluation of property (see Chapter 4) and the public dispossession of

property. Like Franklin School where residents could lose their beds and by default their

right to the city as an hotelier gains the right to build a profitable business, the rumored

disposal of the District's main library, an "historic" Mies van der Rohe structure (McKee

2006), to the Bloomingdales department store company would exemplify how

accumulation or private gain depends on a dispossession or public loss.

However, I hesitate to describe the disposal of public property as a "loss" of public

property. America did not lose its public space. Public space and public property (a

subset of the former; see Chapter 1) did not suddenly disappear. Historian Kevin Kruse

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[14] Meanwhile, Schedule H property tax credits for low-income residents, which were created in the 1970s, have not ever been adjusted either for maximum credit or income eligibility limit (D.C. Fiscal Policy Institute 2007).

[15] The developer of Franklin School, Herb Miller, is in consultation with City Council member Jack Evans to bring a Nordstrom department store to the Georgetown neighborhood, the wealthiest in the District, and is looking for $20 million in subsidies (Ed Lazere).

(2005) argues that the decline in public spaces in the U.S. is the result of conscious, concerted efforts away from integration. I extend his argument to the District's relationship with public property and call for work to consider how the government's physical and financial retreat from public property is a racialized process. In a place that is referred to as the "last colonial city" (B. Williams 2002) and where planned disinvestment and national urban planning policies have worked against integration up until the 1980s (Metzger 2000), the "Plan" to disinvest in "black" public properties in hopes of pushing black people out and white people in merits further study (Price 1998, Muhammad 2001). Even Ira Glass (2008) noted the possible connection between the race conspiracy and the District's public property disposal system in a recent episode of *This American Life*.

Through both the state's protection of particular rights and spaces and neglect of others, public properties become profitable spaces for private real estate development (specifically public property gentrification) and in doing so expand the market. While in the state's hands public property is restricted from most market forces, like steady reinvestment, and is often devalued when released.[16] When the state releases public property as a fixed landform of capital into the market, the disposal appears as a state response to the economy's need for more capital. Accumulation processes like economic development require the constant addition of greater and greater sums of capital in order to maintain constant rates of profit (Marx 1967). The transformation of public property into an economic asset helps create the necessary conditions for capitalist accumulation by literally expanding spaces for accumulation. To sustain itself, capital needs room to

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[16] See Chapter 4 for analysis of how public property is revalued through processes like historic preservation.

grow (Harvey 2006) and thus public property forms the District's newest accumulation landscape: the gentrification of public property. A District journalist explains that all of the obvious properties for redevelopment are taken so government officials and real estate companies are forced to convert more difficult and less obvious spots, like homeless shelters (David Hammond).

Conclusion: Proposed Resolution B17-0527

Despite ongoing and increasingly heated debates (e.g. Emerling 2007, Land-swap 2007) in the two and a half years since my first testimony before City Council,[17] public property continues to be surplussed and sold. In 2007 alone Mayor Adrian Fenty, whose alliance with the People's Property Campaign during his mayoral campaign was strong but not indicative of his commitments since taking office, brought at least seven city-owned properties before the City Council for proposed redevelopment (Emerling 2007). However, there are moments of change: the District's 2006 Comprehensive Plan called for the development of formal criteria to determine whether a property is surplus. In 2007 City Council member Carol Schwartz considered introducing a moratorium on public property disposal (Emerling 2007), written by the People's Property Campaign; City Council member Kwame Brown, chair of the Economic Development Committee, held a hearing on private redevelopment of public property (Neibauer 2007); and most significantly City Council member Harry Thomas in December introduced the "Public

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[17] On December 19, 2005, I testified as part of the People's Property Campaign at a public hearing held by the District City Council and called for a moratorium on the disposal of public property until a complete review of the process had taken place, an inventory of public property, and a new policy to ensure that surplussed public property is re-utilized to serve public needs identified in government and community reports like the City-Wide Strategic Plan, Strategic Neighborhood Action Plans, and Citizen Summit Reports. In a public radio interview on the same day, I argued that the city's sale of public property constitutes a threat to public life for District residents (Overgaard 2005).

Land Surplus Standards Amendment Act of 2007" (D.C. Bill 17-0527), also designed in large part by the People's Property Campaign, that would significantly modify the public property disposal process.

The bill's main goals include explicit community involvement requirements for the disposal process (through ANCs for instance), formalized criteria for determinations of surplus property, prioritization of surplussed public property for re-use within the public sphere, and the positioning of public land sales as a last resort—a step taken after leasing options have been considered and rejected. In addition to making the disposal process more transparent, participatory, comprehensive, and consistent, the bill seeks to establish a provision for citizens to sue the government in order to make inventories, master facilities plans, and other requirements in District law judicially enforceable. More than anything, through these detailed amendments, the bill seeks to separate the process of surplussing public property from the disposal process. The surplussing decision must precede any commitments by the District government to private developers or any establishment of public-private partnerships. Through such legislation, the backroom deals, which put Franklin School and numerous other shelters in jeopardy, would hopefully cease (to an extent or at least lose their red-carpet status).

Although a roundtable was held on Thomas' bill at the end of December 2007, Schwartz, the head of the Committee on Workforce Development and Government Operations, has not put the bill on the agenda for a full Council legislative meeting (where the bill would ultimately receive further consideration and a vote). Rumors of the space for the bill on the April 2008 City Council agenda surfaced after protests outside of Schwartz's house in February 2008 were captured in an episode of *This American Life*

(Glass 2008). Enactment of the legislation remains an uphill battle as the public property disposal system remains a critical mechanism for public property gentrification.

Public property disposal in the District provides the legal means to turn a public resource into a private commodity, economic incentives to surplus public property, and physical space to expand the market for capitalist accumulation and set the stage for the gentrification of public property. These internal constructions of the public property disposal system contextualize and help to explain the disjuncture between the District's inability to find a replacement property for Franklin School shelter (e.g. Labbe 2006) and the District's ongoing efforts to surplus half of its inventory (e.g. Neil Albert). The public property disposal system is not set up in a way as to prioritize replacement spaces for shelters over potential spaces for economic development. The District City Council's unanimous vote to establish a government office for oversight of public-private land agreements may hold developers accountable for promises of affordable housing (O'Connell 2008), but it will not change the District's priorities.

Through this chapter, and my analysis in Chapter 4 on historic preservation, I hope to have shown the internal processes of public property gentrification. The steps, the revaluation and dispossession of public property, occur through different mechanisms but collectively allow for the emergence and success of public property gentrification at Franklin School in particular and for the District in general. It is within these mechanisms where efforts for resistance to public property gentrification must begin. For the public property disposal system, efforts are well underway. For historic preservation, the debates have yet to launch. As public property gentrification becomes the new frontier of the

neoliberal city, the internal mechanisms of revaluation and dispossession must become

the new frontier of neoliberal resistance.

CHAPTER SIX

SHIFTING GEOGRAPHIES

With this project, I originally set out to ascertain the particular social, political and economic circumstances under which the District of Columbia goes about selling its public property, like Franklin School, and to create representations of the resulting geographies of homelessness. In the end I spent more time theorizing the circumstances for these specific shelter politics than documenting the consequences (see Appendix A for details of the documentation process). The format of my thesis, which is more textual and less visual than imagined, reflects such a shift.

Through this work I seek to explain how the redevelopment of public property, which I argue constitutes a new and neoliberal form of gentrification, affects the geography of homelessness in Washington, D.C. I consider what public property gentrification means for the way the District works, specifically homeless residents, alongside analyses of how public property gentrification came about and how it continues to function. Without the underlying story of homeless shelters and connection to Franklin School, my critiques about the external conditions for the emergence of public property gentrification (see Chapter 2) and the internal mechanisms of this neoliberal form of redevelopment (see Chapters 4 and 5) would fall flat. I sought to contextualize Franklin School with my research, but it is now Franklin School that contextualizes my theoretical engagements.

Before exploring how public property gentrification works on a local level, I frame public property gentrification within global processes like neoliberalization in

Chapter 2. The prioritization of economic development and rationalization of government power become a means to better understand how the redevelopment of public property is naturalized under neoliberalism. Facilitated by these neoliberal processes is a separation of struggles over accumulation and social welfare—a separation from which public property gentrification arises. Unintentionally, while globalizing public property gentrification within a neoliberal context, I localized neoliberalism within public property. Public property, I suggest, is a key site for contemporary neoliberal struggles over individual rights to accumulation and collective rights for social justice. I came to better understand how neoliberalism plays out in the city as a lens that distorts reality and has material consequences, such as the proposed redevelopment of Franklin School shelter into a "hip hotel."

Following this contextualization, I sketch out my argument for why the redevelopment of public property amounts to a new period and type of gentrification in Chapter 3. Through significant changes in ownership, structure, and function, homeless shelters and other forms of public property in Washington, D.C. are not just redeveloped but gentrified. In addition to showing how gentrification transforms under neoliberalism into a new form, I claim that public property gentrification transforms the city. In doing so, it both clarifies and intensifies the relationships between social struggles, like homelessness, and accumulation activities, like real estate development. While the sale of public shelters in particular and the sale of public property in general signal a loss for social welfare and public life in the District, the sales represent a win for the development industry. I start to connect homelessness to gentrification, suggesting that the two are

inherently linked, as I point to the underlying strings between the geography of development and the geography of homelessness.

To make sense of these theoretical arguments, I turn to the internal processes of public property gentrification. In Chapters 4 and 5, I explain how public property gentrification works through a revaluation process, which is facilitated by historic preservation, and through a dispossession process, which is facilitated by public property disposal. These chapters showcase how historic preservation and public property disposal are integral to the logic of public property gentrification. These analyses of the internal mechanisms of public property gentrification also shed light on the everyday practices of the neoliberal city. Gentrification, which is increasingly reliant on the neoliberal form of public property gentrification, may be a peripheral symptom of a much larger capitalist problem, but its relevancy lies in its ability to reveal what is happening at the core. That public property gentrification happens is as important as how it happens and to whom it happens. Examinations of historic preservation and public property disposal point to the ways in which public property gentrification quietly and quickly, though systematically, erodes both public assets of the city and public access to the city.

Each of my chapters is an attempt to parse out individual pieces of the public property puzzle. Collectively, these examinations of public property gentrification tell the story of how and why the geography of homelessness in Washington, D.C. is under transition. I suggest that public property gentrification can explain more than the geography of homelessness; it can explain the shifting geographies of the state, development industry, social services, and public space.

Perhaps most importantly, my research attempts to link the causes and contexts of such changes with the consequences. Through my case study of Franklin School, which I turn to in the beginning of each chapter, I highlight the ramifications of public property gentrification for one particular and especially vulnerable population. My political aims were twofold. I attempted to politicize the disposal of public property as well as consider and make known the implications. In the process, this project evolved into an analysis of the relationships between gentrification, the state, and the resulting geography of public shelters. The impending gentrification of Franklin School shelter is not just evidence of the shifting landscape of homelessness; it is a warning about what is to come.

EPILOGUE

On April 3, 2008, District Mayor Adrian Fenty announced that Franklin School shelter
will close on October 1, 2008. The Mayor made no mention of Herb Miller or the plan to
redevelopment Franklin School as a hotel, which remains intact (District of Columbia
Mayoral Office 2008, D. Iverson). The closing of Franklin School will coincide with the
privatization of Gales School shelter, which was under renovation by the District and was
supposed to open as a state-of-the-art public women's shelter in 2008.

Gales School shelter, which closed temporarily in 2004, will become the future
facility for the Central Union Mission, a privately run Christian organization (see Chapter
3), which sold its current shelter for $7 million in order to buy a property for a new
shelter on Georgia Avenue (on the northern edge of the District) (District of Columbia
Mayoral Office 2008). Neighbors near the proposed shelter site strongly opposed the plan
and lobbied City Council to find an alternative (Schwartzman 2008), which it did. The
District's response includes several steps: one, scrap plans for the Gales women shelter;
two, give the Gales property to the Central Union Mission in exchange for the Georgia
Avenue property; three, arrange for the construction of a mixed-income housing
development, which will include fifty units of permanent supportive housing for
homeless residents, on the Georgia Avenue site (Moreno 2008).[1]

The fifty units are part of the mayor's plan to house the 400 most chronically
homeless persons, who will be ranked on a "vulnerability index" within fiscal year 2008

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[1] Thrown into this plan, to accommodate for the loss of the future women's shelter at Gales, is the decision
to move a women's shelter at the General Hospital's cafeteria into a permanent building on the former-
Hospital grounds and provide 24-hour care (District of Columbia Mayoral Office 2008).

(Moreno 2008).[2] Some of the 240 Franklin School residents are expected to win some of these slots; the rest of the residents will be accommodated, according to the mayor, by the new Central Union Mission, which will house 125 men (District of Columbia Mayoral Office 2008). However, if the Central Union Mission's current residents (which total 84) follow the shelter downtown, there will only be new spots for 41 of Franklin School's residents. The District will lose space for 240 men (at Franklin School) and gain 41 beds in a Christian shelter (through the Central Union Mission) and 50 permanent housing units; the net loss of shelter beds will be 149 beds. If the mayor holds true to his promise to provide 400 units of permanent supportive housing, which include the 50 on Georgia Avenue, the 149 persons who are made homeless by the District on October 1, 2008 could be given permanent supportive housing. Such a decision remains to be seen.

What we do know is that when Franklin School closes, shelter residents who do not receive permanent housing placement face the option of moving east, heading north, or converting to Christianity at the Central Union Mission. When Franklin School, which is within half a mile of the White House, closes, the District will lose its last downtown shelter east of Fourth Street NW and south of W Street NW. The geography of homelessness is changing—and changing in a very particular way.

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[2] The mayor's program will be financed through a new Housing First Fund, which will be supported by— of all things—the lease or sale of city properties, which is expected to reach $19.2 million in the coming year (Moreno 2008). The District's affordable housing fund is also subject to market fluctuations as it is generated from a percentage of the deed taxes (Nakamura 2008).

APPENDIX A

METHODOLOGICAL NARRATIVE

The questions that led to this research arose from my experience with the People's

Property Campaign, commitment to social justice, and curiosity about how to understand

the proposed redevelopment of Franklin School. How can shelter bunks be turned into

boutique beds with the state's approval? What does it mean for such a transformation to

take place? My research, which took place primarily in Washington, D.C. in the summer

of 2007, emerged as a form of creative social justice (e.g. Merrifield and Swynegdouw

1996). From the beginning, I positioned myself as both an activist and a researcher. This

multiplicity of identity ultimately resulted in a series of self-imposed questions during the

twenty-two interviews I conducted about how much to reveal (see Appendix B for

sample questions and Appendix C for sample consent form). I struggled whether to use

what seemed like rare opportunities with public officials to both inform my research and

inform my interviewee about the shortcomings of the public property system and its

implications for shelter services.

A friend and fellow activist asked me to "raise hell" before a meeting with the

director of the District's Office of Property Management. Equipped with pointy heels,

pearls, and a black suit, I felt as if I were something between a spy and a traitor as I tried

to gain the respect and confidence of the director. As most of my interviews took place in

person (rather than over the telephone), the question of how to code myself through dress

was often present. I would experience a sensation of juggling too many balls at once. In

the interviews, I wanted to learn new information for my research and for activists at the

same time that I wanted to engage in conversation and convince my interviewees why public property should not be sold. Whether it was through my clothes or the stories I shared, I agonized over various performances.

The implications of navigating such lines between activism and research are twofold for my research. On one hand, my interviewees, specifically government employees, might have held back data if they perceived me to be too much of a political activist and risk, in which case I missed out on data. On the other hand, by primarily playing the role of the researcher I missed opportunities to advance efforts to change city policy. When the Deputy Mayor of Planning and Economic Development suggested that I return to work for him following my graduation, I felt as though I had fooled him and in the process somehow fooled myself into forgetting the underlying goal of collective property rights.

Despite these ramifications, I found that framing myself as a former District resident added a sense of authority that I had not expected to use let alone use so frequently. In addition to aligning myself with particular advocacy and homeless service groups, I aligned myself with the "right" side of the battle by referencing, more often that I would like to admit, my boyfriend's status as a public defender. While trying to deconstruct what has happening to Franklin School, I was forced to deconstruct what was happening to me. Recognizing the ambiguous roles and tensions in my work and life, like my apartment in gentrifying Logan Circle, proved strenuous.

What also proved strenuous was the physical task of archival research. Several times in this thesis I mention the difficulty of obtaining complete information on the public property management system and public shelter services. In this appendix, I

discuss the latter (see Chapter 4 for discussion of the former). Because the District does not keep (or make available) year-to-year records on public shelters (which is likely due to outsourcing and bureaucratic mismanagement), the InterFaith Conference of Metropolitan Washington's boxes of old emergency directories served as my starting point and primary resource for data on shelter openings and closings (see Charts A and B for summaries). I double-checked and combined InterFaith's information with reports about which shelters were publicly owned, sold, or listed for disposal through news media, activists (e.g. David Pirtle, Jesse Smith), and homeless service organizations (e.g. Cornell Chappelle, Maryann Luby, Darlene Matthews). Finding data on shelters' historic status was easier due to several published preservation inventories by the National Park Service, National Trust for Historic Preservation, D.C. Preservation League, and the District's Historic Preservation Office.

In addition to literature reviews, open-ended interviews, and archival research, cartographic methodologies played a role in data collection. As briefly mentioned in Chapter 6, cartographic methods served as a means for analysis, not a means of representation. While I had not intended to shortchange the cartographic element, it became increasingly clear that dots on a map, however creatively positioned, could not tell the story I wanted to tell. My goal was to contextualize quantitative data in social relations, linking the partial knowledge of numbers and maps to historical and geographical accounts of homeless shelters and public property treatment (e.g. Moss 1995). Limitations, thus, exist with regard to my chosen methodologies and signal a call for additional explorations of public property gentrification.

APPENDIX B

Sample Interview Questions for "Homeless Shelters and Public Property"
Prior to each interview, I read, reviewed, and signed a written consent form with the participant (see Appendix C). With permission, I took notes on the conversations and my impressions as well as audio-recorded the interviews. I asked each participant questions from one of the following sets depending on the participant's employment and status.

Homeless shelter workers, advocates, and experts:
1. How has the geography of homeless shelters changed in the past twenty years?
2. Why are the locations changing?
3. To what extent is the change a reflection of the economic crisis of the city?
4. What do you see as threats or challenges to the shelter system?
5. What do you think about the city's public property disposal system?
6. What is your understanding of the controversy surrounding Franklin School shelter?
7. What are the particular social and economic circumstances under which the selling of public property, like homeless shelters, in Washington, D.C. is pursued?

Politicians and bureaucrats:
1. What is your understanding of the city's public property disposal system?
2. What is the purpose? Why?
3. How are properties marked for disposed identified?
4. What types of plans and strategies are in place for this process?
5. What is the rationale behind these plans and processes?
6. Why is the city engaging in these types of plans?
7. What if the properties marked for disposal are shelters? Is there a different process?
8. How do you and/or the city deal with the disruption caused?
9. What contingencies are in place to deal with disruptions?
10. What is your understanding of the controversy surrounding Franklin School shelter?
11. What types of challenges does the city face in terms of public property?
12. What are the particular social and economic circumstances under which the selling of public property, like homeless shelters, in Washington, D.C. is pursued?
13. How has the geography of homeless shelters changed in the past twenty years—and to what extent is the change a reflection of the economic crisis of the city?

I asked all participants the following background and further contact questions.

1. How long have you lived and/or worked in the Washington, D.C. metropolitan area?
2. How does your job relate to issues of public property and/or homeless shelters?
3. Are you involved in any community and/or professional associations related to issues of public property and/or homeless shelters?
4. Is there someone else with whom I should speak regarding my research?
5. Are there specific sources I should examine or events to attend for my research?
6. Would you be available to answer further questions that may arise during my research?

APPENDIX C

Consent Form for Participation in "Homeless Shelters and Public Property"

You are invited to participate in a research project conducted by Graduate Student Kathryn Wells of Syracuse University (Department of Geography, 144 Eggers Hall, Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, Syracuse, NY 13244; telephone 202.841.6644; email kjwell01@maxwell.syr.edu) under the supervision of Professor Don Mitchell of Syracuse University (Department of Geography, Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, Syracuse University, Syracuse, NY 13244). The research focuses on homeless shelters and public property. The study is supported by a research grant from Syracuse University; no governmental agency with regulatory or law enforcement capacities will have access to this information.

You were identified as a possible participant in this research in one of two ways: a review of news accounts and public documents related to homeless shelters in Washington, DC, or by another participant interested in homeless shelters in Washington, DC. The interview should take about one hour. We will retain a signed copy of this consent form and you will be provided with a signed copy. With your permission, we will audio record the interview and take occasional notes. The tapes will be erased at the conclusion of the study (within seven years). The questions in the interview address the nature of homeless shelters, your experiences, and your perceptions.

Please understand that your participation is voluntary. You can participate or not participate, as you wish. You may also terminate the interview at any time, for any reason, without penalty. If there is a question you do not wish to answer, you have the right to refuse to do so. The benefits and the risks associated with participation are minimal.

We would like to use your responses—including direct quotes from the interview—but understand that you may wish to maintain your confidentiality. At the bottom of the consent form, please indicate whether you waive the right to confidentiality or want to preserve it. If you wish to preserve your confidentiality, your name will be stripped from the interview transcription, and we will only use quotes from the interview that would not reveal your identity.

If at any time you have concerns or dissatisfaction with this study, you can report them to the Institutional Review Board, Office of Research Integrity and Protections, Syracuse University, Syracuse, NY 13244 or by telephone to 315.443.3013. These reports can be handled confidentially. Copies of Syracuse University's compliance to the federal government regarding human subject research are available upon request from the Institutional Review Board address listed above.

I understand the above information and voluntarily consent to participate in the project "Homeless Shelters and Public Property." All of my questions have been answered, I am 18 years or older, and *I waive my right to confidentiality.*

Printed Name of Subject_____ Date _____

Signature of Subject _____ Date _____

Permission to Audio-Record Interview ☐ Yes ☐ No   Date _____

I understand the above information and voluntarily consent to participate in the project "Homeless Shelters and Public Property." All of my questions have been answered, I am 18 years or older, and *I wish to maintain my right to confidentiality.*

Printed Name of Subject_____ Date _____

Signature of Subject _____ Date _____

Permission to Audio-Record Interview ☐ Yes ☐ No   Date _____

Printed Name of Investigator_____ Date _____

Signature of Investigator _____ Date _____

Chart A: General Public Shelter Data

	Name(s)	Address	Historic	School	Not Saleable	Sold	Sold while occupied	Listed for disposal	Listed while occupied	Use Today (not public shelter)
1	4th and New Jersey / L St NW Trailers	400 New Jersey AVE NW			x					
2	Adams Place	2210 Adams PL NE			x					
3	Armory	1900 East Capitol ST SE			x					
4	Braxton Hotel	1500 Rhode Island AVE NW			x					
5	Budget Motor Inn	1615 New York AVE NE			x					
6	Capital City Inn	2100 New York AVE NE			x					
7	Days Inn	2700 New York AVE NE			x					
8	DC General Hospital Hypothermia / Harriet Tubman	1900 Massachusetts AVE SE			x					
9	Department of Employment Services Parking Garage	500 C ST NW			x					
10	District Building	1350 Pennsylvania AVE NW			x					
11	Foggy Bottom Trailers-Whitehurst	2500 Virginia AVE NW			x					
12	General Scott Inn	1464 Rhode Island AVE NW			x					

Chart A: General Public Shelter Data

	Name(s)	Address	Historic	School	Not Saleable	Sold	Sold while occupied	Listed for disposal	Listed while occupied	Use Today (not public shelter)
13	Guildfield Baptist Church	1023 O ST NE			x					
14	Jewish Community Center	1600 Q ST NW			x					
15	Judiciary Square Public Building	441 4th ST NW			x					
16	Meridian Hill Baptist Church	3146 16th ST NW			x					
17	Mt. Vernon Place Trailers	700 Massachusetts AVE NW			x					
18	Park Road / Families Forward / New Beginnings / Temporary Living Communities	1448 Park RD NW			x					
19	Parkside Hotel	1336 I ST NW			x					
20	Pitts Motor Hotel	1451 Belmont ST NW			x					
21	Reeves Municipal Center	1400 U ST NW			x					
22	RFK Stadium	2400 East Capitol ST SE			x					
23	Spring Road Apartments	1433-1435 Spring RD NW			x					
24	Valley Place	1357 Valley PL SE			x					

Chart A: General Public Shelter Data

#	Name(s)	Address	Historic	School	Not Saleable	Sold	Sold while occupied	Listed for disposal	Listed while occupied	Use Today (not public shelter)
25	801 East Building / MLK Trailers / Hagen Hall / St. Elizabeth Hospital	2700 Martin Luther King AVE SE	x					x	x	Proposed Homeland Security
26	Banneker High School	800 Euclid ST NW	x	x						Public School
27	Banneker Recreation Center	2500 Georgia AVE NW	x	x						Recreation Center
28	Berret Public School / Trust Shelter	1408 Q ST NW	x	x		x	x			Condos
29	Blair School	635 I ST NE		x				x	x	
30	Bundy School	429 O ST NW		x		x				
31	CCNV / Federal City Shelter: New Hope Ministries Open Door Shelter and John Young	425 2nd ST NW						x		
32	Crummel School Trailers New Hope Ministries	1912 Gallaudet ST NE	x	x				x	x	Proposed Community Center
33	DC Village Family Shelter	2-A DC Village LN SW				x			x	Baseball Stadium Parking Lot
34	Emergency Family Shelter No. 1	1531 P ST NW				TBD				
35	Emery School	1725 Lincoln RD NE		x				x	x	
36	Franklin School	925 K ST NW	x	x			x			Proposed Hotel

Chart A: General Public Shelter Data

	Name(s)	Address	Historic	School	Not Saleable	Sold	Sold while occupied	Listed for disposal	Listed while occupied	Use Today (not public shelter)
37	Gales School	65 Massachusetts AVE NW	x	x		x		x		Proposed Private Shelter
38	Kennedy Recreation Center	1401 7th ST NW								
39	La Casa	1436 Irving ST NW						x	x	
40	Madison School / House of Ruth	651 10th ST NE		x				x	x	
41	New Endeavors by Women	611 N ST NW								
42	New Expectations NEXT	2801 13th ST NW								
43	New York Ave Shelter / Housing Assistance Center	1355 New York AVE NE								
44	Nichols Avenue School (later Birney School)	2427 Martin Luther King AVE SE		x				x		
45	Pierce School	1335 G ST NE	x	x		x				Condos
46	Randall School	75 I ST SW	x	x		x	x			Museum

Chart B: Public Shelter Usage by Year

#	Name	Owner	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07
1	4th and New Jersey / L St NW Trailers	DC																										
2	Adams Place	DC																		×	×	×	×	×				
3	Armory	DC						×	×	×	×	×															×	×
4	Braxton Hotel	DC / Leased									×	×	×															
5	Budget Motor Inn	DC / Leased						×	×	×	×	×											×					
6	Capital City Inn	DC / Leased		×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×																	
7	Days Inn	DC / Leased						×	×																			
8	DC General Hospital Hypothermia / Harriet Tubman	DC																					×	×	×	×	×	×
9	Department of Employment Services Parking Garage	DC								×																		
10	District Building	DC								×	×	×																
11	Foggy Bottom Trailers-Whitehurst	DC						×	×	×																		
12	General Scott Inn	DC / Leased						×	×	×	×	×	×															

Chart B: Public Shelter Usage by Year

Name	Owner	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07
13 Guildfield Baptist Church	DC Contract																					x					
14 Jewish Community Center	DC Leased							x																			
15 Judiciary Square Public Building	DC									x	x	x															
16 Meridian Hill Baptist Church	DC Contract																					x	x	x	x	x	x
17 Mt. Vernon Place Trailers	DC							x	x																		
18 Park Road / Families Forward / New Beginnings / Temporary Living Communities	DC Leased						x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		
19 Parkside Hotel	DC Leased	x	x	x	x	x																					
20 Pitts Motor Hotel	DC Leased	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x																	
21 Reeves Municipal Center	DC								x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x					
22 RFK Stadium	DC							x																			
23 Spring Road Apartments	DC Leased																	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
24 Valley Place	DC Leased																				x	x	x	x	x	x	x

Chart B: Public Shelter Usage by Year

Name	Owner	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07
25 **801 East Building / MLK Trailers / Hagen Hall / St. Elizabeth Hospital**	DC						x	x	x						x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
26 **Banneker High School**	DC						x	x															x				
27 **Banneker Recreation Center**	DC																								x	x	
28 **Berret Public School / Trust Shelter**	DC										x	x	x	x			x	x	x								
29 **Blair School**	DC	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
30 **Bundy School**	DC		x																								
31 **CCNV / Federal City Shelter: New Hope Ministries Open Door Shelter and John Young**				x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
32 **Crummel School Trailers New Hope Ministries**	DC								x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		
33 **DC Village Family Shelter**	DC															x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	
34 **Emergency Family Shelter No. 1**	DC	x																									
35 **Emery School**	DC						x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
36 **Franklin School**	DC																								x	x	x

Chart B: Public Shelter Usage by Year

	Name	Owner	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07
37	**Gales School**	DC																							x			
38	**Kennedy Recreation Center**	DC																						x	x	x	x	
39	**La Casa**	DC			x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
40	**Madison School / House of Ruth**	DC	x	x	x	x	x	x	x									x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
41	**New Endeavors by Women**	DC							x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
42	**New Expectations NEXT**	DC																		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
43	**New York Ave Shelter / Housing Assistance Center**	DC																								x	x	x
44	**Nichols Avenue School (later Birney School)**	DC		x	x																							
45	**Pierce School**	DC	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x																
46	**Randall School**	DC	x	x													x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x			

Chart C: Public Shelter Location and Quantity by Year

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Chart C: Public Shelter Location and Quantity by Year

1993 — 9
1997 — 13 — KATIE J. WELLS
1992 — 12
1996 — 12
1991 — 16
1995 — 10
1990 — 17
1994 — 9
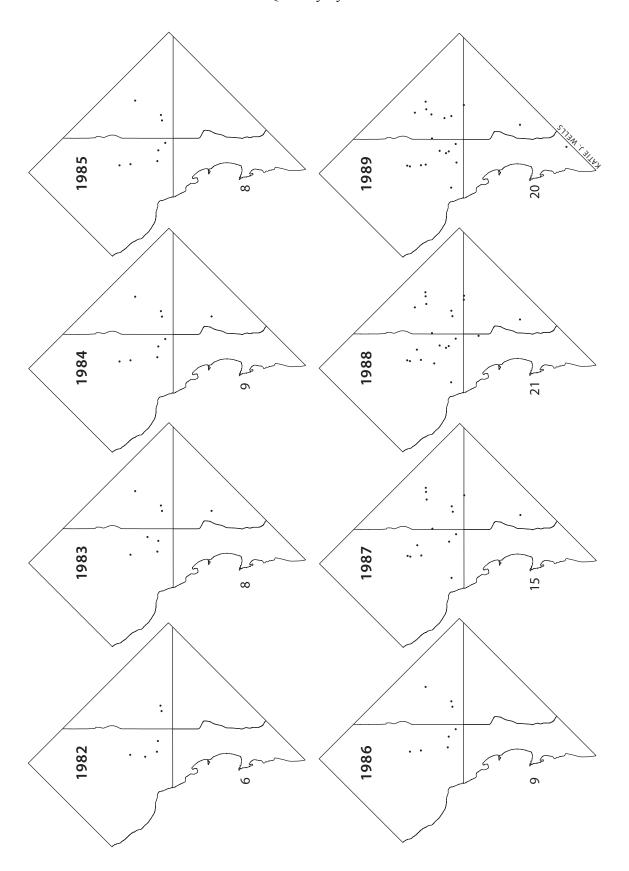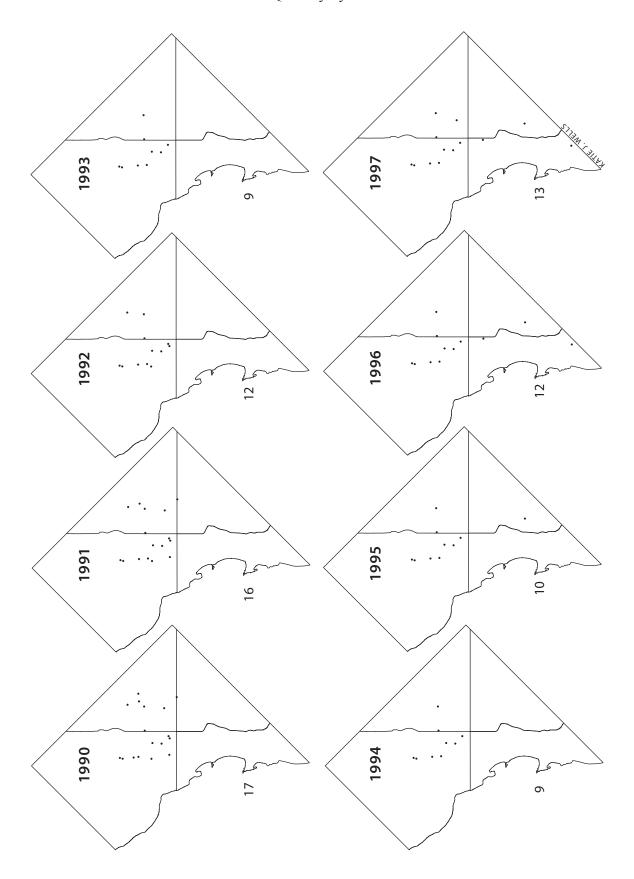
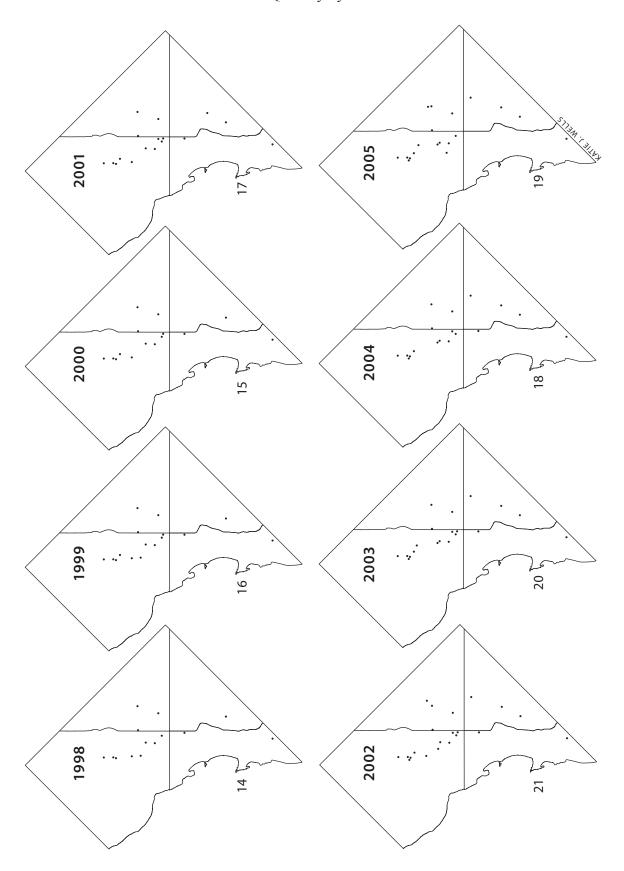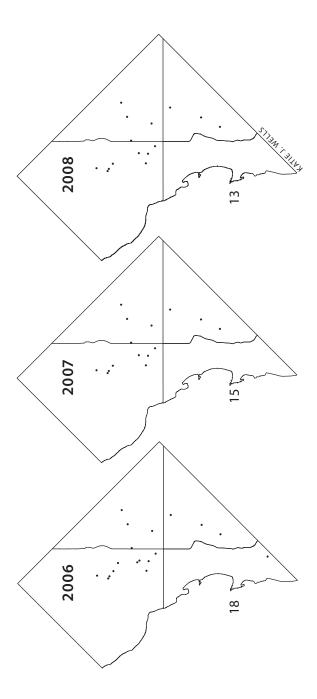Chart C: Public Shelter Location and Quantity by Year

Chart C: Public Shelter Location and Quantity by Year

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Brian Anders, homeless activist (2007, June 20) Telephone interview by author. Washington, D.C.

Tanya Beauchamp, preservationist (2007) Telephone interview by author. Washington, D.C.

Cornell Chappelle, deputy director for the Community Partnership for the Prevention of Homelessness (2007, August 1) Interview by author. Tape recording. The Community Partnership for the Prevention of Homelessness office, 801 Pennsylvania Avenue, SE, Suite 360, Washington, D.C.

Coalition of Housing and Homeless Organizations (2007, July 12) Coalition meeting attended by author. N Street Village, 1333 N Street, NW, Washington, D.C.

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Mike Furnish, cartographic technician at the District of Columbia Office of the Surveyor (2007, August 7) Interview with author. District of Columbia Office of the Surveyor, 941 North Capitol Street, NE, Suite 2700, Washington, D.C.

Chet Grey, director of homeless services at Downtown DC Business Improvement District (2007, July 23) Interview by author. Tape recording. Downtown DC Business Improvement District office, 1250 H Street, NW, Suite 1000, Washington, D.C.

David Hammond, writer for *StreetSense* (2007, June 4) Interview by author. Tape recording. Washington, D.C.

D. Iverson, District of Columbia Mayoral Office (2008, April 3) Telephone communication with author. Syracuse, Washington, D.C.

Ed Lazere, executive director of D.C. Fiscal Policy Institute (2007, June 22) Telephone interview by author. Tape recording. Washington, D.C.

Maryann Luby, outreach worker for the Washington Legal Clinic for the Homeless (2007, June 7) Interview by author. Tape recording. Washington Legal Clinic for the Homeless, 1200 U Street NW, Washington, D.C.

Darlene Matthews, deputy director for the Community Partnership for the Prevention of Homelessness (2007, July 12) Comments at Coalition of Housing and Homeless Organizations meeting. Attended by author. N Street Village, 1333 N Street, NW, Washington, D.C.

Rebecca Miller, staff at D.C. Preservation League (2007) Telephone communication with author. Washington, D.C.

Carol Mitten, former director of the District of Columbia Office of Property Management (2007, August 20) Interview by author. Tape recording. Union Station, Washington, D.C.

Parisa Narouzi, Empower DC staff (2007, August) Interview by author. Tape recording. Empower DC office, 1419 V St, NW, Washington, D.C.

Regina Payton, real estate specialist at the District of Columbia Office of Property Management (2007) Telephone communication with author. Washington, D.C.

David Pirtle, former president of Save Franklin Campaign (2007, August 1) Interview by author. Tape recording. Franklin Square Park, Washington, D.C.

Art Rodgers, senior housing planner at the District of Columbia Office of Planning (2007, June 28) Telephone interview by author. Washington, D.C.

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Julia Smith, staff at Central Union Mission (2007, July 12) Personal communication with author. Washington, D.C.

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KATHRYN J. WELLS

Place of Birth: Canton, Ohio
Date of Birth: April 13, 1982

EDUCATION

SYRACUSE UNIVERSITY   SYRACUSE, NEW YORK
Master of Arts, Geography, May 2008
   Syracuse University five-year Graduate University Fellowship 2006-2011
   Syracuse University Maxwell School Dean's Summer Research Award 2008
   Syracuse University Department of Geography Summer Research Award 2007

THE OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY   COLUMBUS, OHIO
Bachelor of Arts, Comparative Studies and French Literature, March 2004
   Phi Beta Kappa, Magna Cum Laude, and Honors in the Liberal Arts
   Distinction in Comparative Studies for Senior Thesis: *Easton Town Center and the
      Creation of the Retail Public-esque* 2004
   Ohio State University Undergraduate Research Scholarship 2003-2004
   Ohio State University College of Humanities Honorable Mention in Classics:
      Euripides' Portrayal of Women 2002
   Phi Kappa Phi National Honor Society Undergraduate Enrichment Award 2002
   Elizabeth Kiss Amstutz and Virginia S. Hull Study Abroad Scholarships 2002

INSTITUTE FOR THE INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION OF STUDENTS   PARIS, FRANCE
Sorbonne University, September 2002 – December 2002

TEACHING EXPERIENCE

SYRACUSE UNIVERSITY   SYRACUSE, NEW YORK
Teaching Assistant
   Introduction to Cartography 2007
   Introduction to Human Geography 2008

CONFERENCES

Association of American Geographers Conference (Boston, Massachusetts), Paper
   Presentation: *Selling Shelters: Public Property Gentrification in Washington, D.C.*
   2008
Association of American Geographers Conference (San Francisco, California), Paper
   Presentation: *Easton Town Center and the Creation of the Retail Public-esque* 2007
Accepted to present research at the National Conference of Undergraduate Research
   (Indianapolis, Indiana) 2004