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# **CAPITOL NAVY YARD: A 21<sup>st</sup> CENTURY TRANSITION**

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A dissertation submitted to the

Graduate School-New Brunswick

Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey

In partial fulfillment of the requirements

For the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Graduate Program in Planning and Public Policy

Written under the direction of

Frank Popper

And approved by

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New Brunswick, New Jersey

January, 2017

## ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Capitol Navy Yard: A 21<sup>st</sup> Century Transition

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This case study of government's role in development in Washington D.C.'s Navy Yard neighborhood covers the time period 1995-2008 and utilizes multiple source types to answer its research questions. Newspaper articles and other media reports, archived data, official government statistics, visual evidence, and structured surveys are used to construct a granular, narrative timeline of the neighborhood's transition. This narrative is used to analyze the case and explore the literature on government's role in urban development in order to explore perceived gaps in the theory; which include 1) a monolithic understanding of "government," 2) an over-reliance on a search for universal truths, 3) an embedded unit of analysis problem, and 4) the use of methods that are prone to selection bias during the evidence-compilation stage and subjective assessment in the analysis stage. Findings include the conclusions that 1) government matters, even in the era of the decentralized state, 2) urban development is messy, chaotic, unpredictable, contextual, and subject to coincidence and 3) that there is indeed, trouble in the body of urban development theory.

# ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

There are a number of people I would like to thank who helped me immensely along this long road. First and foremost, my family. My wife Sarah was an unflagging well of support, as were my children Ava and Seamus and my parents, David and Janice. Of course, my committee, Frank Popper, Briavel Holcomb, Karen O'Neill, and Justin Hollander. I would be remiss if I did not mention my 5<sup>th</sup> committee member and biggest cheerleader Marc Weiner, who was always on my side. There are too many other friends, colleagues, and family to note in this space, but I appreciate them all. Thank you so much.

# TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION .....	ii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	iii
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	iv
PREFACE .....	v
INTRODUCTION.....	1
RESEARCH QUESTIONS.....	8
CHAPTER 1: LITERATURE REVIEW AND METHODS .....	12
LITERATURE REVIEW .....	12
METHODS.....	30
CHAPTER 2: CASE SETTING.....	45
INTERNAL HISTORICAL CONTEXT .....	45
External Spatial Context.....	62
CHAPTER 3: CASE DESCRIPTION AND NARRATIVE.....	66
CASE PREHISTORY .....	68
Case Players .....	77
Case History .....	88
Aftermath.....	127
CHAPTER 4: ANALYSIS.....	130
Event-Level Analysis.....	131
Transition-Level Analysis.....	165
CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION.....	187
Summary of Research .....	187
Conclusions .....	190
Lessons for Practice and Theory .....	197
Limitations and Future Study.....	202
APPENDIX A: SURVEY .....	206

# PREFACE

**-- September 6, 2015 --**

Running along the Anacostia River in the Navy Yard thinking about what government can and cannot do. I spent the first 18 years of my life a mile from this place but I never could have imagined that I would be here on a Sunday morning, spotting kayakers and great blue herons. It occurred to me, that despite its detractors on the right and the left, that government still has the power to make a huge bet on a place. Studies can assess the eventual return that public sector investment has brought to a specific location, but it is hard to quantify a cue, the overwhelming signal that is emitted when government pushes all of its chips to the center of the table and goes all in

**--The Author--**

# INTRODUCTION

Views on the state vary from Plato's focus on justice and reason (1955) to Hobbes' (1651) nod to the importance of order, Locke's (1713) focus on rights, and Rousseau's (1763) treatise on governing consent. These foundational concepts inspired America to establish a democratic republic in place of monarchy. Later, Marx (1846) viewed the state as a weapon wielded by the bourgeoisie in their struggle against the proletariat and Weber (1919) saw it as an entity who held the sole claim to authority and a monopoly on the use of violence that relied on legitimation.

These historical views assumed government wields centralized power. The last century saw both a shift in the nature of the state apparatus and an evolving theoretical focus that began to view the state as decentralized. Democratic reactions to totalitarianism sought to diffuse power into many directions and the bureaucratic revolution created entities with permanent influence not subject to the wishes of the electorate. The downward diffusion of power happened at the same time that globalization and governmental super-structures such as the UN and the EU dispersed the authority and influence of the state upward. Thus, in this era of post-legitimacy and increasingly complex organizations, the state is better conceptualized as a loose network of formal and informal political, economic, and social links rooted in the social structure (Jessop, 2002). However, the question remains: can government, defined here as simply the loci

where formal institutional power resides, still wield influence? Can it matter in a meaningful sense?

Understanding that “the state” involves non-governmental actors, this dissertation seeks to explore the role that formal “government” played in the development of the Navy Yard neighborhood in Washington, D.C. and examine how governmental forces interacted with the private sector and other entities during the case period (1995-2008) to alter the city form. The investigation of how these agents and entities interacted is this study’s center. On its face, the case of the Navy Yard would appear to be one of Regime Theory, where government had a goal and assembled private-sector partners to achieve it. The truth, however, turns out to be more complex and elusive.

Recent decades saw transformative shifts in both Washington D.C.’s built environment and population. Perhaps no neighborhood demonstrates this more than the Navy Yard, which consisted of vacant lots, light industrial sites, nightclubs, and housing projects, but now features mixed use buildings, upscale residences, a riverside park, and a stadium. The change has been dramatic, but this dissertation does not praise the Navy Yard’s “arc of progress” nor does it lament an “eden of equality lost.”

The goal is to analyze U.S. government-originated development activities, including offering incentives to private market partners, purchasing and clearing of land, rezoning of uses, relocation of residents, and more in order to offer a deeper understanding of



government's role in 21<sup>st</sup> century urban development. The intent is to inform theory and illuminate the possible in practice. Knowledge of what government can, and does, do with their private sector and other partners could potentially offer a useful counter to the argument that government is powerless in the face of economic interests; an argument that too often limits what we believe can be accomplished and alters our perception of who is truly benefitting from government action.

Urban development is defined here as the deliberate attempt to alter the physical characteristics and/or the external image of a given place. Theory on urban governance has characterized government's role amid urban development in a variety of fashions, including Public Choice's efficient deliverer of public goods, Neo-liberalism's nefarious handmaiden of capital, and Regime Theories' strategic assembler of coalitions.

The problems in this body of literature are a pervasively simplistic and monolithic understanding of government and an over-reliance on a search for universal truths about city processes which inevitably fall short in a few fundamental ways, especially generalizability and predictive utility. Most studies of urban development and the urban governance theory that comes from it consist of mere description of what occurred in a specific city context and are therefore more model than theory. For example, Dahl's classic study of Pluralism in New Haven was rooted in a specific historical era of federal level development funding and geographic location. Second, there is an embedded unit of analysis problem wherein they draw conclusions about larger processes of urban

development from examinations of either initial decisions or sub-processes. An example of drawing conclusions about an entire area from a sub-process would be taking a single case of a park which was produced through a public-private partnership within a larger transitioning neighborhood and applying the assumptions about what a public-private effort means to the larger transition of the surrounding neighborhood. Third, urban development studies all too often utilize methods prone to selection bias during the evidence-compilation stage and subjective assessment in the analysis stage. Therefore, what is revealed in case studies of urban development is more a reflection of the researchers values about what constitutes the “public good” and who they consider to be the most important faction of the public than a true account of how the process of development proceeded.

These problems can be rectified through a more complex, granular examination of the process of urban development on the micro level, one that understands that any given place experiencing urban development does so in a complex and unfolding process involving multi-dimensional actors. Additionally, this process does not occur in a linear, simple fashion where the decision to develop a place, the tools used to develop it, and the outcomes of that development are all rooted in the same set of values and desires<sup>1</sup>. There are simply too many actors of varying political affiliations involved in something as complex as urban development in a major U.S. city for that level of control. Additionally,

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<sup>1</sup> For example, neoliberal politicians do not use neoliberal tools to develop a place with the goal of making it more neoliberal. A single politician or organization may try to do this, but because there are so many stakeholders involved, the path to development is often altered.

even political actors with a coherent development philosophy may alter their methods of implementation to fit what is available within a specific context, change their minds, or simply get cold feet and abandon an initiative.

To date, most case studies or theories on urban development rest on a less-granular level examination of institutions or decisions, approaching its study in a more theoretical sense that lacks an adequate examination of what actually occurred on the ground. This research will draw more on a closer, micro-level examination of the process that produced the Navy Yard's transition as well as literature on urban governance, local histories, and more in order to answer its central questions, which are:

- What is the nature of transition in the Navy Yard neighborhood (what happened)?
- What was the process of this transition (how did it happen)?
- What role did government play (why did it happen)?

The Navy Yard, and the District of Columbia, is a promising case study site to answer these questions. It is what Flyvberg (2006) refers to as an atypical or extreme case, one that offers a wealth of the opportunities to examine the basic mechanisms of the phenomena in question. Since D.C. is a unique, and atypical, case given the historical reliance on planning, the expansive influence of governmental bodies and agencies, and the fact that its development differed from its Eastern Seaboard neighbor cities due to its relative lack of industry and the fact that its city form was produced less by economic and immigration patterns but instead by social factors and politics,

Additionally, D.C. is a diverse and eminently unequal city that features proximity between various groups with both very high and very low education, income, and poverty levels among its population, plus a longstanding legacy of social movements and high levels of political participation from much of the population. Finally, the granular methods, reliant on a narrative timeline constructed for analysis, are somewhat atypical and have not been employed at length in other efforts. All of these factors ensure that a case study of government's developmental role in the Navy Yard will offer enough interaction and contestation as the Washington Metropolitan region's many diverse, and competing, entities link with government to produce a place that aligns with their interests.

The research uses a case-study methodology and draws on multiple forms of data; including newspaper articles, media reports and other texts, archived data, official government statistics, and structured surveys. These sources led to a rich, narrative timeline of the case period, the primary vehicle for answering the research questions. Analysis of the narrative included an examination of processes at two units of analysis; including the Event Level, a single implementation occurring within the larger neighborhood level process, and the Transition Level -- or the holistic case - i.e., the narrative as a single unit. These levels are not conceived of as discrete and bifurcated, but instead as part of a continuous, and admittedly somewhat ambiguous, continuum. The primary distinction between them is that the event level involves a singular process, such as a decision, a project, or a stand-alone goal, whereas the transition level involves

one or more discrete events that, when occurring simultaneously in place and time alter the makeup of a place.

This research is unaware of any studies that have split examinations of urban development into event and transition levels or considered the basic unit of analysis issue. Using both levels demonstrates that, while some theories like Pluralism or Neoliberalism, may apply reasonably well to what is happening at the event level, multiple theories can be considered true within a single event. Additionally, while some theories, like Regime Theory and Growth Machine, may apply well at the Transition Level, they are often so general and all-encompassing that their practical utility is compromised.

For these reasons attempting to use these theories of urban governance and development as a set of comparable perspectives, or to adjudicate between them, is futile because they are not even rooted in the same level of analysis and cannot be meaningfully compared. This research demonstrates that government is not monolithic and that it can matter even in the era of the decentralized state, that urban development is perhaps a messier and more chaotic process than previously considered, that it is not something that can be generalized to all locations using a single theoretical strand, and that there are major shortcomings in theories of urban development. What these theories supply is a range of practical possibilities, or simply a menu of options, a group of non-mutually exclusive tools available to policymakers which can, and should, be applied in multiple ways within a single case of urban development. Finally, it shows that urban development

is best understood at the transition level through the use of a John Kingdon (2003) influenced garbage can approach which incorporates more than one understanding and views the process as messy, chaotic, non-linear, and context-specific.

## RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The case's three primary research questions represent the most efficient way to investigate and present a case of urban development. First, the research asks the two descriptive questions of "what happened" in the neighborhood using both quantitative and qualitative measures before examining "how it happened," through a detailed investigation and narrative presentation of the case process. Finally, the research proceeds towards the aim of explaining "why it happened."

Note that these three research questions as formulated are ordered here in an inverted chronological sequence from how urban development actually plays out. Urban development proceeds in a chronological, linear fashion from the "why" something happened, be that a decision or a set of decisions by agents, entities, or groups, to the "how" and "the further why" it happened as those agents, entities, and groups implement their agenda. Only in the end, can we assess what happened during the time period. However, while urban development is described in a linear fashion here that is not meant to assert that it is a clean process of moving from point A, or the original condition of a neighborhood, to point B, the condition of a neighborhood after urban development or that there is a single, unifying ideology guiding the process. Instead, it is asserted that

this process is messy, chaotic, and multi-layered where multiple instances of decisions are implemented in a single neighborhood simultaneously which are often interdependent and do not adhere to a clear progression. More detail, including sub-questions and information on how these questions were answered follows, grouped by research question.

**What is the nature of the transition in the Navy Yard neighborhood? (what happened?)**

The neighborhood's physical form is described and the nature of change in the demographic landscape and the built environment during the case time period is expressed in quantifiable measures, such as demographic variables like race/ethnicity, and in qualitative terms, such as discourses about place and other thick descriptions. These descriptions go beyond simply describing behavior and events to considering the context in which the behavior and events occur, which will differ by the positionality of the various agents and entities. In addition, the case seeks to describe the built environment's transition as expressed in quantifiable measures, such as economic indicators, and qualitative measures, such as expectations of the area from the real estate and/or development sectors and the feelings of residents both old and new.

**What was the process of this transition? (how did it happen)**

To answer this question, it was necessary to discover and discuss the history of the Navy Yard occurring before the onset of the case, answering such questions as how did the place evolve in the past, what land use patterns and political and social factors drove that

evolution, and what actors or entities were present. This brief historical description conveys an understanding of the known case preconditions, patterns, and/or path dependencies that exist.

After the historical case boundary of 1995, which marks both the initial, large place-changing event in the Navy Yard and the end of the Marion Barry era brought about by the presence of a congressionally-imposed financial control board, presentation of which actors and entities were involved is given. This collection of actors and entities consists of government agencies, such as planning departments; not-for-profits like business improvement districts, and community development corporations as well as developers, residents, local and national politicians, agents from the financial sector and more. This list reveals and establishes the full extent of which governmental, economic, and community groups were involved.

In order to fully understand the process of the neighborhood's change, a timeline and narrative sequence of history for the bounded case timeframe is presented detailing the interaction of all of the above listed agents, entities, trends, natural settings, and other contextual factors. In other words, once the playing entities are established, there is a description of how the game of urban development unfolded. It is crucial to situate the sequence of events correctly in order see how the path was forged and avoid conflating effect with cause. Special attention is paid here to understand how agents or entities



adjusted their goal, or their outlook, based on what was occurring within the case, and what role was played by conflict and/or cooperation.

**What role did government play? (why did it happen)**

In order to answer this question, the narrative is linked to the larger body of literature on urban development at both the event level and the transition level. This analysis reveals what roles were played by government and answers how government engages with the other participants in order to inform both theory and practice. At the outset of the research, it was believed that government matters. During the course of the research it was affirmed that government matters, but also that it behaves in a multi-layered, complex fashion, it is often in conflict with itself, and it's interaction with business and/or community interests is not always predictable.

# CHAPTER 1: LITERATURE REVIEW AND METHODS

## LITERATURE REVIEW

This review explores theories of urban governance in order to discover what is known about who engages in urban development (a form of place-making), how the process plays out, and the role that government arguably plays in the process.

### Urban Governance Theories and Urban Development

Theories on urban governance are concerned with who makes decisions about what will happen in cities, how those decisions are made, and the manner in which implementation proceeds. Implementation is especially concerned with what tools are used, which segments of the population wins, and which segments lose as a result of implementation.

Classical democratic theory asserts that government has the responsibility for, and the power to, make governing decisions, such as those on urban development, on behalf of citizens whose consent is given at the ballot box. Before the 1950's, political theory often treated the political and economic spheres as independent and only considered the formal actions of each. For example, Weber's (1919) classic work on "politics as a vocation" rarely considers how economic agents influence politicians and most often mentions business either only as a metaphor to explain how political processes work or as a reason that allows some politicians to be independently wealthy enough to pursue

political careers. In the 1950's, informal arrangements and the quiet, though pervasive, influence of economic agents on political decision-making was examined further by pluralist and elite theory. Since then, Urban Governance theories have debated the primacy of the political or economic sphere, engaged by further renditions of Elite Theory and Pluralism: including Neo-Marxism, and Public Choice; the political economy approaches of Growth Machine and Urban Regime Theory; and updated versions of Neo-Marxism and Pluralism; Neoliberalism and New Institutionalism, respectively.

#### Elite Theory and Pluralism

Hunter's (1953) study of political decision-making came at a time when Atlanta was developing into a regional power. Using the reputational method, he surveyed a list of powerful figures in government, business, finance, academia, and other fields, asking them which names on the list were the most important to the political decision-making process. He found that names from finance and business were perceived to be the most important and that the only person included in the most powerful 40 from the political sphere was the Mayor. Hunter concluded that these financial elites constituted a power structure who collectively determined city policy, including developmental policy. This clique informally decided policy agendas behind closed doors at elite institutions and exclusive clubs, then pushed for formal action by political figures, who they controlled through campaign contributions, withdrawal of credit, leveraging their control over employment, and other coercive methods.

Dahl's (1961) study of New Haven, undertaken during a historic period of urban renewal, constituted a direct response to Hunter. Using decisional analysis, he contended that, while a small circle of people controlled decision-making, they were not an elite or a hegemonic power structure. Instead, they evolved from old guard 19<sup>th</sup> century elitism into prominent roles in a pluralistic arrangement of patricians and entrepreneurs as well as social and economic notables representing different urban factions. While these leaders held consensual support for the basic features of the system, such as belief in the free market and a reliance on law and order, they engaged in diverse and fragmented sets of issues. Therefore, power was distributed amongst them and central decision-making authority was retained by an autonomous state. Ultimately, the government could be held to account through elections and politicians would be responsive to coalitions of the public, if they emerged.

Elite Theory and Pluralism advanced the idea that the distinction between the political and the economic was thin and they steered the governance conversation away from formal actions and toward the informal. However, both studies had shortcomings. Hunter's survey rested on perception of reputation, which is both subjective and tenuous. Dahl's theories were widely lauded despite his somewhat problematic assertion that government would respond to public coalitions if they emerged before New Haven exploded during the mid to late 1960's with local resistance to urban renewal that proceeded without their consent. Despite these shortcomings, their ideas set the stage for theories that followed and they would dictate the parameters of the ensuing debate.

## Neo-Marxism and Public Choice Theory

After the social unrest of the 1960's, Neo-Marxist thinkers like Lefebvre, Castells, Smith, and Harvey advanced the view that urban space is both an expression of the social structure and a site for the capital/labor conflict. Their theories are not primarily about government, per se, but they imply that government is little more than a bystander with regards to policy decisions on urban form or development. To them, politics takes a back seat to capitalism and capitalists, who hold the true power to shape the city.

Lefebvre (1974) asserts that space reflects the social relations of the mode of production and argues that, in capitalist societies, economic agents and their accomplice, the urban planner, are the dominant forces in the development of urban places. For Neil Smith (1979, 1984), urban form is driven by capital's need to pursue rent gaps, or the difference between actual current land value and potential land value at its best use. Capital moves through the urban in a seesaw pattern, this "uneven development is social inequality blazoned into the geographical landscape, and it is simultaneously the exploitation of that geographical unevenness for certain socially determined ends" (1984 p. 155). Further, Harvey (1989) posits that the production of the physical and social landscape of the city is shaped by capital circulation and accumulation logic, which results in uneven development. The Neo-Marxist view posits that government's primary function is to create a foundation of opportunities for capital. Furthermore, this catering constitutes a race to the bottom rooted in short-term goals that ultimately only benefit a narrow slice of economic elites and produces instability for everyone else.

Public Choice theory was advanced by Peterson's 1981 work "City Limits." To him, the Pluralist and Elite Theorist's hyper-focus on local actors does not account for the external constraints that city leaders face during the decision-making process. Peterson contends that municipalities must compete with each other for residents, and especially for wealthier, less service-needy residents, largely because citizens have the ability to vote with their feet. At the same time, cities are beset by difficulties, including the need to provide expensive services, thus they are compelled to engage in the development of land, labor, and capital in order to improve their attractiveness to both firms and potential residents. This development strategy produces public, non-excludable goods as well as jobs, a lower tax burden, and other amenities. Government responds to the market signals sent by the public and therefore state decision-making is rational, and ultimately in the interest of the general public, as it efficiently delivers quality of life. However, Peterson maintains that the power relationship between the economic and political sphere amid development is not static nor is it pre-determined, instead it will depend on the nature of the specific project that is pursued.

Neo-Marxism and Public Choice share common roots in classical economic theory, but they hold vastly divergent understandings of government, urban development, and what constitutes the public good. Both however, are subject to critique for their simplicity of explanation; Public Choice theory rationalizes resistance to urban development through the use of functionalism, whereas Neo-Marxism is a meta-theory which is both

economically deterministic and Universalist. These theories reinforced the theoretical gulf first opened by the oppositional elitist and pluralistic understandings of government. Neo-Marxists view government as having very little agency, whereas Public Choice believes that government can operate of its own accord, despite the external limitations it faces. In this sense, Neo-Marxism and Public Choice very much follow in the theoretical tradition of Elite Theory and Pluralism, respectively, including retaining the limitation of supplying a simple explanation.

#### Political Economy Approaches

In the 1970's the political economy approach introduced a balance-of-power understanding of the relationship between economic and political spheres. This approach is not interested in debating which sphere is dominant so much as it is interested in how relatively-distributed power is when economic and political actors collaborate to pursue common agendas. Growth Machine and Urban Regime Theory have roots in Elite Theory and Pluralism, respectively, but they each acknowledge that both spheres have a prominent role to play in urban development.

Molotch (1976), and later Logan and Molotch (1987), argue that the city itself is a Growth Machine, comprised of land-based elites, business, government, media, universities, and others. These land-based elites own property and want their ownership to advantage them, as opposed to elites in competing localities. In this view, government's role is to create conditions amenable to growth; including favorable tax and labor policies and the

enforcement of law and order. The power to alter the city form is determined by these land-based elites and community life is subservient to Growth Machine decisions, which strain resources and pollute the environment, compromising the finances and quality-of-life for the majority of residents. Thus, urban development is a zero-sum game which amounts to a transfer of quality-of-life and wealth from the general public to a narrow segment of the elite. Growth Machine is a direct challenge to the underlying assumption of Public Choice Theory that there can be “public goods,” or even a true public will, stemming from the contradiction between the desire of land-based elites to increase the exchange value of land and efforts by the general public to enhance its use value. Additionally, Growth Machine theory eschews the economic determinism of Neo-Marxism and views Pluralism and Elitism as indistinguishable since, no matter which theory produces the more apt description, both arrangements are decidedly pro-growth.

Unlike Growth Machine theorists, which assert that economic agents hold fixed power over political agents, early regime theorists such as Fainstein (1986) “regard the state and capital as the two major initiators of redevelopment activity,” (p. 245) but assert that the balance of power between the political and the economic is not fixed; instead it is a complex interaction that shifts over time with periodic struggles over the nature of the relationship. Elkin (1987) suggests that political actors are not coopted by business interests, as Growth Machine and Neo-Marxism suggest, but that they rationally pursue economic growth strategies due to the structural conditions of getting elected and staying in office. Further, Fainstein argues that government’s role in urban development is not



easily characterized, noting that the political sphere “helps disparate business interests to act collectively,” “carries out needed functions that are inherently unprofitable,” “frequently subsidizes other activities that turn a profit only because part of the bill is publicly paid,” and “mediates conflicts among opposing social groups” (ibid p. 1).

Stone (1989) fully articulated Urban Regime Theory in his study of Atlanta from 1946-1988. He defines a regime as an informal, long-term coalition involving actors both internal and external to government, with access to institutional resources, who utilize diffuse strengths in order to engage in a sustained role in the excision of governing power. For Stone, winning elections is not sufficient and government cannot accomplish its policy agendas alone. Thus coalitions are formed that embody power and the partnerships necessary to govern and meet policy goals such as urban development. Thus, political leadership is understood as the capacity to assemble coalitions and interact with partners over time.

Mossberger and Stoker (2001) note that regimes differ from Growth Machines in that they allow for a variety of agendas, not just urban development, and Stone (1989) enumerates four types; Maintenance of Status Quo, Development, Middle Class Progressive, and Lower Class Opportunity Expansion regimes. The developmental regime, which is of most interest here, is a governing arrangement that is mostly concerned with the growth of the city and therefore needs the resources and the expertise of the business community to accomplish its goals.

The primary utility of the political economy approach is that it considers a range of actors; acknowledging and explaining the interactive relationships between them. However, as Gottdiener notes (1985), while property development is the primary driver of urban change, growth coalitions actually include a wider scope of actors than the theory enumerates and that capital's ability to make money in real estate is not a risk-free endeavor where the "winners" are pre-determined. Additionally, Growth Machine, admittedly, has a hyper-focus on local actors. Finally, as Imbroscio (2011) contends, Regime Theories' utility is more descriptive than prescriptive, and it does not incorporate a detailed understanding of the market mechanism's influence on urban development agendas. However, both theories offer a more nuanced understanding of government's role in urban development than prior efforts.

#### Neoliberalism and New Institutionalism

Not all recent urban governance theories are political economy approaches. Neoliberalism theory and the New Institutionalism evolved from Neo-Marxism and Classic Institutionalism, respectively. In the twilight of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Jessop (2002) notes that the pressures of globalization and the popularity of free market ideology has led to the collapse of the Keynesian Welfare National State, an ideal state type typified by full employment, readily available social welfare, a focus on the national scale, and direct provision of government programs. This corresponds with the subsequent rise of the Schumpeterian Workfare Post-National Regime, an ideal state type based on the work of

Joseph Schumpeter featuring a knowledge economy, flexible labor force, limited welfare, a focus on other scales, and the indirect provision of programs. With this shift, there is the accompanying shift from government being the primary agent of social provisions to acting as partners within a larger arrangement in the distribution of public programs and development.

In this context, Marxian analysis turned its focus to the neoliberal state. Neoliberalism refers to a general trend in the late 20<sup>th</sup> century public policy, where traditional laissez-faire market forces are prioritized in decision-making. Jessop (2002) dates the emergence of the neoliberal turn in the U.S. and the UK to the late 1970's, referring to it as neoliberal regime shift and asserts that Neoliberalism "promotes market-led economic and social restructuring" (Ibid). Harvey (1989) argues that the state has evolved from a managerial form of governance to an entrepreneurial one as the globalized economy entered a period of flexible accumulation. He further contends that the public-private partnership is now the cornerstone of urban development policy, as it can shift public resources to the private sector without an accompanying transfer of accountability.

As in Neo-Marxist theory, the role of government in the neoliberal state is to abet capitalists in the pursuit of economic gain and power is held in markets. Sager (2011) observes that "Neoliberalism mobilises urban space as an arena for market-oriented economic growth and elite consumption practices," (p. 149) and asserts that neoliberal city policies include, but are not limited to city marketing, urban development, the

attraction of the creative class, incentives for development, public-private partnerships, gentrification, and business friendly zones. Hence, Neoliberalism has a special relevance in an urban development context. Furthermore, both Hackworth (2007) and Brenner and Theodore (2010) assert that Neoliberalism in a city context is an ideology, a mode of city governance, political strategy, and a driver of urban change characterized by a reduction in public subsidies and regulations and an aggressive pursuit of privatization.

According to Hackworth (2007), the neoliberal urban development strategy is pursued by politicians largely because of the power that bond rating agencies and financial markets hold over them. Examples of neoliberal development include public-private partnerships that produced Harbor Place in Baltimore and the London Docklands. Sites (2003) asserts that, under Neoliberalism, the state acts as shock troops for capitalists; clearing away the remnants of the former, more permanent, state apparatus in favor of the pursuit of dynamic, poorly-regulated, short term economic gain which affects the city form through these pursuits. The primary motivation for this behavior is the fear of being made obsolete by globalization and the sense that there is no alternative, hence the state becomes both victim and accomplice to Neoliberalism in a race to the bottom that enriches the few at the expense of the many.

The public-private partnership (PPP) is the cornerstone of neoliberal urban development. Sager (2011) offers a definition of PPP's as a union of two independent bodies that agree to cooperate on an agenda, create organizational and institutional arrangements to plan

and implement a program, and form a relationship built on the sharing of information, risk, and reward. While the public-private partnership is not necessarily a new political tool, they have been employed throughout American and European history, but the opportunity to forge PPP's is now enhanced in the context of the downsized state, as Jessop (2002) notes "urban and regional governments and growth coalitions may gain a key role as strategic partners of business in this changed context" (p. 3). Miraftab (2004) further contends that PPP's are the preferred strategy of both neoliberals and neoconservatives because it enables the market and allows private entities to benefit from the resources of the government. Furthermore, these partnerships make decisions about the city form within a protected bubble, safe from the fear of backlash and being held accountable at the ballot box.

New Institutionalism is less a theory of urban governance or urban politics and more a way of examining and conceptualizing the nature of institutions themselves, including those that govern and engage in urban development. Like classic institutionalism, this perspective considers institutions to be the central component of political life, but it differs in three essential ways; it incorporates the informal as well as the formal, it examines how institutions embody power and power relationships, and it views institutions as malleable and evolving entities.

Neoliberalism and New Institutionalism represent 21<sup>st</sup> century versions of Neo-Marxism and Classic Institutionalism, respectively. As such, both are more applicable to current

understandings of governance than their theoretical predecessors; however they suffer from some of their ascendant's shortcomings. Neoliberalism is still too economically deterministic and engages in concept-stretching with regards to Neoliberalism's ability to be a hegemonic and all-encompassing ideology, mode of governance, and a driver of urban change. It is more likely that Neoliberalism is the outcome of a larger process of political contestation, not a shared will or an ideology without alternative. Additionally, the application of Neoliberalism to cases of urban development assume the wholesale transfer of quality of life and wealth directly from the public to elites in the private sector. New Institutionalism has promise for understanding how dynamic and multifaceted organizations like government entities might behave amid urban development, especially with regards to its structuration-friendly understanding of institutions as malleable organizations, but can it also fully account for economic factors and informal power arrangements?

#### Theoretical Comparison, Urban Development, and Urban Change

The conversation on urban governance and urban development has evolved for more than half a century and the theories presented above have often constituted a direct, responsive critique of each other. Dahl's pluralistic arrangements contradict Hunter's Elite Theory, Neo-Marxism's understanding of power supplements Pluralism's absence of authority on the subject, and Regime Theories' wide networks of actors act as a corrective against the economic determinism and narrow structures of elite actors provided by the Neo-Marxist and Neoliberal perspectives.

However, these theories have emerged out of specific urban situations, often case studies, thus they have temporal and spatial roots in context-dependent, urban, historical situations and sets of governing relations. Hunter and Stone studied Atlanta, while Harvey looked at Baltimore, and Dahl examined New Haven, each studied at a particular period of time with institutions particular to that period. Therefore, while each have something interesting to say about any urban governing arrangement and development process; their ability to generalize to different contexts and different time periods will vary. Therefore, this is a primary limitation of generalizability within the theory. What might be true in New Haven at a particular time may not be as true in Atlanta, Baltimore, or Washington, D.C. in a different historical era or context. As such, they are best viewed as a set of cases that, when viewed as a whole, can define a range of possibilities, or a menu of options, for the phenomenon under study.

Despite their mutual critique and diverse spatio-temporal roots, they are similar in three basic ways. First, their primary matter of concern is to determine who truly governs. The treatment of the political and economic as separate spheres and an inability to address informal actions or arrangements left classical political science's perspective on governing lacking. Since then, theories have investigated the balance of power between spheres through the examination of both formal and informal interactions. Second, each is rooted in an urban development or urban change context. Dahl's pluralist circles in 1960's New Haven were most concerned with urban renewal, Harvey's Baltimore of the 1980's

engaged in public-private partnerships to produce the festival marketplace of Harbor Place, and Molotch, Logan, Stone, and Peterson were directly focused on understanding either the informal arrangements or the market signals that positioned development at the top of most urban agendas. Finally, no matter who truly governs, all imply that the city form and the development of urban places is a direct outcome of interaction between a set of political, economic, and social actors. These relationships constitute a diffuse constellation of actors and entities, all of whom hold a vision of the potential future of place, and the power imbalance between them, embedded within the larger socio-political and economic context, is what determines whose vision is ultimately fulfilled.

These theories also differ in three main ways; their view on the distribution of power among elite actors or spheres, how widely benefits are disbursed to the general population, and the nature of government's role in urban development. While they agree that relationships between actors and entities are what produces the city form, they disagree on the scope of which actors and entities can participate in an agency-oriented and meaningful fashion. To differing degrees, Elite Theory, Neo-Marxism, Neoliberalism, and Growth Machine assert that economic actors and entities wield more power while Pluralism, Public Choice, Regime Theory, and New Institutionalism contend that political actors and entities may be more important.

They also disagree on how widely the benefits of development are disseminated. Theories which assert that economic actors are more powerful during the process also



tend to argue that benefits are narrowly distributed among elites, while theories which imply the primacy of political agents assert that benefits are more generally given to both elites and the wider public. Finally, all imply a characterization of the nature of government's role amidst development. Elite theory, Neo-Marxism, Growth Machine, and Neoliberalism assert that government is more of a static bystander or nefarious handmaiden of capital while Pluralism, Public Choice, Regime Theory, and Neo-institutionalism imply that government is more complex and inclusive and contend that it can potentially act as a skilled deliverer of public goods or act as a strategic assembler of coalitions.

Viewed as a whole, these theories supply a broad understanding of how government participates in the urban development process. There is no need to adjudicate between them in an attempt to discover which one is the most "true" and there is no cause to engage in a vain search for a general theory on developmental processes. If anything, we need a full understanding that can only come from viewing all of them together as a set in order to see what is possible. Since theory influences what we believe can happen in practice, we need to ensure that all potential views on what government can do are represented. If there are gaps in theory, we need to fill them with case studies that do not behave exactly like those that already exist.

## Literature Review Summary

This review has demonstrated that government's role has been characterized in a variety of fashions. However, to date, the focus on the nature of government's role amidst urban development has been hampered by a few issues, including; a pervasively simplistic and monolithic understanding of government; an over-reliance on a search for universal truths about city processes which inevitably fall short on the criteria of both generalizability and predictive ability; an embedded unit of analysis problem wherein they draw conclusions about processes of urban development from examinations of either decisions or sub-processes; and the use of methods that are prone to selection bias during the evidence compilation stage and subjective assessment in the analysis stage.

Theories of urban governance each have something to add to an understanding of how government participates in urban development. When examining the development of a neighborhood such as the Navy Yard, all of these theories will have some relevance, or they will supply ways to interpret and make sense of such transition. Since D.C. is a unique, and atypical, case given the historical reliance on planning, the expansive influence of governmental bodies and agencies, and the fact that its development differed from its Eastern Seaboard neighbor cities due to its relative lack of industry and the fact that its city form was produced less by economic and immigration patterns but instead by social factors and politics, the Navy Yard should be an apt place to examine theory anew in a different context. However, the aim should not necessarily be to adjudicate between theories, dispelling of some and accepting others, but instead to

apply them to this specific case in order to reject, extend, advance, or incorporate the more adequate ones into a richer understanding.

## METHODS

This section provides a rationale for case selection, details of the case, more details on the research questions, data collection process, and the method of analysis.

### Rationale

If urban development is truly a messy and chaotic process, government is not monolithic, and the process of urban development is best understood when more than one perspective is incorporated into the analysis, then in order to add to the conversation on government's role in urban development, detailed attention must be paid to the evolving process of how a given area's transition occurred and what interaction occurred among relevant agents and entities. Once this has been accomplished, this case can be inserted into the larger set of cases on urban development which cumulatively provide a balanced set of observations and theoretical understandings.

As Flyvbjerg (2006) notes, a set of cases makes a sample, and this sample layers our knowledge, allowing us to plumb a wealth of context-dependent understandings to attain expert level knowledge on a topic. Ideally, these cases contain a range of possibilities and, as we investigate each, we allow for a freshness of interpretation that is informed, but not tainted by, the constraints and limits of past theory. Additionally, in an urban studies context, Harvey (1989) suggests that the study of governance ought to include the examination of a number of cases from different situations. Therefore, we ought to

constantly add to the sites and studies from which we draw our understandings of phenomena and be sure that our sample of cases is sufficiently balanced enough to provide a detailed picture.

The case of The Navy Yard in Washington, D.C. is a promising site to investigate the urban development role of government for a number of reasons. The city that the neighborhood is embedded in has a rich history from L'Enfant, McMillan, and more of producing place through the efforts of government and urban planning. The neighborhood's transition involved a myriad of interests, organizations, and institutions embedded within D.C.'s public and private sectors. It is nested in a diverse and vastly unequal city, which features both very high and very low education, income, and poverty levels among its population as well as a longstanding legacy of social movements and political participation from all segments of the population.

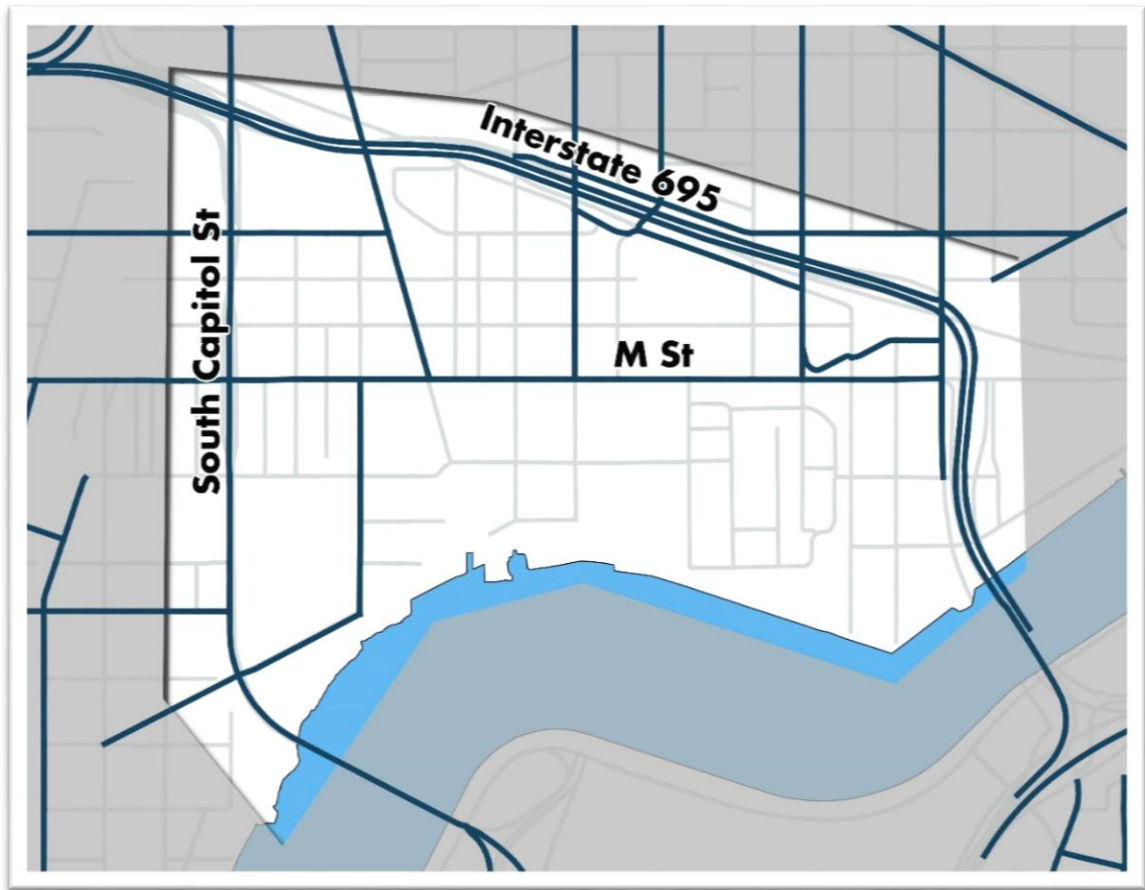
All of these factors ensure that a case study focused on government's role in the Navy Yard's transition will feature a sufficient level of activity as the region's many diverse, and often competing, entities interact with government and attempt to produce a place that aligns with their interests. Finally, D.C. as a place necessarily draws our attention to government and forces us to consider what government can, and does, do. It may offer a counterbalance to past theory, which has downplayed the role of government in place production, and might serve as an example of how government can participate meaningfully in that process. For these reasons, The Navy Yard is what Flyvberg (2006)

refers to as an extreme or atypical case that “can reveal more because they activate more actors and more basic mechanisms in the situation studied” (p. 229). These multiple mechanisms and actors will allow for the study of the interaction of governmental, economic, and social entities which produced the city form to inform theory and determine what can happen in practice.

### Case Details and Research Questions

This research will utilize a case study methodology. Spatially, as shown in Figure 1:1, the geographic case boundary is the neighborhood confined by the Anacostia River to the south, South Capitol Street to the West, and the Southeast-Southwest Freeway (I-695) to the north and east. Temporally, the relevant time frame is 1995 to 2008. However, evidence relevant to the case is drawn from before 1995 and from outside of the geographically delineated area in order to understand the holistic context within the case is embedded.

**Figure 1:1: Map of the Case Study Area**



This is a single case study which aims to provide an ideographic description in order to extend, advance, and/or incorporate a set of theories. The research engages a variety of source material, including newspaper articles, media reports and other texts, archived data, official government statistics, and in-depth interviews to investigate and present the findings, but the main vehicle for analysis is the production of a thick-description, narrative timeline that consists of a series of simultaneously-occurring events that together tell the story of the neighborhood's transition. The narrative and analysis aims to answer the central and sub-research questions as discussed in turn below.

What is the nature of the transition in the Navy Yard neighborhood? (what happened)

A section that summarizes the overall nature of how the neighborhood evolved in the past few decades is presented in order to answer this question. The first question in terms of neighborhood evolution consists of change in the social/demographic landscape that is who lived here then and who lives here now, and change in the built environment, that is what the non-human cityscape looked like then and now. Sources to answer these questions include official statistics, text from media and other content as well as visual evidence, such as photographs.

In order to answer this question, presentation of the necessary and relevant information, or pre-history, needed for the reader to understand the case's spatial and temporal context is given. Just as people are situated, so are places, thus it was vital to address both how the city at-large, within which the case is nested, and how the neighborhood in question evolved over time. The primary vehicle for conveying this information is through the use of a narrative that weaves together the cast of characters who contributed to the historical path of the social and physical environment of the neighborhood. This understanding of what happened also required a consideration of the historical context as given extensively through narrative, but also a consideration of which contexts or situations spatially external to the case affected what happened in the neighborhood.



What was the process of this transition? (how did it happen)

The bulk of the case narrative focuses on how and why the neighborhood changed: examining both larger trends and policies as well as purposive, strategic behavior of the actors and entities involved. The first step to addressing this question is the presentation of a comprehensive list of entities involved in the neighborhood transition; including figures and groups from government, business, and the community. After the introduction to the cast of characters, the narrative timeline of events serves as an account of the process that led to the production of this specific place.

This is the central mission of this case study, to uncover the mechanics of how the process unfolded and what role(s) government played. The first step to making such a determination was the production of a sketch timeline, or sequence of events. At first, this timeline was sparse but it was layered through the use of source material and then further layered into a rich, textured piece using material from interviews and other sources.

What role did government play? (why did it happen)

The analytic process includes the isolation of both five event level occurrences and the transition level narrative in a two-step process: what occurred is presented and a comparison to urban development theories is made. These five events were selected purposefully after data collection and surveys revealed that they were the most

prominent pieces of urban development within the case period. Preliminary propositions were that government does matter and that it can engage the urban development process in a meaningful fashion. Additionally, it was believed that the way government behaved in this case differed from the current body of literature. The Navy Yard neighborhood changed its form primarily because government acted as a catalyst for change and that multiple forms of government interacted with business interests and community residents as loose coalition to make this happen. Prima facie, this would appear to be a case of Regime Theory but it is believed that the process was far more complex than that theory suggests.

#### Data Collection Process

Data was collected from a variety of sources in order to triangulate the details of the case from multiple perspectives. As such the source material used included newspaper and media reports, government statistics, document analysis, surveys, and visual evidence. These materials were gathered in roughly this order chronologically in a strategic fashion to build the case narrative into a rich, full, textured story.

#### Newspaper and Media Reports

The first step in building the case narrative was to compile a skeletal timeline of events occurring in the neighborhood. This was initially done through a review of existing websites which had compiled their own timelines of the neighborhood's transition, including one issued by the Capitol Riverfront Business Improvement District (BID) and

one from the privately maintained website/blog JDland.com. While these sources were able to provide very rough estimates and time frames of the case events, more detail was necessary for a project of this scope. Therefore, a meticulous search of media reports from the Washington Post was performed using Factiva. The Washington Post was selected because it is the paper of record for Washington D.C. and is widely regarded as a prestigious and resource-rich media organization.

Using the search term “Navy Yard” thousands of potential sources from 1990 to 2010 were identified and reviewed. Such a broad search term was used in order to cast a very wide net in looking for potentially important information. Hundreds of articles that were deemed important were flagged and downloaded in the chronological order that they were released by the Post. These articles were then printed out and read and relevant material contained within was highlighted. After this process was complete the skeletal timeline that was already established was filled in with more events and more detail through the production of a full narrative presented in Chapter three.

The narrative that was built from the Washington Post was rich and full, but it was also supplemented with information from other material and sources available on the web. While the Post is a very reliable source with the resources necessary to cover most all aspects of a development in a large neighborhood, it is also traditional and establishment media, and subject to a bias towards establishment figures in government and business. As such, the stories they tell are often written to benefit those who have the resources

and ability to influence media content. Therefore, as the narrative was being written, constant web searches were conducted to supplement the story by filling in details that were omitted from the articles or to find other viewpoints on the events, such as web pages maintained by those involved, like the remembrance page for the Capper/Carrollsborg housing project, alternate press outlets or blogs, such as the Washington City Paper, Greater Greater Washington; or more mainstream, but less established press outlets such as The GW Hatchet and the Washington Business Journal. These searches were done largely using google with key terms that varied due to the events being described.

### Government Statistics

The case made some use of existing, government statistics. However, much of this material was relevant only to the section where comparisons were being made to the social and demographic character of the neighborhood when the case began and when it ended. These statistics included census records of the city at large from 1800 to 2010 and from the Navy Yard neighborhood from 1990 to 2010. The historical records for the city-at-large were limited to population figures broken down by race, however the neighborhood records included race/ethnicity, children in the household, and socio-economic indicators such as education level and persons receiving public assistance. Property-related records are also presented, including occupied unit figures and median home price, as well as crime rate statistics for both violent and property offenses.

Together, these statistics provide a snapshot level picture of how the neighborhood was comprised and how it changed during the case period.

### Document Analysis

Documents relevant to the case were found mostly through use of the Internet through web searches conducted to refine the narrative and they were taken from websites of the government, private sector, and community interests that were prominently involved in the case. These kinds of documents were particularly useful in helping to understand what kinds of planning-related efforts were made for the neighborhood and establishing the goals of the different entities involved. Documents that were examined and presented include issuances from the National Capital Planning Commission, the Brookings Institution, The Government Services Agency, the D.C. Housing Authority, the Office of the Mayor and more whose content included, but was not limited to, master plans, public hearings, grant-related fact sheets, official government initiatives, and research reports.

### Surveys

Originally, plans for face-to face unstructured interviews were developed, however, the process of acquiring institutional approval for such activities lasted until it was no longer feasible to plan, conduct, and process the material from such a round of interviews. Given the challenges of securing interviews with persons in government, business, and from community interests as well as the new time frame, the protocol was modified to utilize

a structured survey self-administered via web directly to targets. However, one structured interview was conducted on the phone with Mayor Anthony Williams (D).

The questionnaire was designed to elicit mostly open-ended feedback from respondents related largely to their thoughts on the neighborhood, their goals with regard to the neighborhood, and the nature of their interactions with other entities in government, the private sector, and the community. It was developed using survey best-practices by beginning with more general questions about the neighborhood itself which funneled into more specific questions about how the respondent interacted with others. A copy of this survey is available in Appendix A.

Selection of the 16 survey targets was informed by the narrative timeline which assisted in identifying important persons in the neighborhood's transition. Additionally, attempts were made to survey a cross-section of case participants, including representatives from government, the private sector, and community interests. Once this sample was selected and Rutgers University Institutional Research Board approval was secured on March 21, 2016, interview requests were sent through multiple modes; including phone calls, e-mail, and through social media such as Twitter.

Since many of these targets were high profile, it was challenging to secure surveys as most of the time there were gatekeepers. In addition, some of the potential interview subjects were of advanced age. Others had moved out of the area and were difficult to contact.

Altogether, six surveys and interviews were secured out of a total of 16 targets. Table 1:1 provides information on the recruitment process which occurred beginning on April 1<sup>st</sup> and was ongoing throughout the research process. Of the six interviews that were conducted, material was processed, potential quotes were identified, and permission was sought from the subject for use in the dissertation.

**Table 1:1: Survey Recruitment Information**

<b>Interview Target</b>	<b>Organization</b>	<b>Contact Modes</b>	<b>Outcome</b>
<b>Michael Stevens</b>	Capitol Riverfront BID	Email, PH,	<b>Surveyed - Web</b>
<b>Anthony Williams</b>	Mayor	Twitter, Email, PH	<b>Interviewed - Phone</b>
<b>Eleanor Holmes Norton</b>	U.S. Congress	Email, PH	No Contact
<b>Andrew Altman</b>	D.C. Planning Office	Email, PH	No Contact
<b>Gary McManus</b>	Forest City	Email	<b>Surveyed - Web</b>
<b>Gwen Cofield</b>	DCHA	Email, PH	No Contact
<b>Jacqueline Dupree</b>	JDland.org	Email	Declined
<b>Robert Boone</b>	Anacostia Watershed Society	Email	<b>Surveyed - Web</b>
<b>Dana Hedgepeth</b>	Washington Post	Twitter, Email	Accepted Request
<b>David Nakamura</b>	Washington Post	Twitter, Email	No Contact
<b>Carlton Hunt</b>	Nat. Cap. Planning Commission	Email	Considered, did not
<b>Brett Pather</b>	General Services Administration		No Contact
<b>Admiral Chris Weaver</b>	U.S. Navy	Email	<b>Surveyed - Web</b>
<b>Brenda Richardson</b>	Earth Conservation Corps	Email, PH	<b>Surveyed - Web</b>
<b>Tommy Wells</b>	D.C. City Council, ANC	Twitter, Email	No Contact
<b>Linda Cropp</b>	D.C. City Council	Email	No Contact

Informed consent information was accessible on the first page of the survey, where respondents were given the choice to either have all of their textual answers used by me at will, to only have their text used if a follow-up request to employ them was approved,

or to not allow me to quote them at all. Ultimately, while fewer surveys were granted than desired, the information gleaned from these efforts did not counter any of the conclusions that were drawn from other sources with regard to the research questions so, at the very least, they provided a method of triangulation. They also provided a few direct quotes as well which were able to enrich the analysis.

### Visual Evidence

Visual evidence was an extremely crucial part of bringing further texture to the narrative. While statistics can provide snapshots of demographic, socioeconomic, and other types of indicators that can be contrasted over time and narrative can provide a story that chronicles the process, or mechanics, of neighborhood change, very little substitute can be found for images that tell stories of “then” and “now.” A multitude of imagery is provided interspersed with the text throughout chapters 3 and 4 that accompanies the narrative and serves to make the description thicker. These images include aerial and on-the-ground photos and illustrations collected from diffuse sources; including, but not limited to the Library of Congress, original photos from JDLand.com, which is an extensive blog chronicling the transition of the Navy Yard maintained by nearby resident Jacqueline DuPree, and other sources, as well as various websites.

### Analysis Plan

These five main types of sources were used to construct the case pre-history, narrative timeline, and descriptions of the event and transition level summaries of what occurred.



The selection of event level processes was done purposively and deductively at the researcher's judgment based on data collection, surveying, and a generalized knowledge of the case that made it clear that they were the five distinct events most prominent in the neighborhood's transition. These events were:

1. Naval Sea Systems Command (NAVSEA) comes to the Navy Yard, whereby Federal Naval resources were shifted to the Navy Yard by the Defense Department;
2. Environmental cleanup of the neighborhood, consisting of a coalition that evolved over time from community groups attempting to restore the ecosystem to a codified and multi-faceted governmental effort;
3. The development of Southeast Federal Center (SEFC), a public-private partnership where developers and the Federal government came together to accomplish a goal;
4. Baseball comes to the Navy Yard with the relocation of the Montreal Expos to a publicly funded stadium on the banks of the Anacostia; and
5. Hope VI redevelopment of Capper/Carrollsborg, which was the redevelopment of low-rise public housing projects using Federal HUD funding.

While other smaller events occurred during the case period, these were the five that had the most impact on what happened during the case period. Event level summaries deal only with what happened within those events, whereas the transition level summary discusses how these events overlapped in time to produce the neighborhood change.

Drawing largely from the narrative timeline and the event and transition level summaries, a few questions were asked about the case. The five events were presented independently and then compared to theories on urban development primarily around the characterization of how urban development proceeds, who benefits, and what role did government play in the process. Once these questions were answered, conclusions were drawn about how this single case did, or did not, fit with existing theory. If there was a fit, it was justified and if theory needed to be rejected or extended based on the aspects of the case that was done as well. Conclusions were then drawn about how well the case fit within the body of literature about urban development and also what the case might say about the process of urban development, how we approach it, and how its conclusions might inform theory and practice.

## CHAPTER 2: CASE SETTING

In order to understand where this case is nested it is important to examine two types of settings: the internal historical context from which the case emerged as a part of Washington D.C.'s larger historical trajectory and the external, spatial context in which the case is embedded. These two forms of context are necessary in order to view the case within its natural parameters. A case of urban development proceeds in a fashion that is more dependent on what the actors involved believe can and should happen within a single location and what external factors, including historical path dependencies and external spatial contexts are present that guide those possibilities. Regime theory and Growth Machine are two theories of urban governance that examine the broader context around a specific case, but even these are limited to the main case actors and are often hyper-local in focus, not entirely acknowledging that development is dependent on factors external to the geographic area in question.

### INTERNAL HISTORICAL CONTEXT

To aid understanding of this section, Table 2.1 depicts the various governing structures D.C. has experienced over the last two centuries. It is clear that the city has a unique history of governance, given its lack of self-representation which is aberrant in the American context. Especially noteworthy about this history is that land-use policy has often been relegated to the Federal Government, not simply because of the lack of self-governance by city residents, but also because of jurisdiction over Federal and local land

use. More information on these Federal-level land use policy bodies is available in the next chapter.

**Table 2:1: The History of Governance in Washington D.C.**

<b>Years</b>	<b>Structure</b>
<b>1790-1802</b>	Presidentially Appointed Three-Member Board of Commissioners
<b>1802-1861</b>	Presidentially Appointed Mayor and Popularly Elected City Council <sup>2</sup>
<b>1861-1871</b>	Popular Elections Temporarily Banished
<b>1871-1874</b>	Presidentially Appointed Governor and a Two Chamber City Council, one Presidentialy Appointed and the other Elected by Popular Vote
<b>1874-1973</b>	Board of Commissioners: Three Presidentialy Appointed Persons whose Legislative Decisions Are Approved by the Senate and House D.C. Committees
<b>1973-1995</b>	Elected Mayor and 13-Member City Council with Limitations
<b>1995-1999</b>	Elected Mayor and 13-Member City Council with Financial Federal Control Board
<b>1999 to Present</b>	Elected Mayor and 13-Member City Council With Limitations

There is a "widely held view that Washington is an unanchored place where no one really lives" (Williams, 1988, p 5-6). That view is a misperception; Washington is filled with residents deeply connected to the city's complex past. It is a city born, not solely of economics, but of planning and grand vision. The history of the District of Columbia can be divided into five eras; Empty Grand Avenues, Becoming a City, Separate and Unequal, African American Governance, and the post-Marion Barry era. These eras are not discrete or unconnected, but they are also not entirely seamless and may be demarcated by a transition point; that is an event that forced the city to adjust and evolve from its current paradigm. Their delineation was produced conceptually by the researcher based

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<sup>2</sup> The City Council was given the right to elect the Mayor in 1812.

on extensive reading. The physical, political, and social conditions of the preceding era, in conjunction with this transition point, spawned each successive era.

#### **Era 1: Empty Grand Avenues 1790-1860**

Victory in the Revolutionary War necessitated the selection of a capital for the nascent country. Alexander Hamilton wanted New York City, but Thomas Jefferson, and James Madison wanted a location closer to the agricultural, slave-based south. Ultimately, the site selection was a geographic compromise, whose ultimate arbiter were the needs of race and slavery (Berg, 2009). The Residence Act of 1790 established a ten-year timetable for the city's construction and in 1791 Pierre Charles L'Enfant was appointed to plan the city. L'Enfant "believed with a passion that the capital must be something extraordinary: that it must incorporate the very spirit of the nation, that it must command the world's respect and express the future greatness of a nation yet to be" (Bordewich, 2008, p 29-30). L'Enfant was dismissed for obstinacy in 1792, however, his plan remained largely intact.

**Table 2:2: Washington D.C., Census Figures: 1800-1860**

<b>Year</b>	<b>Overall Population</b>	<b>White</b>	<b>Black</b>
<b>1800</b>	8,144	70%	30%
<b>1810</b>	15,471	67%	33%
<b>1820</b>	23,336	69%	31%
<b>1830</b>	30,261	70%	30%
<b>1840</b>	33,745	71%	29%
<b>1850</b>	51,687	73%	27%
<b>1860</b>	75,080	81%	19%

In 1800, “the city began to swarm with people. After a decade of disappointment and thwarted hopes, the government was actually beginning to move south” (Ibid, p. 242). Washington slowly populated with government workers and politicians. D.C. was originally governed by the Federal Congress with an elected Mayor during this period. The city also filled with slaves and a small, somewhat self-reliant free black population employed in the Federal Navy Yard in shipbuilding and the river economy. “In spite of legal disabilities and the prejudices of the white community, many blacks were able to make remarkable progress in the district” (Wennersten, 2008, p. 69). Continued disagreement over the city’s viability, an 1814 burning by the British, and lingering Republican distaste for a large capital rendered Washington somewhat desolate and empty during the first half of the 19th century. Despite slow, but steady population gains, the city seemed unable to match the frame L’Enfant had designed. Alexandria, which represented 31 of the cities original 100 square miles (31%), was returned to Virginia in 1846 and the slow-to-materialize capital and divided nation struggled toward Civil War.

#### Transition Point 1: The Civil War – 1860-1864

At the onset of The Civil War, historian Henry Adams said of Washington “as in 1800 and 1850, so in 1860 the same rude colony was camped in the same forest with the same unfinished Greek temples for workrooms and sloughs for roads.” (Leech, 2011, p. 5) Washington was “the sprawling unfulfilled embodiment of a vision of national Grandeur” (Ibid, p. 12). It was a city divided by the war, ostensibly the seat of northern government but filled with secessionist sympathy. Soon, it began to swell with the Army of the

Potomac and transplanted black residents, mostly former southern slaves. "Shanties sprang up in the alleyways, and, on the swampy land along lower structures of the Washington Canal, the clusters of huts pieced together from scrap lumber tarpaper and odd bits of junk " (Green, 1967, p. 64).

Overall, between 1860 and 1870, the city's overall population increased from 75,080 to 131,700 and D.C. now boasted the population to support L'Enfant's vision. The city Adams had described in 1860 "had vanished forever" and from war came "the great centralization of federal authority which had transformed a country town, reserved for the business of government, into the axis of the Union" (Leech, 2011, p. 418).

## Era 2: Becoming a City – 1865-1900

The population surge of the early 1860's continued through the turn of the century, albeit more slowly. This growth forced a need to upgrade the infrastructural capability and aesthetic appeal of a city that was described as "a haphazard place, striving and failing to make a whole out of potentially magnificent parts" (Berg, 2009, p. 24). D.C. was beset by a number of embarrassing public health conditions, including a canal on the National Mall that functioned as nothing more than a cesspool, and there was talk of relocating the capital to St. Louis. In response, from 1871 to 1873, the Board of Public Works which was part of the newly installed sovereign D.C. Government, led by Alexander Robey "Boss" Shepherd filled in the canal, paved roads and sidewalks, installed sewers and gas and water mains in a series of projects would transform Washington into a modern city.

However, these projects would also bankrupt the city and the process was rife with corruption. In 1874 this three-year old sovereign government was replaced by a Board of Commissioners who would run the city for almost a century.

**Table 2:3: Washington D.C., Census Figures: 1870-1900**

Year	Overall Population	White	Black
1870	131,700	67%	33%
1880	177,624	66%	34%
1890	230,392	67%	33%
1900	278,718	69%	31%

#### Transition Point 2: The McMillan Plan - 1901

The massive public works projects of Boss Shepherd were just the first phase in Washington's modernization. The second was a plan that would bring some of the city's viable, and now functional, parts into a coherent whole. What eventually became known as The McMillan Plan began with the 1901 the Senate Park Commission, whose members "shared a conviction that great cities are works of art and that urban beauty is rationally conceived and a positive force in human life" (Kohler, 2006, p. 131). The McMillan plan was revealed at the Corcoran Gallery of Art on January 15, 1902. It restored L'Enfant's vision and recommendations included re-landscaping the Capitol and the National Mall, consolidation of city railways, general slum clearance, the development of a Federal Triangle, and a comprehensive parks and recreation system extending beyond the monumental core. It was "among the most significant urban plans in American history.



Its novel blending and adroit elaboration of city-making ideas then current in the United States made it a benchmark for modern urbanism and triggered a national city-planning movement" (Peterson)<sup>3</sup>.

### Era 3: Separate and Unequal - 1901-1968

The McMillan plan set a slate of goals for the expanding capital whose population grew steadily throughout the first half of the 20th century. Additionally, between 1910 and 1924 new Federal agencies were created to implement the plan including; the U.S. Commission on Fine Arts to review the design of new construction in the city, the Public Buildings Commission to recommend siting for new Federal buildings, and the National Capital Parks and Planning Commission (NCPPC)<sup>4</sup> to oversee city and regional planning.

While white residents benefitted from aesthetic improvements in the monumental core and federal stimulus resultant from war and depression, the city's black population faced a very different situation. Residentially, blacks were relegated to areas of the city such as the 14<sup>th</sup> and U. Street Northwest corridor and Southwest that were neglected in terms of city resources, prone to environmental problems like floods, and were used as dumping grounds for trash, sewage, and other undesirable elements. President Woodrow Wilson exacerbated these divisions in federal employment by segregating the offices of the

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<sup>3</sup> [https://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online\\_books/ncr/designing-capital/sec1.html#1](https://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online_books/ncr/designing-capital/sec1.html#1)

<sup>4</sup> The 1952 passage of the National Capital Planning Act changed the name of this entity to the National Capital Planning Commission (NCPC) as it is known throughout the document.

Postmaster General and requiring blacks to have a photograph when applying for government jobs.

After World War II and the fight against fascism, America began to contemplate its own civil rights record. Black Washingtonians pushed for rights with respect to equal access to housing and employment, expanded social welfare provisions, equality in education, fair treatment by police, access to recreation like city pools, and increased access to restaurants and places of public amusement. The loosening of restrictions in these areas in D.C. was largely complete by 1954 and it was accomplished without violence, but instead with activism. However, these victories were somewhat pyrrhic, as white-flight and a purposive, decentralizing regional strategy by city and government planners alike meant that the city was quickly becoming less attractive. Population growth after 1950 was either flat or negative and by 1957 the city was the first large city in the nation to become majority African-American.

**Table 2:4 Washington D.C., Census Figures: 1910-1960**

<b>Year</b>	<b>Overall Population</b>	<b>White</b>	<b>Black</b>
<b>1910</b>	331,069	71%	29%
<b>1920</b>	437,571	75%	25%
<b>1930</b>	486,869	73%	27%
<b>1940</b>	663,091	72%	28%
<b>1950</b>	802,178	65%	35%
<b>1960</b>	763,956	45%	54%

In the post-war era, American cities were responding to decentralization, decline, and de-industrialization with federally-funded urban renewal. Thus, Congress created the Redevelopment Land Agency (RLA), a five member commission founded in 1946 to spearhead local efforts to fight blight. Southwest Washington<sup>5</sup> had always been more African-American, lower-income, and isolated than the other three quadrants of the city. However, according to the RLA, conditions worsened in the 1940's and the fresh availability of federal funds from The Housing Act of 1949 turned the area into a target of redevelopment. In 1950, as part of purposive strategy to brand the area in need of improvement, the RLA declared that very few of residences in Southwest were in 'good' condition and National Capital Planning Commission decided to redevelop the area under the auspices of The District of Columbia Redevelopment Act of 1950.

The project, which commenced in 1952, featured residences, office space, shopping centers, theaters, hotels, and restaurants as well as the new headquarters for the Environmental Protection Agency. Overall, 99% of the buildings in Southwest were destroyed (Jaffe, 29), and despite promises that many residents would be able to return to their neighborhoods after the work was completed, very few affordable housing units were built. Ultimately, redevelopment in Southwest had negligible effect on white flight and urban decline, but it displaced 20,000 poor people across the city and cemented the perception among city blacks that urban renewal was little more than "negro removal."

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<sup>5</sup> Washington D.C. is bounded into four sub-sections, Northwest, Northeast, Southwest, and Southeast which are demarcated by the streets extending straight outward from the capitol building on all four sides, North Capitol, South Capitol, East Capitol, and the Mall (which effectively is West Capitol Street).

Many of the displaced poor settled in Anacostia, a neighborhood that then changed from white and working class to almost exclusively black. Additionally, very few of Southwest's displaced were able to reclaim the social capital that they had left in the old neighborhood and many reported having trouble making friends when they resettled (Jaffe, 82). Ultimately, urban renewal in Southwest was ineffective in stemming white flight which only accelerated afterward, if not counterproductive in angering the black population that remained.

Meanwhile, as the national civil rights movement gained steam and Martin Luther King marched on the Mall, local activists protested in Washington. In 1965, Marion Barry, a sharecropper's son from Mississippi, moved to D.C. to open a chapter of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) where he led direct actions for civil rights and protested transportation policies. Along with Rufus "Catfish" Mayfield and future wife Mary Treadwell, he started PRIDE Inc., an organization that helped find work for unemployed black youth. Barry was also a founder of the Free D.C. movement and advocated for home rule (Jaffe, 1994).

### Transition Point 3: The 1968 Riots

During the hot summers of the 1960's that brought urban riots to Newark, Detroit, and New Haven, Washington remained quiet. However, African-American frustration with Urban Renewal, substandard educational and employment prospects, and deficiencies in terms of housing, health, transportation, and police relations collided with the

assassination of Martin Luther King on April 4, 1968. In the afternoon, as the news broke, crowds gathered around 14th and U Streets, Northwest. Stokely Carmichael led efforts to ask stores to close out of respect for Dr. King, and many did. However, he could not control the crowd and some began breaking windows. This led to sporadic fires and looting which continued through the night. By morning, schools and offices opened. With a city full of commuters, violence erupted again, with major fires, widespread violence, and clashes with police and at 4:40 PM the first of 13,600 National Guard troops began to move into the city with live ammunition. Over the next few days, the riots claimed 12 dead, over 1,000 injured, more than 6,000 arrested, and \$27 million in property damage and would leave many neighborhoods scarred for decades.

#### Era 4: African American Governance – 1968-1995

If white flight and population stagnation began in the 1950's, it was complete after 1968. Despite promises to rebuild scarred areas, the legacy of the riots was flight of the black and white middle class, shuttering of businesses, and irreparable damage to neighborhoods, diminishing property values, and a shrinking tax base. In the words of African American funk legend George Clinton, Washington became "Chocolate City," a place where the black share of the population topped 70% in both 1970 and 1980. Washington also was changed by a wave of African American southern emigrants who transported customs, food, and music to urban neighborhoods like Shaw and Anacostia.

The Model Inner City Community Organization (MICCO), run by Walter Fauntroy, engaged in community development efforts in some of the cities underserved areas. MICCO led the effort to implement the Shaw Urban Renewal Project, which was the bottom-up and community-based antithesis to earlier redevelopment efforts in Southwest (Jaffe, 1994). At the same time, as noted by Henig (1982) and Lee and Umberson (1985), sporadic gentrification was occurring in neighborhoods like Adams Morgan, Mount Pleasant, Columbia Heights, and Capitol Hill. These simultaneous trends resulted in a consolidation of residential areas by race across the city, as black neighborhoods grew blacker and poorer while white neighborhoods grew whiter and wealthier.

Goldfield (1980) observes that gentrification at the time was characterized by private revitalization, as opposed to being generated by state directives. If anything, in line with the concessionary nature of the period, the city council and community organizers tried to protect the city's poor residents from displacement and the harmful effects of real estate speculation through advocating for the right to purchase their own homes amid developer pursuit of gentrifying neighborhoods like Adams Morgan (Misra, 2015).

**Table 2:5: Washington D.C. Census Figures: 1970-1990**

Year	Overall Population	White	Black	Hispanic	Asian/Other
1970	756,510	28%	71%	2%	<1%
1980	638,333	26%	70%	3%	2%
1990	606,900	27%	66%	5%	3%

In 1973, D.C. was granted home rule and a governmental structure was established consisting of an elected Mayor and 13-member City Council. However, home rule was somewhat limited due to congressional review of all city council legislation and oversight of and veto power on the city budget, presidentially appointed Judges, and the banning of any commuter tax or toll as a source of revenue. The inability to levy a commuter tax, coupled with the wide swaths of tax-exempt government property, would hamstring the city's ability to fund operations. In addition the city was not allowed any authority over the National Capital Planning Commission, a body which held weight over development in the city. In 1974, African-American Walter Washington became the city's first popularly elected Mayor in over a century.

By the 1970's Marion Barry had moved from activism to government. Barry was a complicated man, both the son of a Mississippi sharecropper and a man who became a graduate school-trained chemist, who had long cultivated a role as a facilitator of communications and exchange between power and poverty in D.C. He rode this role to a seat on the school board in 1972 and a city council position in 1974. Four years later, he assembled a strange-bedfellows coalition of liberal whites, downtown businessmen, and poor blacks that propelled him a surprise victory in the 1978 Mayoral election. The victory was viewed by many as a moment of great promise for both the city and for African Americans in general. It was "a chance to create a truly integrated body politic. Barry was among the first big-city mayors to rise from the civil rights movement. And he didn't win political power by trying to be "white" (Jaffe, 1994).

Amid the optimism, Barry faced a series of challenges upon his ascent to office, such as a \$100 million city deficit stemming from existing debt service payments, rising unemployment, and a fairly inefficient government. Despite this, Barry's first term was considered a moderate success, with increased efficiency in some departments, extension of government contracts to minority-owned businesses, and a popular summer employment program for the city's youth. However, his second term was marked by scandal and during his third term, Barry's hard living ways began to interfere with his Mayoral duties as the city mirrored his descent into drug use. When crack was introduced to D.C. in the latter part of the decade, the streets exploded with drug trade-related violence. The annual murder rate nearly doubled to 369 in 1988 and would not fall below 400 until 1994<sup>6</sup>. In 1990, Barry was caught smoking crack on camera by the FBI and would serve six months in a Federal prison. However, after one unsuccessful term by Sharon Pratt Kelly, Barry returned as Mayor in 1994, earning him the nickname "Mayor for Life."

Strongly rooted in historicization of the Barry legacy, popular mythology asserts that this era in D.C. history was an experiment in Black Nationalist self-governance that ended in prototypical urban failure (Siegel, 2000), but the truth is much more complicated. Overall population growth was indeed negative, crime rates rose, and Barry rode to electoral

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<sup>6</sup> Information on historical D.C. murder and other crime rates can be found here <http://www.disastercenter.com/crime/dccrime.htm>



success through exploitation of the racial divide. Yet, the focus on the problems of the inner city and the issue of polarized black/white relations ignores two crucial demographic shifts. Immigrants from Central America began arriving in the city, and the white share of the population grew from 27% in 1980 to 30% in 1990. Not only were educated, young, white professionals gentrifying neighborhoods in the inner city, but their presence in the close suburbs and the greater region was growing as well.

Up until the mid-1990's developmental efforts were largely focused on downtown. The Pennsylvania Avenue Development Corporation (PADC) was founded in 1973 with a mission to redevelop that historic avenue. Another massive regional project was the METRO. WMATA began construction on the system in 1969, opened the first stations downtown in 1976, and would slowly add more rail lines and station stops all over D.C., Maryland, and Virginia.

#### Turning Point 4: Congressionally Imposed Financial Control Board - 1995-1999

In 1995, Marion Barry was back in office and Washington was in financial trouble. City payrolls were swollen with employees, and mismanagement of funds had taken a toll. It was determined that there would be a \$700 million shortfall in 1996 so Barry asked the Republican Congress for a financial rescue. What he got instead was a partial takeover and reduction of his authority. The District of Columbia Financial Control Board was a Federally-appointed body created in 1995 to oversee the city finances with power to override Mayoral and City Council decisions. The District's Chief Financial Officer (CFO)

position was held at the time by Anthony Williams, previously the Connecticut state comptroller, who was appointed by Barry in September, 1995. Insulated from electoral retribution, the control board was able to work with Williams to make difficult personnel and financial decisions and within two years D.C. was running a surplus. The Board was legally mandated to exist until the city's budget was balanced for four consecutive years, and it accomplished this in 1999.

#### **Era 5: Post-Marion Barry – 1998-present**

Marion Barry did not run for re-election in 1998 and Anthony Williams won office in November. The city that Williams inherited was very different from the one that Barry had reigned over during the previous three decades. In spite of Barry's social welfare approach to governing, the city "shifted dramatically from stagnancy and population loss to widespread gentrification" (Cunningham, 2001, p. 354). Indeed, by 2000, the city's black population had fallen to 60% and it would fall even further to 51% by 2010, leaving only a black plurality where before had been a strong black majority. Additionally, development in neighborhoods like the Massachusetts Avenue Corridor, NOMA, Chinatown, and the Navy Yard would create urban places that bore little to no resemblance to what had stood there before 1998. These four neighborhoods were not adjacent nor did development in them follow any particular pattern, other than the fact that structures within them were in need of repair and their locations adjacent to more established neighborhoods, which made them attractive to developers.

**Table 2:6: Washington D.C., Census Figures: 2000-2010**

<b>Year</b>	<b>Overall Population</b>	<b>White</b>	<b>Black</b>	<b>Hispanic</b>	<b>Asian/Other</b>
<b>2000</b>	572,059	28%	60%	8%	4%
<b>2010</b>	601,723	35%	51%	9%	4%

However, the relative value of these changes is hotly contested and debates abound over gentrification and whether this new, less affordable, and whiter D.C. has enough of an enduring connection to the city's past. As noted earlier, Gibson (2005) demonstrates that D.C. was marketed in the early 21<sup>st</sup> Century through city branding to new, wealthier residents. This courting of new residents and the displacement of older African-American residents poses questions about fairness.

Indeed, some of the city's black residents refer to the steady influx of white residents as implementation of "The Plan," which was a theory advanced in the late 1970's by columnist Lillian Wiggins of the Washington Afro American Newspaper whereby there was a set of elite, influential whites who set events in motion that would end the black majority in the city. Historic experiences with urban renewal, deemed "negro removal" in Southwest, visceral white opposition to Marion Barry's administration, changing demographics, gentrification, and the removal of affordable and public housing across the city only bolstered the theory of "the plan." Reflecting on development and gentrification, Prince (2014) asserts that D.C. has behaved as the model neoliberal city,

where developers, corporations, and politicians have taken public property for private gain, to the differential disadvantage of the city's long-term, African American residents.

As this history demonstrates, Washington D.C.'s evolution has often been determined mostly through government planning and also because of social factors like race rather than economic considerations. In this manner, D.C. appears at least superficially to differ from other large Eastern seaboard cities that would seem to be a match. It is also a city with a heavy Federal presence, oversight of Congress, and non-attachment to a larger state make D.C. an aberrant place whose developmental processes differ from other places. Additionally, this history is crucial to understanding the case of the Navy Yard since the path dependencies and historical trajectory embedded within create a sense of what paths and forms that future development should take and who should lead these efforts. Historical events involving this specific place, such as the L'Enfant and McMillan plans, urban renewal, and the experience of being a majority African American city, shape expectations of what can, and should happen in the place.

## External Spatial Context

There are a number of external, spatial factors or trends which influenced the development of the Navy Yard during the case period. These include a set of economic factors, national poverty policy, city branding, demographic change, and the era of the global city.

Economic factors which influenced the case include fiscal interest rate policy, the boom and bust nature of the economy, and the post 9-11 expansion of government which pumped millions of dollars into the city with the creation of the Homeland Security apparatus. Financing became important just prior to and during the case period when prime interest rates began falling to the lowest levels seen since the late 1970's.

Additionally, the larger macro-economic context of the period was characterized by a pattern of boom and bust which had two primary affects. During boom times, such as the late 1990's, developmental potential and interest was amplified and during bust periods, such as the 2002-2003 recession, property values were lowered to the point where they became attractive investments to firms with the capital to invest and develop property. Finally, while 9-11 and the war on terror had a political effect on the nation and the world at-large, its positive economic benefits were largely given to the D.C. region. The addition of another Cabinet-level department, Homeland Security, pumped both direct federal dollars and indirect funding into the city's extensive network of defense contracting firms. For example, the value of all contracting dollars pumped into the local economy doubled between 2000 and 2010, when it reached \$80 billion annually (Lowrey 2013).

National poverty policy also had a large effect on D.C. and the Navy Yard neighborhood during this period. Scholars like William Julius Wilson (1987) and Charles Murray (1984) as well as policymakers posited that inner city concentration of poverty contributed

heavily to urban problems like crime and joblessness. The public housing policies of the 1960's which had cast the poor into towers of isolation such as the Robert Taylor Homes in Chicago were critiqued as having the unintended consequence of increasing poverty. As Hartung and Henig (1997) note, in the 1980's and 1990's D.C. moved its affordable housing supports from being largely project-based to being largely household-based through the use of Section 8 vouchers. Further, as Cunningham (2000) notes D.C.'s efforts to disperse poverty continued with the Hope VI demolitions such as what occurred in the Capper/Carrollsborg dwellings in the Navy Yard. The combined effect of Section 8, Hope VI, and other factors, contributed to the fact that D.C. transitioned, in a rather short period of time, from being characterized by "stagnancy and population loss to widespread gentrification" (Cunningham, 2000, p. 354).

Purposive efforts to lure specific kinds of residents became an explicit part of urban policy during the period. As Florida (2002) and others note, cities now participate in competitive pursuit for residents, especially wealthier, younger residents which are friendlier to the municipal tax base like amenities-seeking and non-service needy populations like young professionals and wealthy empty nesters. Branding can occur through the building of mega-projects, such as festival marketplaces, stadiums, and museums meant to enhance the "world class" reputation of the city. Sager (2011) discusses how places are now subject to branding and marketing by local officials or other interested parties to tourists, companies, and potential residents. Thus, a localities culture and very image is exploited for market-oriented ends. D.C. officials engaged in this kind of place marketing in an

attempt to lure existing suburban residents into purchasing property in the city through its “city living, D.C. style” campaign (Gibson 2005). This campaign was undertaken by the D.C. Marketing Center, a public-private partnership with the mission to lure residents and firms.

Finally, as Sassen (2005) notes, the positioning of cities have changed during the case period as a result of privatization, deregulation, globalization, and further penetration of domestic markets by global capital actors. In this context she introduces the concept of the “Global City,” places that encompass worldwide networks of actors. She contends that this development places some cities in a central command function. These command functions can be economic, in the case of London and New York, or political, in the case of D.C., and they differentially advantage these cities over the others they compete with domestically.

It is in this historical and internal, as well as external and spatial, context that our case of urban development in the Navy Yard neighborhood is nested. The research now proceeds to tell the story of the case in earnest, armed with a historical and spatial understanding of why certain events may or may not have occurred.

## CHAPTER 3: CASE DESCRIPTION AND NARRATIVE

The Navy Yard neighborhood, also known as D.C. Neighborhood Cluster 27 in city government documents, currently consists of 0.63 square miles of land with prominent natural and manmade boundaries in the form of the Anacostia River to the South, South Capitol Street to the West, and the I-695 Freeway that limits access to both the North and the East.

The neighborhood as a whole has not only undergone a stunning amount of change in the built environment, as seen in the photographic evidence presented throughout this text and described in quotes from media and original interviews, but demographic and economic indicators also convey the nature of human and social landscape transition.

**Table 3:1: Navy Yard Census Demographic Figures: 1990-2010**

<b>Year</b>	<b>Overall Population</b>	<b>White</b>	<b>African-American</b>	<b>With Children</b>	<b>Persons without HS</b>
<b>1990</b>	5,040	13%	85%	27%	46%
<b>2000</b>	4,633	7%	89%	34%	44%
<b>2010</b>	5,705	44%	46%	13%	14%*

\*Note that this figure is an average of totals from 2008-2012.

As can be seen in Table 3:1, the Navy Yard neighborhood actually saw a reduction in its overall population between 1990 (5,040) and 2000 (4,633) before spiking to 5,705 in 2010. A massive shift in the racial/ethnic composition of neighborhood residents



occurred during the case period, with whites making up just 13% and 7% of the population in 1990 and 2000, respectively, before climbing to 44% in 2010. Conversely, the African American population rose slightly from 85% in 1990 to 89% in 2000 before dropping precipitously to 46% in 2010. The neighborhood also featured fewer children over time, from 27% of the population having children at home in 1990 to 34% in 2000 and 13% in 2010, while the percent of residents without a high school education fell from 46% in 1990 to 44% in 2000 and 14% circa 2010. These shifts seem to indicate that what happened in the Navy Yard was not the slowly evolving neighborhood transition characterized by the individual-level sweat-equity gentrification that occurred in D.C. in the 1970's and 1980's, but instead that it was an abrupt, massive shift more resembling wholesale population replacement. Similar, though less striking, patterns were seen during the period of 2000 to 2010 in other D.C. neighborhoods like LeDroit Park in Northeast, Columbia Heights/Mount Pleasant in Northwest, and Logan Circle and Shaw in Northwest.

**Table 3:2: Navy Yard Census Economic and Crime Indicators: 2000-2010**

<b>Year</b>	<b>Occupied Housing Units</b>	<b>Median Home Price</b>	<b>Violent Crime Rate*</b>	<b>Property Crime Rate*</b>	<b>Persons Receiving TANF</b>
<b>2000</b>	1,974	\$162,000	40	135	1,142
<b>2005</b>	n/a	\$516,000	22	60	724
<b>2010</b>	3,172	\$741,000	13	51	500

\* Rates are calculated per 100,000 residents

Table 3:2 depicts selected economic and crime indicators in five year increments, when available. As shown, the number of occupied housing units rose from 1,974 in 2000 to 3,172 in 2010, while the median home price skyrocketed from \$162,000 in 2000 to \$516,000 in 2005 and \$741,000 in 2010. While economic indicators trended upwards, violent crime and property rates fell between 2000 (40 and 135, respectively) and 2005 (22 and 13, respectively), and fell again in 2010 (13 and 51, respectively). The number of persons receiving social welfare provision in the form of Temporary Assistance for Needy Families benefits (TANF) fell from 1,142 in 2000 to 724 in 2005, and 500 in 2010. Overall, the neighborhood grew less dependent on social welfare provisions, much safer, and far more economically exclusive during the case period.

These comparisons convey a static understanding of the “before and after” nature of the Navy Yard neighborhood and appearance. However, a fuller understanding must incorporate both the specific long-term historical trajectory of the neighborhood and a narrative of the case time period under study to truly understand what has happened.

## CASE PREHISTORY

Before George Washington selected the site of the future Nation’s capital on the confluence of the Potomac River and its Eastern Branch, now known as the Anacostia River, Algonquin tribes resided there. The largest Nacotchank village, also named Nacotchank, was on the Eastern bank of the Anacostia. Later, closer to L’Enfant’s time, Charles Carroll and Jonathan Slater operated plantations in this very spot, the location

that we refer to here as the Navy Yard neighborhood. There was also a relatively densely developed boardinghouse community and the city's first major manufacturing business, a sugar refinery built in 1797 at the end of the New Jersey Avenue. The refinery would become a brewery in 1801<sup>7</sup>. Pierre L'Enfant was so impressed by the potential of the Anacostia River that he envisioned a commercial center named Exchange Square to be placed at the end of Eighth Street on the waterfront.

Amid the crisis with France in the late 1790's, Congress appropriated funds to build six ships for use in a maritime conflict. They chose six sites across the country to facilitate shipbuilding, one of which was what would become the Navy Yard. The D.C. site was chosen in consultation with George Washington because it was a place safe from coastal raids and it featured an abundant supply of timber. The initial 40 acres of land for the Yard was purchased for \$4,000, and it was officially established as a shipbuilding site and dockyard on October 2, 1799 and as the homeport of the U.S. Navy in 1803 by Thomas Jefferson.

Shortly thereafter a commercial and residential community was established around the Navy Yard facility featuring a mix of white working class, slaves, freedmen, and immigrants. However, the working class nature of the area was also dotted with

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<sup>7</sup> Most of the history found in this section and more information on the history of the Navy Yard and the surrounding historic district can be found here <https://www.history.navy.mil/browse-by-topic/organization-and-administration/commands-and-installations/washington-navy-yard/washington-navy-yard-historic-district.html> and here <http://dcpreservation.wpengine.netdna-cdn.com/wp-content/uploads/2014/12/Capitol-Hill-Brochure.pdf>

some prominent Washingtonians and features of civic life, including naval officers, politicians, and religious institutions. The neighborhood would stay largely working class and industrial for the next two centuries and, for those characteristics, it differed from the rest of the city, which had very little industry.

**Figure 3:1: Washington Navy Yard Shortly After Construction<sup>8</sup>**



The Navy Yard facility served as a site of defense during the War of 1812 and suffered both a pre-emptive defensive burning by protective American hands, and a subsequent offensive burning at the hands of the British. Once rebuilt, shipbuilding operations were downplayed, partly because the shallow nature of the

<sup>8</sup> Photo Credit: Harpers Weekly Courtesy of U.S. Naval Historical Center, Reference Number NH 51928-KN

Anacostia; however the site's size would be expanded greatly through the use of wetlands infill. The area also became a part of the poorly planned and executed canal system which was built beginning around 1810 to connect the Anacostia to Tiber Creek which ran through Capitol Hill and the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal. Around 1830, ordnance and technology became the main focus of the Yard and the facility would remain one of the city's largest employers throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

The Civil War heightened the Yard's local and national importance and troops in and around the Navy Yard Hill neighborhood would soon bustle with wartime activities that kept the site open 24 hours a day. Not only would it serve as an industrial and technological development site but it was a central part of the cities' strategic defense and became the location for the repair of the iron-hulled USS Monitor. This activity would serve the military and nearby economic interests alike.

Unfortunately, Navy Yard Hill and neighboring Capitol Hill would largely lose out on the massive post-Civil War public works programs of Alexander Robey "Boss" Shepherd that occurred between 1871 and 1874. Shephard concentrated his activities in the northwest quadrant of the city; favoring his wealthy and prominent boosters, and despite the Navy Yard being designated as the manufacturing site for all ordnance in the country in 1886, the surrounding area would remain largely working class. There was an Eastern European Jewish population nearby and alley dwellings sprang up in the late 1880's and 1890's, constituting a cluster of small homes without running water and electricity.

Throughout the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, operations at the Navy Yard would continue to grow; stemming from naval expansions of Presidents Theodore and Franklin Roosevelt and increased activity from both world wars. The Yard employed 10,000 by World War I and peak employment would reach approximately 25,000 when the site spanned from 1<sup>st</sup> Street to 11<sup>th</sup> Street on the southern side of M. Street. Unfortunately, growing pollution from the increased industrial operations at the Yard and other sources would continue to plague the Anacostia River.

After World War II, the Navy Yard and the surrounding area began to suffer much the same issues hurting other American cities. The building of the Pentagon in Virginia would detract from the attention given to the Navy Yard. Additionally, the military began to contract out production and manufacture of weapons to private firms and thus employment at the yard would dwindle down to a few thousand. Eventually, ordnance production ceased in 1961, the weapons plant closed in 1962, and the Yard's western 60 acres were transferred to the GSA in 1963. In 1964 the remaining Navy factories were converted to offices for administrative use.

Additionally, the national trend toward decentralization, population out-migration from center cities, and freeway construction spurred middle class disinvestment. The formerly owner-occupied houses were vacated or split into rental units, which attracted lower income or transient populations. An affordable housing complex later known as Capper-

Carrollsbury was built beginning in the late 1950's. During the late 1960's, construction of the Southeast/Southwest Freeway (I-695) was begun over the former Virginia Avenue just north of the Navy Yard. The freeway would destroy the immediate area's Federal and Greek-style residences and create an artificial barrier between the previously adjoined neighborhoods of the Navy Yard and Capitol Hill.

By the 1970's and 1980's disinvestment had taken its toll around the Navy Yard. The adjacent area became known mostly for its collections of light industrial facilities, vacant lots, and adult nightclubs. It was also known to be a friendly location for bars and nightclubs that were part of D.C.'s gay community, perhaps the most notable of which was Tracks, which functioned from 1984 to 1999. Tracks had an occupancy limit of 1,300, which was at times exceeded, and the club, and the others in the area, was meaningful to people in a time and a place where attitudes were not yet ready to openly accept sexuality. As one patron noted, "Tracks was where I became comfortable with being gay. ... I am so happy and honored that I was able to experience Tracks in my life" (Rule 2013).

However, in the last decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the neighborhood and the Anacostia began to experience some signs that years of neglect and disinvestment were beginning to end. In 1989 the Anacostia Watershed Society (AWS), with an aim to restore the health of the river, was founded by Robert Boone and others. In 1991, the Army Corps of Engineers began freshwater wetland restoration and, one year after, the D.C Government began removing floating debris from the waterway. In 1994, President Bill Clinton

designated the Anacostia as one of seven priority ecosystems for the country with the Anacostia Ecosystems Initiative.

**Figure 3:2: SE/SW Freeway (Bottom Left) Cuts the Navy Yard off from Capitol Hill<sup>9</sup>**



Perhaps the most tangible event which would spur external interest in the area was the opening of the Navy Yard Metro line in 1991. The station was on the system's new Green Line which would allow for easy access to an area which had been cut off from the rest of the city for so long by canals, railyards, and freeways. A lesser noticed development was that the area had begun to be eyed as a possible place for redevelopment amid high profile circles. For example, the GSA released a master plan for the area in 1992 which envisioned an enclave of Federal Agencies.

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<sup>9</sup> Photo Credit: D.C. Department of Transportation: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/ddotphotos/4950949465>



The forces attempting to protect the possibility of large-scale development in the area were drawn into the public eye because of a 1993 proposal by then-Mayor Sharon Pratt Kelly (D) to build a new, larger Metrobus garage over the existing one that stood on South Capitol, Half, and M Street across from the Navy Yard Metro stop. The proposal was blocked by a group that included D.C. Delegate to Congress Eleanor Holmes Norton (D), City Councilman Harold Brazil (D-W6), the GSA, and the National Capital Planning Commission (NCPC). Norton asserted that a larger garage would destroy the plans for what she called “a larger than life project,” (Fehr, 1993) the planned \$1 billion redevelopment of Southeast Federal Center (SEFC) by the GSA.

**Figure 3:3: The 1/2 Street Garage (Bottom Right) and Navy Yard Metro Station (Middle Left) in the early 1990's<sup>10</sup>**



<sup>10</sup> Photo Credit: The Library of Congress via JDLand.com <http://www.jdland.com/dc/historic-photos-1992.cfm>

The GSA plan to develop SEFC would choose its partners, Federal Center Associates, in December of that year but the effort would be indeterminately delayed by subsequent Federal budget cuts and the unwillingness of Federal agencies to commit to moving into the neighborhood. Despite the grand vision for the place shared within limited, though powerful, circles, the reality on the ground was still very challenging. The Washington Post referred to the neighborhood as a “dismal urban wreck” (Forgery 1993). The soaring murder rates of the District, commonly referred to as the “Murder Capital,” would also take their toll. Mahmoud T. Baptiste, the director of a neighborhood community center, called the Navy Yard “the same as Bosnia” (Wilgoren and Melillo, 1993) and would refer to the locale’s younger residents as “children of war” (Wilgoren and Melillo, 1993).

This is the scene as the case begins, with the Navy Yard positioned as a prime place with latent potential for development. It is a chief candidate for the exploitation of rent gaps and/or a place that is ripe for production in line with the sustainable, mixed use visions of urbanists and professional planners alike. However, this narrative tale does not intend to glorify development, nor is it meant to lament change, but simply to chronicle a simultaneously occurring series of events that changed a neighborhood.

**Figure 3:4: Aerial View of the Navy Yard Neighborhood in the Early 1990's<sup>11</sup>**



### Case Players

Here are brief descriptions of the main case players separated into the categories of Government (Federal and local political bodies, representatives, and agencies), Economic Entities (real estate and developers), and Social Advocacy Groups, Organizations, and Media.

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<sup>11</sup> Photo Credit: The Library of Congress via JDland.com <http://www.jdland.com/dc/historic-photos-1992.cfm>

## Government

Government entities are broken up into Federal and local political bodies, elected representatives, and agencies.

### D.C. Regional Political Bodies

**The Office of the Mayor:** The Mayor is an elected post carrying 4-year terms created by the 1973 District of Columbia Home Rule Act. Three Democratic Mayors served during the case time period; Marion Barry (1995-1999), Anthony Williams (1999-2007), and Adrian Fenty (2007-2011).

**City Council:** The City Council was also created with the Home Rule Act of 1973 and consists of a thirteen-member elected body who serve 4-year terms. The Navy Yard is represented by Ward 6, and saw three representatives during the case period; Harold Brazil (1991-1997), Sharon Ambrose (1997-2007), and Tommy Wells (2007-2015). Brazil remained on council as an at-large member after 1997.

**Advisory Neighborhood Commissions (ANC):** ANC's are unpaid advisory boards that put forth input on a wide range of issues to D.C. and Federal officials comprised of members who serve elected two-year terms. ANC's also fall within Ward jurisdictions, thus the Navy Yard is ANC-6.

## D.C. and Regional Agencies

**D.C. Housing Authority:** DCHA's mission is to provide city-wide affordable housing to low and moderate income households. The DCHA's main role in the Navy Yard case was the closing of the Capper/Carrollsborg complex of housing projects, which were replaced by mixed income townhomes using Hope VI funds. The Executive Director of the DCHA during this period was Michael Kelly.

**D.C. Office of Planning:** OP plans neighborhoods and other areas and guides historic preservation in order to preserve and revitalize by providing information, advancing goals, engaging the public, and providing resources. Andrew Altman served as the planning director during much of the case period (1999-2005).

**D.C. Department of Transportation:** DDOT manages and maintains the city's public infrastructure. The office handled streetscapes, road construction, and worked with local mass transit organizations during the case period.

**Anacostia Waterfront Corporation:** AWC was established in 2004 with a special mission to revitalize the neighborhoods along the Anacostia River. Originally planned to be a 20-year organization funded by \$250 million in bonds, the corporation was shuttered within three years by Mayor Adrian Fenty, who inherited the plan from his predecessor.

**Washington Metropolitan Area Transit Authority:** WMATA was established in 1967 through an interstate compact involving Maryland, Virginia, and the District to build and operate a regional transportation system. WMATA is mostly known for the Metrorail subway system but it also handles bus lines and other transportation-related matters.

**D.C. Sports and Entertainment Commission:** This organization was founded in 1994 by the D.C. government legislation to manage the cities sports and entertainment business; including conventions, sports, and special events. Their main role in the case was during the decision to build Nationals Park in the Navy Yard neighborhood.

#### Federal Political Bodies

**Congress:** Despite Home Rule, the United States Congress still holds significant influence on the District of Columbia, including review of all city bills, veto power, and the ability to pass legislation without voter approval. They can even revoke home rule. Eleanor Holmes Norton (D) has served as the non-voting representative of the District in Congress since 1991.

**The President:** The President also wields power over the city; including the same level of executive authority that is held over any other locality, the responsibility to appoint D.C. Judges, and makes appointment to city oversight bodies like the National Capital Planning Commission and the Commission on Fine Arts.

## Federal Agencies/Bodies

**General Services Administration:** The GSA is a centralized procurement and management agency for the federal government, whose responsibilities include the government's real estate and land holdings. The agency has an interest in optimal land management and took a special interest in the Navy Yard neighborhood. Through the urban development/good neighbor program the GSA advocates for locating new federal buildings in places that are in need of improvement and that can support sustainable spaces.

**The United States Navy:** The Navy Yard facility has served as the economic anchor of the case neighborhood for over 200 years since its establishment in 1799. The facility, which once functioned as a shipyard and ordnance production plant now serves as the ceremonial and administrative center for the Navy. The reduction in physical space needed for the Yards operations in the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century provided surplus land, which lay dormant for years before its development during the case period.

**Defense Base Closure and Realignment Commission:** The BRAC commission has managed the post-cold war realignment and closure of American military installations in 1988, 1990, 1991, 1993, 1995, and 2005. BRAC's main role in the Navy Yard case was the decision to relocate NAVSEA operations to the neighborhood during the 1995 round of realignment, a change which would take place in 2001.

**Naval Sea Systems Command:** NAVSEA is the largest of the U.S. Navy's five system commands, consisting of shipyards, shipbuilding facilities, and warfare centers. The command comprises one-quarter of the entire budget for the Navy and its headquarters was relocated to the Navy Yard area in 1995 from Crystal City by the BRAC Commission.

**U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development:** HUD is a cabinet level government agency established in 1965 as part of the Great Society programs of President Lyndon Johnson HUD administers the Hope VI program which was created in 1992 in response to recommendations from the National Commission on Severely Distressed Public Housing. The program aims to change the physical shape of public housing and deconcentrate poverty through partnerships with government and private sector entities.

**Environmental Protection Agency:** The EPA serves to protect human health and the environment through enforcing congressionally sanctioned environmental regulations. The EPA was especially active during efforts in the late 1990's and early 2000's to clean up the pollution that collected in the Anacostia and the soil left over from the time when the Navy Yard was an industrial center.

**Commission of Fine Arts:** The CFA is a 7-member body appointed by the President that advises the federal and D.C. government on how to best preserve the dignity of the city, especially as it pertains to design and aesthetics.



**National Capital Planning Commission:** The NCPC is a 12-member body consisting of three presidentially -appointed members, The Mayor and Chair of the D.C. City Council, the heads of Executive branch agencies with regional land holdings, and leaders of House and Senate committees that have D.C. oversight. The NCPC holds a significant role as the central planning agency for federal land and buildings and it also advises D.C. on land use issues.

### Economic Entities

Economic entities are presented in terms of Developers and/or Figures from the Real Estate Sector as well as Major League Baseball.

#### Real Estate Sector/Developers

**Forest City:** Forest City is a Cleveland-based owner, operator, and developer of retail, office, apartment, and mixed-use sites with offices in nine U.S. cities, including D.C., San Francisco, New York, and Boston. They are a publicly traded NASDAQ corporation with consolidated assets of \$10 billion as of 2015. Their main role within the case was the development of SEFC but they also participated in other projects in the neighborhood.

**JBG Cos:** JBG is a D.C. based owner, developer, and manager of properties founded in 1960 that specializes in mixed use, urban infill, and transit oriented development and urban development. They have eleven investment funds totaling \$2.5 billion as of 2007.

JBG Cos was involved in many of the property development efforts during the case period, partnering with government, business, and community interests alike.

**Florida Rock Properties Inc:** Florida Rock is a publicly NASDAQ traded Maryland-based development and management company formed in 1989 who played a small early role in the case as a developer on the Anacostia waterfront.

**Others:** Other development and Real Estate Firms that participated in the case included Potomac Investment Properties (the Gewirz family), Toll Brothers, Cohen Companies, Greystar, Donohoe Cos, William C. Smith PN Hoffman Jarr Lynch Partners, and Cohen Siegel

Other Private Sector

**Major League Baseball:** MLB is a consortium of 30 teams governed by a Constitution and directed by a Commissioner. The Commissioner during the case period was Bud Selig and MLB's main role in the case was the negotiation, and preparations made, for the relocation of the Montreal Expos to Washington, D.C.

Social Advocacy Groups/Organizations/Media

Environmental Interest Groups

**The Sierra Club:** Founded in 1992 by John Muir, the Sierra Club self-identifies as the largest and most influential environmental advocacy group in the country with 2.4 million members. The Sierra Club's role in the Navy Yard case was to advocate and litigate for environmental site cleanup.

**Anacostia Watershed Society:** The AWS is a non-profit organization founded in 1989 by Robert Boone with the mission to protect and restore the Anacostia River and its watershed to the point of being swimmable and fishable. In addition to conducting shoe-leather cleanup activities on the river the group has also advocated for policies that benefit the watershed.

#### Neighborhood Groups

**Carrollburg Dwellings Residents Association:** A residents group for the dwellings on the 400 block of L Street that gave voice to the pre-Hope VI occupants. Resident Yvonne Clary was President of this association during the case period.

**Residents and Friends of Arthur Capper/Carrollburg Dwellings:** A resident-based committee founded by Debra Frazier that sprung up in opposition to the Hope VI plans to replace the public housing projects with a mixed income townhome community. This group had an alternative vision for the rehabilitation of the dwellings, which involved local influence on project developers and avoiding displacement of current residents through right of return. Frazier was also part of the Capper Carrollburg Residents Council.

## Planning Associations and Policy Think Tanks

**The Congress for New Urbanism:** CNU is a 2,600-member non-profit that advocates for anti-sprawl policies. Members are an affiliation of planners, developers, preservationists, government officials, and other people with an interest in creating sustainable, densely populated areas that utilize mixed use structures. CNU advocated to shape development in the Navy Yard in line with this vision.

**The Brookings Institution:** Brookings is a non-profit think tank located in the Dupont Circle neighborhood of D.C. whose many research areas include global economy and development. Brookings Metropolitan Policy Program provides research to government officials and others that stresses the need for human capital, innovation, global economic pertinence, and sustainable infrastructure as part of any urban development agenda. Brookings helped arrange and influence planning sessions with regard to development in the Navy Yard during the case period.

**The Urban Land Institute:** ULI is a 36,000-member non-profit entity that advocates for responsible land use and the creation of sustainable communities. Their members include professionals and amateurs engaged in issues of land use, real estate, and development. Their aim is to provide information to policy makers and others about how to build places in line with their vision. The group participated in discussions over how development in the Navy Yard would proceed and in 2013, they gave an open space award to the Yards Park development.

## Economic Associations

**The D.C. Chamber of Commerce:** Founded in 1950, the city's chapter of the chamber has a membership of 1,500 joined in the pursuit of multiple goals, including advocating on issues that impact business growth and development, such as the efforts to develop the Navy Yard area.

**The Greater Washington Board of Trade:** The Board is a regional association founded in 1889 with the mission of improving the business climate in D.C. and the surrounding areas.

**No D.C. Taxes for Baseball:** Led by Ed Lazere, this group sprang up in opposition to Mayor Williams's plan to build the Washington National's new stadium using public funds from additional taxes on business. The group was well-funded enough to procure a poll conducted by Ipsos-Publis Affairs in October of 2004 that surveyed D.C. voters.

## Media

**The Washington Post:** The Post is a daily newspaper founded in 1877 that is the print medium with the highest circulation in the D.C. area. The paper is also one of the most well-regarded sources of print news in the country and has 47 Pulitzer Prizes. While the importance of newspapers has diminished in recent years, for most of the case period, the Post was prominent and influential.

### *Summary of Case Players*

Listed above are 19 Government entities, including political offices and agencies; about 10 economic interests, mostly developers and landowners; and 11 social advocacy or community groups. This list is not entirely comprehensive but it demonstrates that there were a sufficient amount of varied interests involved in the development of the Navy Yard neighborhood for this case to serve as a very rich place to examine the interaction of politics, economics, and community interests.

### **Case History**

The case narrative is presented below and it is arranged chronologically by year. The story weaves many simultaneous events into a single story. In the analysis, the most important and revealing events will be presented in stand-alone form.

#### **Case Year: 1995**

On February 28<sup>th</sup>, in a move that would later be cited as the original catalyst for reinvestment in the Navy Yard, the Defense Base Closure and Realignment Commission (BRAC) issued a list of closings that would promise to bring approximately 4,000 jobs to the neighborhood. These workers were from the Naval Sea Systems Command (NAVSEA), and they would most likely also be bringing their network of private contractors to the neighborhood as well. NAVSEA was formerly housed in Crystal City, VA and they were originally thought to be headed to White Oak, MD, but at the last minute BRAC decided

that they were going to the District. Needless to say, D.C. officials were extremely pleased. "I am ecstatic that in a time of downsizing the Navy Yard will get further use", said Eleanor Holmes Norton. "The combination of the development of the Southeast Federal Center and the revival of the Navy Yard will remake the surrounding neighborhood" (Hall Vick, 1995).

#### Case Year: 1996

The Anacostia, often called D.C.'s forgotten river, began getting more environmental and public attention. In July, the Sierra Club Legal Defense Fund filed a civil lawsuit against the Navy and the GSA, asserting that the Navy Yard facility and the SEFC site had discharged PCBs, lead, mercury, and arsenic into the river in violation of The Clean Water act. The suit noted that the "massive contamination at the Navy Yard . . . has taken, and continues to take, a devastating toll on the productivity of the Anacostia River and poses a very serious threat to the health of residents" (Loeb, 1997). The Sierra Club preferred to win the suit, rather than wait for the EPA to declare the area a Superfund site because the cleanup would be quicker if it was the result of a court order. Meanwhile, Congress appropriated \$200 million in funding earmarked to be used in efforts to restore the local environment and demolish or restore unused buildings at the Navy Yard.

#### Case Year: 1997

In January, the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) began moving seriously towards putting the Navy Yard on the Superfund list, which would be the first site in D.C. to receive

such a designation. The Superfund program was created in 1980 and is a pool of money to clean up sites that the Federal government and the EPA have deemed to be a risk to human health and/or the environment. District Mayor Marion Barry (D) had already agreed to such a move in December of the previous year. Under the agreement, the military would be responsible for the expensive cleanup at the Navy Yard facility and the GSA for clean up at SEFC.

In April, the incoming NAVSEA employees indicated in a Washington Post article that they wanted the city to work with the Navy Yard to clean up the M. St. Quarter, a place that the piece referred to as “a hodgepodge of cement plants, fuel tanks, junkyards, and low-income neighborhoods on a river whose tide seems perpetually at ebb” (Behr, 1997a).

However, despite such continued denigration of the current state of the area, developers started showing serious interest. Patrick Mahady, who represented a group spearheaded by the prominent D.C. area Gewirtz family, remarked that the “Navy Yard is going to happen, and when it does, most people will realize that the Southeast is going to grow rapidly” (Behr, 1997a).



**Figure 3:5: Intersection of M St. and 1<sup>st</sup>. 1990<sup>12</sup>**



Such interest started to produce disagreements in the neighborhood. In the case of the SEFC location, developer Florida Rock proposed to build a site on the river for Earth Conservation Corp. a non-profit group which would sponsor maritime education and sailing activities for local residents in exchange for favorable zoning changes on the property. Noting that the community wanted housing as part of any development, Advisory Neighborhood Commission (ANC) member Thomas Wells (D-ANC-6) asserted that Florida Rock had not properly reached out to current community residents. This disagreement was indicative of the tension between the pragmatic need to advance future plans for vacant or underdeveloped sites and the ideal of serving community

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<sup>12</sup> Photo Credit: The Library of Congress via JDLand.com <http://www.jdland.com/dc/historic-photos-1992.cfm>

needs. Reflecting on this balance, City Council member Sharon Ambrose (D-Ward 6) noted that she would have wanted a mixed bag of residential, commercial, and restaurants, but she was afraid that if they forced the developer to do housing that nobody would take on the projects. Ultimately, Florida Rock received the zoning changes and would build the maritime center (Behr, 1997).

Certainly, the biggest signal of what was to come in the Navy Yard and across the District was the long-awaited official release of the NCPC's *Extending the Legacy: Planning America's Capital for the 21st Century*. Described by Commission Chairman Harvey B. Gantt, who was an architect and politician in North Carolina, as a rough guide and vision for long term growth rather than a comprehensive master plan, the document's content had been building for some time. In the decade prior, NCPC had invited teams of architects, urban designers, economists, and transportation planners to review their studies of what was possible in the District and they had conducted workshops, hosted community meetings, and received feedback from residents both in-person and via postal mail and email.

The plan's content had been released in partial and preliminary form for years, including its draft unveiling at a March, 1996 public exhibit at Union Station. The vision featured an extension of D.C.'s monumental core and highlighted a number of areas for redevelopment, one of which was the Navy Yard. This part of the plan recommended that the tip of South Capitol Street add restaurants, concert venues, marinas, and

riverfront activity and endorsed using a combination of federal, district, and private dollars for the redevelopment of SEFC and the Navy Yard in a move that they predicted would add 6,200 construction jobs and 15,000 permanent jobs for the District. These changes would highlight the Anacostia at center-stage, and the NCPC asserted that cleaning up the sewage, chemicals, and contaminated runoff currently plaguing the waterway "would offer a national example of responsible mediation, while returning a priceless natural resource to the community" (NCPC, 1997, p. 53).

Viewed as the third act in the planning of Washington D.C., following L'Enfant and McMillan, *Extending the Legacy* looked ahead at the next 50-100 years and issued specific proposals about what should be done, but perhaps more importantly, how it should be done. NCPC noted that any future planning should rely "to an extraordinary degree on creative partnerships among federal and District governments, private businesses, and community groups" (NCPC, 1997, p. 10). NCPC also called for an economic development corporation to pool the resources of these partners that would have the authority to buy and sell land as well as issue bonds and distribute grants and tax credits to private authorities.

Finally, the plan cited a need to learn lessons from prior redevelopment mistakes, such as those occurring in Southwest Washington a half a century before. As Executive Director Reginald W. Griffith wrote, "this document reasserts the value of planning and urban design and redefines how government should participate in the renewal of Washington -

not as the autocratic master builder, but as a partner and catalyst for change" (Ibid, p 61). Specifically discussing the rebuild of the Navy Yard, the plan stated that "the most ambitious initiative -- and a paradigm for future projects -- is the redevelopment of South Capitol/M Street, an historic, but blighted area," noting that "as an opportunity for enlightened community planning, the area is unequalled" (Ibid, p 56).

#### Case Year: 1998

District and Federal Government officials continued to cheerlead for redevelopment and share their vision for the area in the press, a vision which included both renovated public housing and office buildings. In March, Eleanor Holmes Norton called the spot "one of the most valuable pieces of property on the East Coast, five minutes from the Capitol" (Loeb, 1998). Additionally, the GSA's Jim Williams, claimed that the neighborhood's promise was already translating into subtle, albeit somewhat cloaked, progress. Williams remarked that there were "a lot of developers taking land, taking positions down here" (Loeb, 1998), but acknowledged that there were still problems getting federal agencies to agree to be housed at SEFC, saying that the agencies "don't want to be pioneers" (Loeb, 1998).

Indeed, the GSA tried to lure the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms (ATF) to the vacant parcel at SEFC, but ATF instead opted for a location in the NoMa neighborhood, near Union Station, claiming that the Navy Yard land was "too remote" (Haggerty, 1999a). However, there were hopes that the Marines, currently housed in barracks on the Capitol

Hill side of I-695, would take over the vacant Arthur Capper high rise buildings. The Cappers once consisted of 240 apartments for low income seniors, but residents were moved out after the District of Columbia Housing Authority (DCHA) called the dwellings uninhabitable.

On the Anacostia, the beneficiary of Florida Rock's outreach efforts, Earth Conservation Corp, set up shop and began to manage the maritime park and center on the river. In July, the Navy Yard was officially placed on the Superfund list, meaning that the site was eligible for cleanup support from the EPA. However, while the designation brought no immediate, direct funds, it made the cleanup a higher priority for the Defense Department. Also, that same summer the incinerator area at the Navy Yard, which was brimming with hazardous waste, was removed.

In the fall, Marion Barry decided not to seek re-election and was succeeded by Anthony Williams. Williams had previously served as the comptroller for the state of Connecticut and immediately prior, as CFO for the District. He was nominated for CFO by Barry in 1995 and was drafted into running for the office by a grassroots political organization after he was able to balance the city's books in a short time. As Mayor, he became an instant backer of redevelopment in the District and set the goal of creating clusters of revitalization in six specific areas, including the Navy Yard. Williams planned to use \$75 million in federal development and infrastructure funding to acquire property, issue tax incentives for business, and for general use in neighborhood rehabilitation. In November,

neighborhood mainstay Tracks was demolished to make way for NAVSEA contractors. This move not only replaced a physical building, but also symbolized the handoff of the neighborhood from the past to a yet uncertain future.

#### Case Year: 1999

On March 24th, the Marine Corps and the DCHA completed the sale of the 13 acres of land at 7<sup>th</sup> and K streets, SE that formerly contained the Arthur Capper high-rise public housing units. The sale price was \$500,000 and the proceeds were earmarked to be used to build a community center. Additionally, the Marines agreed to renovate a local ballfield and share its use with neighborhood residents. Former Capper residents and neighborhood activists called the sale a giveaway, saying that they wanted 60 town houses for low income families built on the property (Washington Post Metro in Brief, 1999). However, DCHA defended the move, saying that there was already an oversupply of low income housing in the area. Remarking on the effect that the sale would have on the goodwill of local residents toward future redevelopment, Reverend Paul Wee of the Lutheran Church of Reformation, located in nearby Capitol Hill, said, "If this goes through without any financial reimbursement to the community, there will be a tremendous amount of cynicism" (Metro in Brief, 1999).

In May, Washington Gas Light Company decided to redevelop 12 acres of land it held near 12<sup>th</sup> and M streets. The parcel had been vacant for some time, but the company decided that the plans for the Navy Yard made the option of selling worth considering. The land

was purchased by Lincoln properties, a national real estate firm, who planned to build a mix of office space, retail, and a hotel. Lincoln had never taken on a project in the District of Columbia but stated that they did so because they wanted to be a part of the Navy Yard area's renaissance (Haggerty, 1999).

At this point, despite symbolic moves like the one by Washington Gas Light Company, favorable external opinion about the neighborhood was still strictly for speculators and insiders. The general public had different views, but attempts were ongoing to combat those perceptions. In June, Rear Admiral Christopher Weaver, commandant of the city Naval District said "we're working with the city and the community to change popular impression" (Vogel, 1999). District officials such as Councilwoman Sharon Ambrose (D-Ward-6) agreed, saying that "the city is going to have to make some infrastructure improvements, but if it's done correctly, we're going to have a fabulous renaissance" (Vogel, 1999).

In the fall, the District's urban planning infrastructure received a big boost from City Councilwoman Linda Cropp (D), who increased the FY 2000 planning office budget and staffing by 41% and the zoning office budget by 33%. Additionally, Anthony Williams hired the first D.C. Office of Planning Director in two years, 36 year-old Andrew Altman, who had previously served as the planning director for the city of Oakland and had just completed training at Harvard's Kennedy School of Government. Altman's mission from the very beginning of his appointment was the redevelopment of areas like the Navy Yard,

which he had done during his stint in Oakland, and to establish a waterfront city, remarking that “all great cities celebrate their waterfronts” (Fehr, 1999b). Before this, D.C. planning and zoning had been dysfunctional for years, hamstrung by budget and staff cuts. To be sure, Altman noted that at the time of his hire he had 10 professional planners in his office, which was in stark contrast to the smaller city of Oakland where he had 45 to 50 (Ibid).

On October 13th, Eleanor Holmes Norton took Congressional action designed to speed up the long-planned redevelopment of the 55-acre SEFC parcel, introducing the bipartisan H.R. 3069 with Rep. Bob Franks (R-NJ), James Traficant (D-OH), and Robert E. Wise Jr. (D-WV). The bill proposed the creation of a public-private partnership where the Federal Government would keep ownership of land but make it available to a developer. Such a move was unprecedented. Under the plan, the developer would be chosen competitively, but would not be required to build federal offices, and in return the developer would supply the money for the project that the government lacked. In the Washington Post, Holmes-Norton noted that “the approach is mutually beneficial, the federal government makes its property available for development and revenue-producing occupancy, and the developer, selected competitively, receives a valuable opportunity” (Lipton, 1999).

Up to this point the government had already spent an estimated \$30 million in environmental cleanup (Ibid) but the District was eager and willing to add more to the effort in the form of incentives to the private sector. Mayor Williams sent legislation that



gave tax incentives and liability protection for developers who build on polluted sites and Carol M. Browner, administrator of the EPA endorsed his ideas. His plan was to “turn these [industrial sites] from anchors driving the city down, to locomotives pulling it up” (Lipton 1999). In November, the city implemented the M Street Southeast Streetscape Improvement Project, a beautification program that reconstructed streets and added benches, lights, trees, and new curbs. The effort was launched in order to turn M Street into a major commercial artery.

Real estate player and landowner Michael Gewirz noted in the Washington Post that “we’re here for the long haul” (Haggerty, 1999b). Gewirz had been talking up the area for years, buying land in 1989, under the expectation that it would take “six to seven years to change zoning and perceptions, as well as to ride out the real estate cycle” (Haggerty, 1999b). Before the year ended, construction began on the new NAVSEA headquarters within the gates of the Navy Yard facility.

#### Case Year: 2000

In March, the Anacostia Waterfront Initiative (AWI) was officially launched as an enterprise to revitalize and restore the river and its surrounding neighborhoods. At the time of its founding, the initiative involved the D.C. government, four local quasi-governmental corporations, and 14 Federal Agencies. The AWI was focused on the environment but it was held together largely as a transportation-based agreement that

would work on avenues to access the river and the surrounding neighborhoods with the pronounced involvement of both Federal and D.C. Departments of Transportation.

In May, a workshop held at nearby Van Ness Elementary School to discuss the future of the Navy Yard was attended by 200 residents, business leaders, architects, planners, and federal and district officials. The workshop was initiated by Mayor Williams, endorsed by the Congress for the New Urbanism (CNU) and led by New Urbanist Ken Greenberg. Specific suggestions emerging from the meeting included a reduction in the width of M. Street from 3 lanes to 2 lanes with widened sidewalks and bike lanes, extensions to the waterfront for New Jersey Avenue, 4<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> streets, and perhaps a pedestrian footbridge and the addition of waterfront taxis. There was also general agreement that the neighborhood could benefit from a “big draw, such as a museum or a park” (Fehr and Montgomery, 1999).

Not all attendees were excited for the future. Local low income residents were worried about the plans potential for accelerating gentrification and displacement. Yvonne Clary, head of the Carrollsburg Dwellings Residents Association expressed the desire for job set-aside promises from the Navy for local residents. Specifically, she called for 500 of the new jobs to go to community residents. This request was a non-starter as the Navy asserted that their jobs were too highly specialized to commit 10% of them to locals, but the workshop did make an informal pledge of no net loss of public housing and professed the general goal of home ownership for low-income residents (Ibid).

Perhaps more important than any specific suggestion, the workshop built on the theme of an urban waterfront neighborhood that was now being envisioned by many. Workshop leader Ken Greenberg noted that the event was the moment that plans began “moving away from an isolated compound surrounded by walls” (Fehr Montgomery, 2000) to the SEFC “acting as a catalyst for what happens in the rest of the neighborhood” (Fehr Montgomery 2000). According to the GSA’s Robert Peck, this signaled “a departure from the Federal Government’s initial plan to make the center a federal office enclave” (Fehr Montgomery, 2000). John G. Parsons, member of NCPG, further added that he felt that this was “the most exciting thing that’s happened in this city in 30 years” (Fehr Montgomery, 2000).

Many of these sentiments were echoed in the GSA document *Catalyzing a Waterfront Neighborhood*, which reflected on a forum entitled *GSA Federal Buildings: Tools for Community Investment* held at the Brookings Institution by the agencies’ Center for Urban Development in May. In the document, author Todd Bressi (2000), discussed the GSA’s triple bottom line; 1) to meet real estate needs of federal agencies, 2) to be efficient for the taxpayers of the U.S., and 3) to meet their civic duty to be good neighbors. The agency asserted that they have “patiently been planning for this day” and stated clearly that they were “well aware of how federal development can help, or frankly hinder, local revitalization efforts” (GSA, 2000).

Also, in the document, Rear Admiral Chris Weaver, commandant of Naval District Washington and commander of the Navy Yard, explained the Navy's strategy for trying to revitalize the area. Claiming that the Navy's historic presence imbued them with a strong sense of historic responsibility for the neighborhood, he explained that they have a standard information sheet that they give to developers and businesses telling them the basic facts about the neighborhood, that they attend local meetings of business and community people to hear their concerns, and then they let the marketplace take over.

This strategy of public/private partnership for development was further cemented on October 10<sup>th</sup>, as Eleanor Holmes Norton's Southeast Federal Center Public-Private Development Act of 2000 was approved by Congress. The bill authorized the GSA to provide for redevelopment on the site through partnering with a wide variety of entities. The conference report on H.R. 3069 asserted that a development venture could add 15,000 jobs to the area, while qualifying that the agreement could include leases, equal partnership between the public and private sector, or even a very limited government involvement. Anthony Williams mentioned that he saw the area as a possible destination for high-tech firms.

Also, on October 10<sup>th</sup>, a longshot proposal to bury the Southeast/Southwest Freeway underground was unveiled at a public meeting at the National Building Museum by prominent D.C. architect Joseph Passonneau. The plan was based on the idea that the freeway was an obstacle to redeveloping the area. It was immediately seen as a non-

starter, largely because suburban districts would not like their commuters being inconvenienced, but it's very discussion signaled the growing seriousness with which a wide range of entities were regarding the promise of the Navy Yard.

In November, Andy Altman discussed this growing seriousness and positive feelings toward the neighborhood and what he referred to hopefully as the current synergy between politics, economics, and the community spurring reinvestment there. In order to achieve his waterfront vision and answer the fiscal challenges the city faced, D.C. needed the partnerships of the Mayor, City Council, the community, and the federal government coupled with a strong economy. Altman declared that "we are a waterfront city, but you would not know it," because the Anacostia had been cut off by "urban renewal" and "freeways" and he lamented the fact that you had "some of the poorest neighborhoods in the city, that are literally cut off from their waterfront" (Wilgoren, 2000) due largely to the 55 acres of vacant GSA-held land abutting the Anacostia. Acknowledging that the city faced fiscal limits stemming from its inability to levy a commuter tax, he viewed the answer to be drawing more residents into living in urban neighborhoods like the Navy Yard. Also, that winter, three of the four Arthur Capper apartments were demolished to pave the way for the Marine Barracks expansion.

#### Case Year: 2001

The impending arrival of NAVSEA and its fleet of contractors was fast approaching and, in late January, the City Council passed an interesting law. Five Navy Yard neighborhood

strip clubs endangered by eminent domain meant to clear the way for the new arrivals were the beneficiaries of the law, introduced by Jack Evans (D-Ward 2), which upheld a city ban on new strip clubs but allowed existing businesses to relocate or transfer their licenses to new locations (Chan, 2001).

In March, NAVSEA finally arrived, after six years of planning, bringing with them one-quarter of the Navy's overall budget. Eleanor Holmes Norton proudly proclaimed that the Navy Yard was returning to being the center of the city's economic life, like when she was a child. Meanwhile, the GSA, the D.C. Office of Planning, and the Navy continued to trumpet their common agenda of establishing an urban, mixed use, waterfront complex. Buoyed by possibility, GSA Assistant Regional Administrator Tony Costa, observed excitedly "how often do you get a chance to build a new urban waterfront?" (Nakashima, 2001).

The D.C. Office of Planning pitched the plans as a win-win-win for open space, sustainable development, and jobs for local residents but skepticism remained. Yvonne Cleary head of the Capper/Carrollsborg resident's council noted "truthfully, we are concerned about our homes" (Nakashima, 2001). Others were blunter, such as 32-year resident of the housing complex, Paula Martin, who said "they want to take this from all the black people." "They're going to move us across the bridge, probably to cheaper homes" (Nakashima, 2001).

Shortly after, in May, the DCHA began applying for Hope VI grants to demolish three Navy Yard public housing projects, covering nine square blocks; including Carrollsburg Dwellings, Arthur Capper Family, and Arthur Capper Senior Apartment Complex. Planning sessions were to begin May 21<sup>st</sup> that were organized to elicit feedback from the community as to what the new neighborhood should look like and the DCHA would begin hold public meetings on the Hope VI program on May 23<sup>rd</sup> and June 13<sup>th</sup>.

In these sessions and in the press, the city went on the offense against claims that they were planning to move local residents out in order to aid gentrification and enrich developers. In a July article in the Washington Post, Andy Altman claimed, “this isn’t about displacing people, it’s about rebuilding a whole neighborhood...learning from past mistakes, which have displaced people” (Wilgoren, 2001c). In October, after the city won \$35.6 million in funding. Mayor Williams asserted that the plan included “preserving all (public housing). One Hundred percent. One-zero-zero percent” (Wilgoren, 2001d). Debra Frazier, spokeswoman for friends of the Arthur Capper/Carrollsburg Dwellings, responded that they did “not want to lose [their] long-standing, close knit community to unscrupulous developers” (Wilgoren, 2001d).

In June, the Brookings Institution took further interest in the city, publishing *Envisioning a Future Washington*, a document that offered advice to policymakers for the next decade. The report asserted that there was a need for an inclusive D.C. where residents lived in safe communities with access to employment opportunities, amenities, and

quality schools. They underscored that this was a crucial time to have a public discussion over the future because the city had just recovered from its fiscal crisis and development and economic growth were already underway. It was also a time when there were tensions between the visions of different groups who laid a claim to the city.

Noting that D.C. was hamstrung by the inability to levy a commuter tax, the loss of revenue from federal government property within its boundaries, and no state to share the cost burden of running a city, Brookings laid out a strategy focused on growing the city through residents, preferably ones making comfortable incomes with fewer children. What they called the “adult” strategy of luring middle and upper class singles and childless couples could offer a \$300 million boost to the city’s bottom line. Brookings’ vision also included the recommendation that in order for this residential growth strategy to reach its potential, the goal should be 100,000 new residents within the decade.

#### Case Year: 2002

To date, the NCPG, GSA, the Navy, the D.C. Government, Congress, the Anacostia Watershed Society and other public and private entities such as the Brookings Institution and the Congress for New Urbanism had taken a long-term strategy toward redevelopment of the Navy Yard area. Years of quiet, behind-the-scenes planning had begun to bear fruit, but what would come next may have taken even the most ambitious backers of the neighborhood by surprise.



During the 2001-2002 offseason baseball winter meetings MLB Commissioner Bud Selig announced that D.C. was a prime candidate to receive a team, namely the financially-challenged Montreal Expos. For years, D.C. and Northern Virginia had been attempting to lure baseball back to the region which had been without a franchise since the Washington Senators left for Texas after the 1970 season. In 1999, D.C. published a study which identified four potential sites, including the old RFK stadium site, Mount Vernon Square in Downtown, SEFC, and Buzzard Point. Almost immediately after Selig's announcement, The Committee of 100 on the Federal City, an influential group founded in 1923 to defend Pierre L'Enfant's vision for the city, loudly and publicly opposed the downtown Mount Vernon Square location (Hsu and Asher, 2002).

The announcement about the potential for baseball in the Navy Yard was still purely speculative. But, on February 2, in a concrete move, the Department of Transportation (DOT) agreed to be housed at SEFC on an 11-acre complex. The GSA sold the land at M Street and New Jersey Avenue to developer JBG Cos who would build the new DOT headquarters. GSA Regional Administrator, Don Williams proclaimed that "this project will provide a high quality headquarters for the Department of Transportation, at the best value to the government and taxpayers," and "it also will spur development of GSA's 55-acre Southeast Federal Center" (GSA 2002).

However, despite the GSA finally convincing a Federal agency to move into the area, D.C. government officials were roundly displeased. Mayor Williams and his top planner Andy

Altman objected on design grounds, arguing that the high-rise that was planned would cut into their vision of an integrated waterfront. Sharon Ambrose (D-Ward 6) proclaimed that “this will build another office canyon that is empty at night, recreating Crystal City on the banks of the Anacostia. It’s a big disappointment” (Spinner and Tucky 2002). Crystal City is an area in the close Virginia suburbs which is the embodiment of brutalist architecture in opposition to the mixed use, walkable, transit-friendly neighborhood D.C. officials desired for the Navy Yard. This was especially relevant since an office tower built at the northern end of the property would once again cut the waterfront off from the city.

Also, in February, the Historic Preservation Review Board (HPRB) Review Board expanded the Capitol Hill Historic District to include 8th Street to the gates of the Navy Yard complex. Not only would this designation provide resources to protect historical facilities but it would also ensure that any future development in the area be true to the spirit of the district. Perhaps more importantly, it signified the Navy Yard area’s connection to Capitol Hill. In September, more linkages to the neighborhood were considered. The City Council approved \$310 Million for the D.C. Streetcar Project which would include a 7.2 mile starter light rail line from Anacostia to the Navy Yard. Ultimately, the line would meet financial hurdles and never was completed. On the baseball front, in a hint of what was to come, the D.C. Council said the city could not afford a \$200 million stadium, such as the one pledged by Mayor Williams, largely because says the economy could not support such a massive public expenditure (Timberg, 2002).

### Case Year: 2003

At Anthony William's second inauguration on January 2nd, the Mayor announced his desire to increase the city's population by 100,000 residents over the next decade (Santana, 2003). This was a bold, and potentially impossible goal, as the city had been losing population since 1950. The Mayor's plan was hatched as a strategy to hurdle the fiscal constraints imposed on the city via the ban on a commuter tax which, alongside with the District's inability to tax Federal Government property, had hamstrung city budgets for years. This announcement was strongly influenced by the Brookings Institution report released in the summer of 2001.

On April 17th, the Mayor's office presented a report entitled Ten Strategies for a Stronger Washington at Brookings discussing the goal of adding 100,000 residents and also outlining a specific strategy for the development of the Navy Yard area, focused on generating housing, reinvestment in schools, establishment of new neighborhood, enhancing partnerships, growth of civic and retail centers, and taking advantage of transit opportunities.

City officials planned to make room for many of these new types of residents in housing that was sprouting up in neighborhoods around the city where public housing had been demolished, such as Capper/Carrollsborg in the Navy Yard. The Mayor and other city officials attempted to combat the idea that they were aiding gentrification, stating the desire to bring middle class black families who, in years past had fled the city to suburbs

like Prince Georges County. They asserted in the Washington Post that they were targeting a “balanced population, drawing new people without driving out current residents squeezed by gentrification” (Cohn 2003).

In November the Anacostia Waterfront Initiative Framework Plan was officially released in with five goals in mind; including 1) environmental healing of the River, 2) rethinking transportation to improve access to the river, 3) a waterfront park system featuring a river walk and a trail 4) livening up the waterfront to celebrate and explore cultural heritage, and 5) the promotion of sustainable economic development.

To this point, approximately \$2 billion in public and private finds were either spent or committed to the Navy Yard area and the year 2003 Federal appropriations included \$65 million dedicated to Anacostia River projects (Santana, 2003). Also, this year, over 400 families living at the Cappers housing project were relocated from their homes armed with Section 8 vouchers, scattered to many directions in the close suburbs or other parts of the city, to make way for the redevelopment of the projects into a mixed income community.

#### Case Year: 2004

The neighborhood was the subject of a 3-day tour and session in January hosted jointly by the Urban Land Institute and the D.C. Government, involving 15 architects, designers, and urban planners. It was hoped that this tour would result in additional suggestions for

redevelopment and a fresh perspective on what could be accomplished. Participant Richard Rogers, an architect who helped redesign London's waterfront, observed that "there's no great public space where you can come down and enjoy the waterfront," adding "there are no cafes. No restaurants. It's certainly being under-utilized" (Hedgepeth, 2004b).

Rogers came to this conclusion through observations of the contrast between the banks of the Anacostia and the banks of the Potomac, which had many of these public spaces and amenities. In order to ameliorate the Anacostia's shortcomings, the group ultimately endorsed the idea of a quasi-public company to oversee development efforts. This tour occurred around the same time of the January 17<sup>th</sup> official public unveiling of the Anacostia Waterfront Initiative as part of the exhibit "D.C. Builds: The Anacostia Waterfront" at the National Building Museum.

That same month, Mayor Williams approved \$11.5 million in Tax Increment Financing (TIF) for Capitol Hill Towers at New Jersey Avenue and L Streets . TIF is a development strategy used by municipalities where they earmark property tax increases stemming from the improvement of property reflected in assessed values. For this project, which had been in the works for four years, the D.C. government gave the funds to New York-based developer Valhal Corp to help them get the loans necessary to build a mixed use complex. Theoretically, Valhal would then eventually pay the money back to the city through an agreed-upon portion of the taxes generated from the complex; which included

residential units, a Courtyard Marriott, a parking garage, and retail space. This was the city's first TIF project undertaken outside of the downtown area, and the residential portion of the project was slated to include 128 affordable housing units.

Also in January, Forest City Enterprises of Cleveland was chosen by the GSA to develop the remaining 44 acres of SEFC into offices, apartments, condos, shops, and a waterfront park that was expected to generate \$30 million in tax revenue. The project, which later came to be known as "The Yards" was designated to be unveiled in three phases that would be completed over the next 10 to 20 years. Deborah Ratner Salzberg, the president of Forest City, noted that the SEFC "site offers tremendous potential for a unique waterfront destination with natural beauty, historic character, high-quality architecture and sustainable design" and that "people who live, shop or work in the Southeast Federal Center area will be part of a promising future, as Washington's plan for restoring the Anacostia waterfront gathers increasing momentum" (Forest City, 2004).

As spring arrived, the AWI accepted the 2004 Outstanding Planning Award from the American Planning Association (APA), which was holding its annual conference at the D.C. Hilton from April 24-28th. For much of the month, the river was getting attention from the Capitol River Relief Project, a joint volunteer effort between politics, industry, and environmental groups organized by environmentalists Chad Pregracke and Doug Siglin and funded by the Koch Foundation. The theme of the effort was 'Team up to Clean Up' and the volunteers collected recyclable materials and garbage from the river for three

weeks. This effort was clearly intended to be small part of the larger idea of paving the way for development. As Siglin, Director of the Chesapeake Bay Foundation's Anacostia River Initiative, noted "If you're going to spend \$1 million on a condo, you want to be reasonably sure that there's not raw sewage coming out under your window" (Hsu, 2004).

Over the course of the summer, developers began literally making concrete progress on their buildings with most of the openings scheduled within two to five years. External factors which aided development included an influx of capital from pension funds and other institutions coupled with historically low interest rates. These supply side drivers were met by demand from tenants looking for housing outside of downtown, which led top D.C. planner Andy Altman to become convinced that the Navy Yard was where the private market for housing was going. But, developers still were signaling a desire for stronger pushes from D.C., a point underlined by one unnamed player who told the Washington Post that "the city will need to offer tax credits or other financial incentives before they start building there" (Hedgepeth, 2004d).

In early fall, the dream of having a baseball team in D.C. was drawing closer to reality and the idea of placing a stadium in the Navy Yard area piqued the interest of the forces that had been pushing the neighborhood's redevelopment for years. A stadium, now potentially priced at around \$400 million, could be the big, bedrock feature that they were looking for to draw people into the area. Additionally, many were convinced that the AWI could see its implementation timeline dramatically reduced by such a move. A

ballpark “would improve a large tract of land all at once” (Wilgoren, 2004a) noted R. Stewart Bartley, Managing Director of JBG Cos which was building the new DOT headquarters just a few blocks away.

On September 29<sup>th</sup> Major League Baseball (MLB) officially announced that the Montreal Expos would move to D.C. for the 2005 season, whereupon the franchise would temporarily play at RFK stadium until a new park could be built. Early on, Mayor Williams settled on a strategy of building support for a publicly funded stadium through stressing its economic and community-based benefits. The stadium, whose price he now quoted at \$440 million, would be paid for through the issuing of bonds and additional taxes on business. Part of his plan included free tickets for low income kids through an agreement where MLB would place \$1 into a fund for every ticket over 2.4 million tickets sold every year. Unfortunately, the team would reach that level of attendance goal in their first year, but would not attain that level again until 2013.



**Figure 3:6 Anthony Williams Celebrates the Arrival of the Montreal Expos<sup>13</sup>**



The Mayor's stadium plan faced almost immediate backlash from some segments of the city. At an October 25<sup>th</sup> event at Waterside Mall hosted by the Southwest ANC, over 150 residents of the area voiced their concerns over a current perceived lack of city services and future fears of displacement. One resident, Doris Barnes, spoke for many when she said "we need schools, jobs, homes. We don't need a baseball stadium!" (Nakamura, 2004a). Some African-American residents in the neighborhood and across the city drew a connection between the stadium plans and accelerating gentrification as all being all

<sup>13</sup> Photo Credit: Getty Images <http://www.gettyimages.com/galleries/search?phrase=Anthony+Williams+-+Mayor&family=editorial&specificpeople=208975>

part of “The Plan,” the perceived culmination of a decade’s long strategy by elite whites to take back the city theorized by the city’s African American residents.

The backlash, however, was not limited to low-income residents of the neighborhood or African-Americans across the city. Ed Lazere, head of an organization called No D.C. Taxes for Baseball, also voiced his objections. Lazere had been the executive director of the D.C. Fiscal Policy Institute since 2001, an organization whose aim is to inform city officials on issues of taxation and budgeting, especially as they pertain to low and moderate income residents. It did not help the Mayor’s case that the meeting was attended by administrator Robert C. Bobb and other city officials, but not the Mayor himself. After the event, the Southwest ANC voted to oppose the stadium by a 5-1 margin.

Adding to the Mayor’s public relations woes the estimated cost of the ballpark was causing sending sticker shock ripples across the District. In November, City Council Chairman Linda Cropp (D) proposed moving the ballpark to the RFK site, a switch that she asserted could save the city at least 20% of the total ballpark cost. MLB was dismayed by Cropp’s proposal, feeling that they already had a deal in place with Mayor Williams. But, despite their concerns, MLB would state that they planned to give the Mayor until December 31<sup>st</sup> to work out the internal disagreement among city officials. Institutionally, the Council was split, and Cropp had a hand to play, she would be handing out committee chairmanships in January.

Non-governing organizations across the city were also split as to what to do, the Chamber of Commerce backed the Cropp plan, but the Greater Washington Board of Trade felt that the city should stick with the original plan set forth by Mayor Williams. Esteemed policy analyst and economist, Hank Aaron of the Brookings Institute, weighed in with a November 7<sup>th</sup> op-ed in the Washington Post against the stadium plan, saying that “the proposed deal imposed huge costs on the District and gives virtually all of the financial gains to the team. The city will bear the burden for years to come, while enjoying little real financial benefit from baseball’s presence here” (Aaron, 2004).

Following the initial stadium plan rollout, an extremely uncertain period would follow during which neither Cropp nor the Mayor felt they had the votes to secure their vision for a stadium site. Both parties would engage in horse trading, maneuvers, and public relations. The Mayor pledged a library and recreation center to two council members in order for their support and used the executive bully pulpit to address residents directly. In his stead, developers like Douglas Jemal backed him, telling city residents that “we have a chance to build an inner harbor like they have in Baltimore right here” (Nakamura, Montgomery, 2004c). For her part, Cropp pushed voting on the bill got pushed back while she attempted to find private financing for the ballpark, bringing in BW Realty Advisors, a group which included the son of former White House Chief of Staff John Sununu.

On November 14<sup>th</sup>, the Washington Post threw a bombshell into the negotiations by producing an independent stadium estimate cost of up to \$614 million (Kovaleski and

Nakamura, 2004). However, the City Council would reject private financing on November 15<sup>th</sup>. Sixteen days later, the council voted 6-4 to build the stadium in the Navy Yard but created a formal measure to entertain private funding proposals for up to 120 days which could supplement the cost of the stadium up to 50% of the entire bill and added \$45 million for libraries and \$30 million in neighborhood projects. MLB rejected this plan, reiterating that the city had until December 31<sup>st</sup> to return to the original deal.

A flurry of possibilities for private financing would follow, including such ideas as selling up to \$100 million for nearby parking rights to a private entity, selling the right to build taller buildings than were currently allowable nearby, and selling the rights to open retail stores on the ground level of the ballpark. A poll, commissioned by No D.C. Taxes for Baseball was released on October 27th, where slightly more than half of D.C. residents were said to prefer private financing, even if it meant losing the Expos. The poll also contained bad news for Mayor Williams, showing that the stadium situation had earned him the displeasure of black and white city residents alike (Morin, 2004).

With the clock running out, on December 29th, the council approved a stadium package by a 7-6 margin. The financing package included a gross receipts tax on large businesses and a utilities tax on businesses and federal offices that would pay off the bonds. The city would continue to search for private financing and MLB would share the cost of overrun insurance. Chairman Linda Cropp defended her actions in putting the city's team in jeopardy, saying what she got was a better deal. She would refer to the back and forth

between the Council, the Mayor, and MLB as something that “should have happened. It’s a sign of good government” (Nakamura and Heath, 2004).

On the heels of the stadium financing drama between the Mayor, the Council, and MLB there was still the need to implement the ballpark plan, whose challenges included the need to buy land. Overall, 21 acres were needed which was currently in the hands of 28 individuals, businesses, limited liability companies, and trusts.

#### Case Year: 2005

From the onset, the D.C. Office of Planning was intimately involved in the discussion over the ballpark design, wanting to ensure that the Anacostia River was featured prominently and that the stadium’s effect on the neighborhood was in line with their vision. “Fundamentally, what we want to see is a vibrant, mixed-use area there,” (Hedgepeth, 2005a) said Director Altman, who added that he hoped to have a 50-acre master zoning plan completed by June which could show developers and real estate interests what would be rezoned from industrial to mixed use. ANC commissioner, Mary C. Williams, agreed and asked that whatever was built would be designed to serve not only ballpark visitors, but also community residents, noting that the area needs “grocery stores, coffee shops, hardware stores, dry cleaners, and bookstores” to “meet the needs of residents” (Hedgepeth, 2005a).

Meanwhile, the land rush continued. As of April, three major land acquisitions had occurred and six more were proceeding. F. Russel Hines, executive President of Monument Realty characterized the neighborhood real estate market as being “like a gold rush to get in and get the best sites” (Hedgepeth, 2005a). Planning workshops for the stadium were held at Van Ness Elementary School in April, May, and June which included community residents, the D.C. Sports and Entertainment Commission, D.C. Office of Planning, and the D.C. Department of Transportation.

In May, letters to the current holders of the land that the stadium stood on were sent by the D.C. Office of Property Management. The letters constituted early notification that the city would begin negotiating with them for their property as early as summer. Some of the recipients, were upset, and questioned whether a stadium could qualify as a Public Good under Eminent Domain. At the same time, landowners around the stadium footprint were inundated with appetizing offers. The land was so valuable because the city was pushing their concept of a ballpark destination district. Andy Altman defended the city’s aggressive stance, noting that “allowing private development to happen without the city’s influence and controls would not achieve these goals.” (Nakamura, 2005) The District felt that a destination district with housing was in line with best practices, as was done at Coors Field in Denver, and would stand in contrast to what occurred with Seattle’s Safeco field where no action happens on non-game days because of the lack of housing.

When the last of the Carrollsborg projects closed, and the remaining residents were given Federal Section 8 subsidy vouchers, housing advocates say that some of the former residents went to projects East of the River or in Prince Georges County. Due to the slow process of building the Capitol Quarter Townhomes development, by 2012 just 114 of the inhabits of the 386 affordable housing units were occupied by returners.

By fall, the discussions over the ballpark design were embroiled in controversy, mirroring what happened during the stadium deal. The issues with design, in terms of which materials to use and park size, would affect the eventual final price tag of the stadium, which was resolved by spring with the city imposing a \$611 million cap on construction costs. This continued lack of coordination and disagreement among their District partners in the Mayor's Office and the City Council frustrated Major League Baseball to the point that a high level MLB official anonymously told the Washington Post that "the city has no one in charge of the project" and pleaded with the reporter to "find out who speaks for the city on the project – let us know who it is" (Nakamura and Heath, 2005a).

The city was now negotiating for land, officially offering about \$97 million total for stadium site parcels owned by the remaining landholders that were assessed two years ago at \$32 million. The District gave the owners 30 days to respond or face eviction. The city also was assisting with relocation, but it was not always easy, especially in the case of a trash transfer station and some adult-oriented businesses (Nakamura, 2005). However, despite efforts, as of late October only one landowner had agreed to sell, so on October

25<sup>th</sup> the city filed papers to seize the remaining \$84 million worth in land, giving the holdout owners 90 days to leave. As the year ended, word leaked that D.C. CFO Natwar M. Ghandi privately told city officials that the price tag for the stadium could reach as high as \$714 million, a figure Williams publicly dismissed (Nakamura and Heath, 2005).

#### Case Year: 2006

In January, Major League Baseball brought in the American Arbitration Association to mediate a discussion of the stadium lease because the city missed the December 31, 2005 deadline for approval, mainly over disagreement over who would pay for cost overruns.

MLB President Robert DuPuy, identified the difficulties as being caused by the city, noting

“the District, for all its many pluses, is not an easy city with which to do business,” “city leaders frequently quibble with baseball about its commitments, and they often quarrel with each other. There are so many interested parties in the D.C. Government that it seems on some days that no one is in control and on other days that everyone wants to be in control” (Nakamura and Heath, 2006a).

Offering a way to sign a lease, Linda Cropp offered a deal that capped the stadium cost at \$535 million, anything more would have to be privately financed from team owners and the league. The City Council also expected MLB to select a local ownership group and to have community benefits written into the lease agreement.

Meanwhile, the District forced property owners to vacate their property by February 7<sup>th</sup>.

One of them was Ken Wyban, a retired Army sergeant major, who bought his house in 1998 for \$161,000 with the plans of opening a bed and breakfast. The city's offer of \$1.2 million for his property was not satisfactory because he felt that the land around the



stadium footprint available on the private market was going for more. “I see all the development here and thought I’d be right in the middle of it” “I never thought I’d get knocked out of it” (Nakamura, 2006b).

Finally, on March 7<sup>th</sup>, by a 9-4 vote, the City Council voted to approve a construction contract, which capped public spending at \$611 million and stipulated that the stadium would open in 2008. Accompanying the ballpark itself were plans to improve the area around it. The goal for the ballpark destination district involved four developers, Western Development, Monument Realty, LLC, Cordish Co, and Forest City, and planned the opening of its first phase by spring 2009. Additionally, the city needed a \$20 million renovation of Navy Yard Metro that would be necessary to accommodate crowds and D.C. DOT planned to spend \$625 million to expand South Capitol Street and rebuild the Frederick Douglass Bridge.

Many of these plans for the area’s revitalization stalled by a debate over stadium parking. In October, Anthony Williams went back to the council to ask for an additional \$75 million over the cap to build parking garages. On November 14<sup>th</sup> the Council approved 2 three-story garages north of the ballpark and overrode an earlier ruling that free standing garages would hamper economic development in the area.

**Figure 3:7: New Good and Plenty Carry Out at Future Site of Nationals Park<sup>14</sup>**



Case Year: 2007

While District residents were ringing in the New Year, Navy Yard developer Forest City was profiled in the Washington Post. Forest City, which had already been involved with many neighborhood projects, was currently working with Mid-City Urban to replace the Arthur Capper/Carrollsborg complex with 1,600 townhouses and mid-rise apartments, condominiums, and senior housing. Deborah Ratner Salzberg, the firm's head of

<sup>14</sup> Photo Credit: Original Image supplied by Mike Bowers, D.C. Resident and Friend.

Washington operations, said that the reason it liked the Navy Yard area is because “looking at the river here, it is a totally underutilized area” “We thought this would be a wonderful area for new population and growth” (Hedgepeth, 2007).

The effort to clean up the Anacostia’s sewage, trash, and chemicals had not yet caught up with the pace of development. As Thomas Arrasmith, member of the Anacostia Watershed Citizens Advisory Committee said “You cannot have a world-class city with a sewer running through it” (Fahrenthold, 2007a). The problem with the river was its inability to flush water downstream quickly and this, coupled with the sewer system, dumps out sewage during even moderate rainstorms made the whole area smell at times.

Later in the month, the Navy Yard metro expansion project broke ground with new Mayor Adrian Fenty (D). The project, designed to increase ridership capacity from 5,000 to 15,000 would be paid for by Federal funds which were promised, but not delivered yet. Metro gave the city an advance on that project to make sure it started on time.

In May, the city began sculpting the 44-acres of land for Forest City’s mega-project The Yards. They were busy laying infrastructure for the development, such as burying sewer lines, paving streets, and planting trees. The project had collected the input of over 30 public agencies and community groups, including the GSA, historic preservation groups, the Transportation Department, the Navy, the National Capital Park and Planning Committee, D.C. Water and Sewer, and Anacostia Waterfront Corporation.

### Case Year: 2008

The Yards began to take shape above ground and M. Paul Friedberg and Partners design, featuring a great lawn, a floating bridge, and boardwalks along the Anacostia River were approved by the Commission of Fine Arts and the NCPC in January. The first phase of the riverside park was planning to open the following year and the park's construction was being paid for by \$42 million in city bonds repaid through payment-in-lieu-of-taxes. The entire project was set to include 2,800 residences as well as 1.8 million square feet of office and retail space.

With the new ballpark to be opened in just a short time, Metro's Finance, Administration, and Oversight Committee voted to close down the Southeastern Bus Garage that stood across from the Navy Yard station, thinking that it would be an eyesore to stadium visitors. There was also a scramble to build the parking infrastructure. Three temporary surface lots were built on old Capper/Carrollsborg land, and the DCHA chose U Street Parking, a certified D.C. local, small, disadvantaged business, to manage the lots.

In the weeks before the ballpark opening, the Navy Yard was ready for its grand opening. Monument Realty Executive Vice President Russell Hines proclaimed that "baseball puts a stamp of approval on the neighborhood" (LeDuc and Nakamura, 2008). Former Mayor Anthony Williams remarked "all of these things were already happening...What the baseball stadium did was accelerate it" "It's coming faster than I expected it to be" (LeDuc and Nakamura, 2008). Current Mayor Adrian Fenty added "what the stadium has done is

to help give a spark and energy level to projects that were already going to happen and to those that wouldn't have happened" (LeDuc and Nakamura, 2008). In some circles of the District Government, the neighborhood even began to be called by a new name; Capitol Riverfront.

In the midst of the excitement, displacement still flowed. Positive Nature, a non-profit agency for troubled youth which moved to the neighborhood in 2004, began looking for a new home due to the raise in their taxes from \$600 to \$16,000. For its part, the city claimed that assessments were only keeping up with the land value.

On Sunday, March 31<sup>st</sup> the stadium finally opened with Mayor Fenty welcoming President George W. Bush and 41,888 fans. The Park featured a sunken field, local mainstay Ben's Chili Bowl and, in spots, a view of the Capitol Dome. Anthony Williams sat in the stands as a private citizen, in the middle of what would be his legacy, for better or for worse. The game itself was a thriller, with National's all-star third basemen Ryan Zimmerman launching a 2-out 9<sup>th</sup> inning pitch over the left-center field wall for a walk-off victory over the division rival Atlanta Braves.

## Aftermath

The opening of the ballpark did not begin nor did it end development in the Navy Yard, but when it occurred a certain historical trajectory was reached where there was no returning to what the neighborhood had been before, as a place for public housing,

industrial facilities, and nightclubs. No neighborhood ever really stops evolving, it is a shifting organism built from many hands amid many circumstance and the Navy Yard's transition would continue to accelerate in the coming decade. Even during ebb times, such as the 2007 to 2009 recession there was optimism. As D.C. Councilman Tommy Wells (D-Ward 6) stated in 2009 "If we're patient, it will be one of the best areas in the country to live" (Hedgepeth and Nakamura, 2009).

In 2009, Diamond Teague Park opened behind the stadium and water taxis began to shuffle people between there and Alexandria. Also, on the waterfront, Yards Park celebrated its grand opening in 2010. The park featuring a six-acre boardwalk along the Anacostia, fountains, wading pools, and greenery. Michael Stevens, Executive Director of the Capitol Riverfront Business Improvement District remarked of the park: "It's a beautiful place, one we hope can become a gathering spot for work picnics, music festivals, weddings" (Kravitz, 2010).

**Figure 3:8: Yards Park on the Anacostia Riverfront at 355 Water Street, Southeast<sup>15</sup>**



Residents filled newly-opened condos and townhomes and utilized public spaces. Capitol Quarter, which replaced Capper/Carrollsborg was completed in 2012 featuring market-rate townhouses, affordable set-aside units, Section 8 ownership units, and subsidized rental housing. Also, in 2012, Forest City and the GSA opened Foundry Lofts, a luxury apartment complex. These spaces were complemented with retail options, including upscale Italian restaurant Osteria Morini, Gordon Biersch, and the Park Tavern. In 2013, Whole Foods announced that they had signed a lease to open a store at 800 New Jersey Avenue, SE, which would open in 2017. By 2015, the neighborhood was projected to surpass 5,000 residents as “The Yards” continued to be built in its planned phases.

<sup>15</sup> Photo Credit: Alex Tucker via Panoramio Commons <http://www.panoramio.com/photo/94119461>

## CHAPTER 4: ANALYSIS

As noted, the process of urban development can be examined at two different units of analysis; the event level, which are specific occurrences happening within a larger context, and the transition level, which entails an examination of the overarching process of a given place's transition. These two levels are not thought of as purely discrete, but instead as part of a continuous, and admittedly somewhat ambiguous, continuum. However, the primary distinction between them is that the event level involves a singular process, such as a decision, a project, or a stand-alone goal, whereas the transition level involves one or more discrete events that, when occurring simultaneously in place and time, alter the makeup of a place.

Presented first are the individual stories of five event level processes; including NAVSEA coming to the District, Environmental Cleanup, the Development of Southeast Federal Center, Baseball comes to the Navy Yard, and the Capper/Carrollburg Hope VI Conversion. Each of these events is described in terms of what happened, the mechanics of the relationship between participating entities, and a comparison of what happened in the event to theories of urban development. Comparison to the literature is made in terms of determining who had the power to make the event happen, how narrowly benefits were disbursed, and the nature of government's role.

Following the event level analysis, the entirety of the neighborhood's conversion will be examined at the transition level. At this level, the arc of the urban development process



is described, the mechanics of the relationship between participants is examined, and comparisons to theory are extended. Comparisons here will also be concerned with who had the power to make this neighborhood transition happen, how narrowly its benefits were disbursed, and the nature of government's role.

## Event-Level Analysis

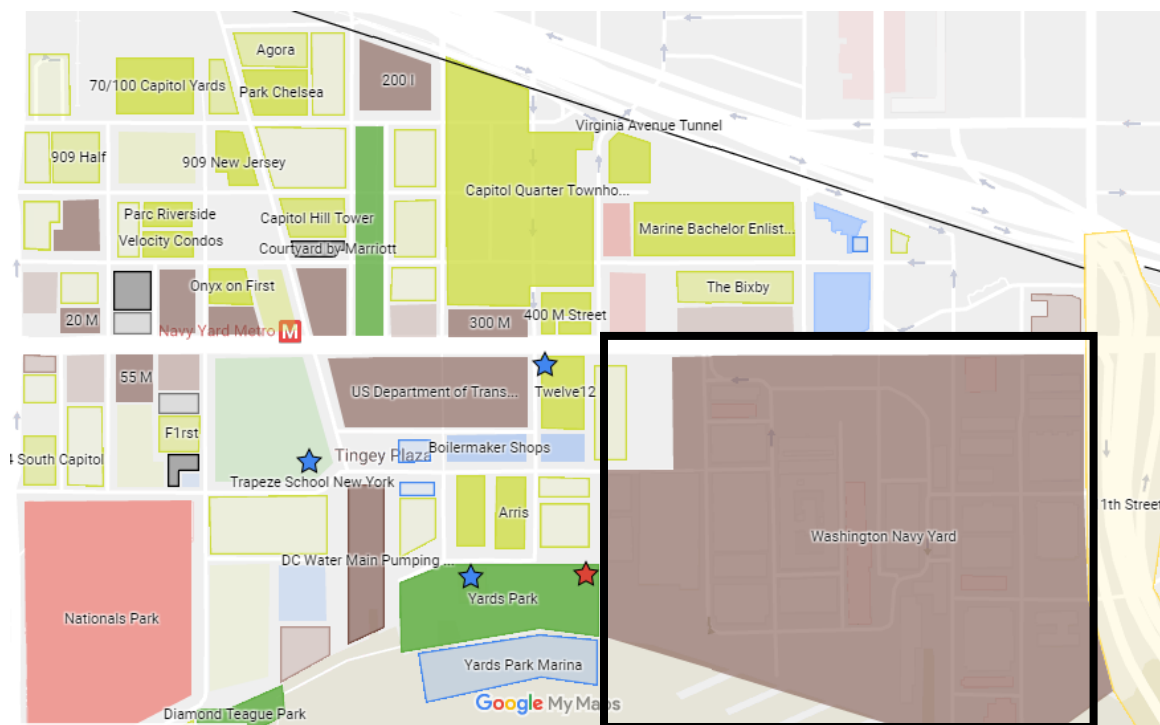
These five events are presented roughly in the chronological order that they occurred, although some overlap because they occurred simultaneously. While they are presented alone, these events all had a certain amount of interdependence where often what occurred within one depended on what was occurring with the others. These five were selected purposefully because they were the most prominent events occurring during the case period and had the most information available.

### 1. NAVSEA comes to the District

Almost two decades after the decision to move NAVSEA to the Washington Navy Yard, the President of the Capitol Riverfront Business Improvement District, Michael Stevens, called the decision "a significant and catalytic move to our neighborhood that started the first wave of new office building since the 1960's" (Sernovitz, 2013). It was an event almost universally considered the first big step in the transition of the Navy Yard neighborhood, and it almost didn't happen.

The story of NAVSEA's migration to the Navy Yard starts at the 1993 BRAC hearings. During those sessions, it was recommended that the unit's Crystal City offices would move to federally-owned space on the White Oak facility in Montgomery County, Maryland, based on an estimated transfer cost estimate of \$74.5 million. However, when the commission met again in 1995 estimates jumped to \$218 million, due to recalculating assumptions from the prior estimate, much of which was based on a reassessment of the White Oak renovation cost. This new cost estimate led to the recommendation that NAVSEA be redirected to the Washington Navy Yard.

**Figure 4:1: Washington Navy Yard NAVSEA Operations (Enclosed in Black)**



While D.C. officials were ecstatic at gaining approximately one-quarter of the Navy's overall budget, much of which would be spent with nearby contracting firms, politicians

representing Maryland immediately challenged the decision. Ann Lung, co-chairman of the NAVSEA task force in Montgomery County, was frustrated with the move and other delegates from Maryland, including Senator Paul Sarbanes (D) wrote to the commission asking them to change their decision in official appeals. These appeals were denied.

Relocation of NAVSEA to the Navy Yard in D.C. would necessitate the renovation of two historic naval gun factory buildings, demolition of more buildings on site, environmental remediation, nearby infrastructure improvements, and new construction in terms of office space and parking. NAVSEA would be centrally housed at 1333 Hull Ave Southeast and their contracting firms would be located in the surrounding area due to either legal mandates that they work near NAVSEA or just the simple advantage of being geographically proximate to funding streams.

In 1995, Congress appropriated \$200 million in spending to turn the Yard into a modern office facility. The 1996 Notice of Intent (NOI) to prepare an environmental impact statement in the Federal Register contended that, in order to accommodate the approximately 4,100 Federal workers, over a million square feet of office space, parking for thousands of vehicles, and infrastructure upgrades would be necessary. Navy goals for preparing for the area included preparing the immediate NAVSEA facility, improving transportation, security, and accessibility of the neighborhood, provided economic and social benefits to D.C., and improve the environment. As Admiral Chris Weaver stated “the mandate to rebuild the Navy Yard for BRAC brought with it the opportunity, if

properly coordinated with the city of Washington and federal stakeholders to transform the surrounding Near Southeast Neighborhood" (C. Weaver, Personal Communication, April 8, 2016).

While the federal government was responsible for upgrades inside the gates of the Navy Yard, utilizing Turner Construction of Arlington, VA as builder, the private sector was largely relied upon to prepare the neighborhood for NAVSEA and their contractors. Three office buildings in the vicinity were built in response to need. Potomac Investment Properties, owned by the Gewirz family, began building an eight-story office complex at 300 M. Street in late 1999. They had purchased the property a decade prior, speculating that the addition of a Metro stop nearby would bolster the value of the parcel once the station opened. Earlier in the year, on the site of the old Tracks nightclub at 80 M. Street, the real estate services firm Spaulding and Slye Colliers began constructing a seven-story complex. Additionally, 1100 New Jersey Avenue was built.

NAVSEA workers and contractors were vocal about the need to upgrade amenities in the area as well, including restaurants and other services. To facilitate this, many of the new buildings in the area were mixed use and were planned to include retail and restaurants on the ground floor as well as other amenities like health clubs and parking garages. In January, 2001 the first of the 4,125 workers and their \$19 million budget began to arrive. In March, a ribbon cutting ceremony was held at the new facility where NAVSEA commander Vice Adm. George P. Nanos Jr. proclaimed that "this is now home sweet

home," (Vogel, 2001) and Mayor Anthony Williams effused that the development was "nothing less than the rebirth of our city" (Vogel, 2001).

The arrival of NAVSEA in the Navy Yard was entirely the product of a decision by a governmental body. While the differing cost estimates of the 1993 and 1995 commissions affected the specific location where the workers, their contractors, and the money would be spent, the decision itself was purely in the hands of the BRAC commission. Certainly, they were lobbied, and even appealed, by political officials representing Montgomery County and Washington, D.C. but in this event a central governing authority made the final decision as to which place would benefit. Additionally, governmental representatives from those potential landing places were in conflict during the process, not in concert. After the decision was made, the private sector was simply in a position to pick up the developmental spoils of having taken speculative positions on land which could have seen its value rise, or fall, for a variety of different reasons. Finally, it is clear that the positioning of NAVSEA in the Navy Yard was a boon in terms of the public good. Workers and consumers were placed in the center of the city at very little cost to taxpayers and no residents were displaced to make way for their arrival.

In sum, with regard to the event of NAVSEA coming to the Navy Yard, a multi-faceted and at-times conflicted government spurred the urban development process and elites in the private sector either followed or facilitated the implementation of that decision. Government representatives in the Navy and the D.C. government acted in an agency-

oriented fashion amid urban development and the most apt theoretical explanation is either Pluralism or Regime Theory. Pluralism fits because elites representing different interests lobbied a central decision-making authority (BRAC) and, subsequently, elites in the Military, local government, and the private sector implemented this decision.

Regime theory also fits because these elites did coordinate to a certain extent. However, the application of Regime Theory is imperfect as the original decision was made by the BRAC commission who had no incentive and most likely did not feel the need to build and maintain a coalition of partners in the private sector to carry out their plans. If anything, private sector officials altered the form of the neighborhood in coordination with District of Columbia and Navy officials. Finally, Neoliberalism, Neo-Marxism, and Growth Machine are not an apt characterization with regard to NAVSEA as this could hardly be characterized as a direct, zero-sum transfer of quality of life or money to elites in the private sector at the expense of the community. Certainly, some developers and real estate firms made money, but it was not at the expense of any private citizens.

## 2. Environmental Cleanup

Over a period of two decades, the cleanup of the neighborhood spread from concern over sewage discharge and runoff spilling into the Anacostia and specific contaminated ground sites at the Navy Yard and the SEFC, to a systemic, government-led attempt to achieve full restoration of the ecosystem. As noted, the Navy Yard and SEFC performed a number of functions during the site's 200 years of industrial production, from shipbuilding to

munitions and ordnance production, which left the soil and groundwater contaminated with metals such as lead, arsenic, mercury, iron, and beryllium as well as PCB's and dioxins. Pollution in the river had many sources but was compounded by sewage discharge stemming from the cities' outdated system of pump stations and networks of pipes.

**Figure 4:2 On the Banks of the Muddy Anacostia looking at The Navy Yard in 1973<sup>16</sup>**



Environmental restoration of the Anacostia and in the Navy Yard proceeded in three distinct phases; 1) grass roots actions and lawsuits by environmental and community groups, 2) government mandated cleanups, and 3) public-private partnerships that aimed to achieve full ecological restoration. The Anacostia Watershed Society (AWS) spent its first decade of existence fighting to stop further contamination through awareness-raising activities, small-scale restoration efforts, and periodic clean-up events. In 1999,

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<sup>16</sup> Photo Credit: The Library of Congress via JDLand.com <http://www.jdland.com/dc/historic-photos.cfm>

the organization shifted its focus from stopping further deterioration of the environment towards being a catalyst for continued larger scale, and more heavily funded, restoration.

On Earth Day 1996, the Sierra Club and Greenpeace got involved in the river's problems, staging a protest to draw attention to the cause. Sierra Club Defense Fund Lawyer Damon Whitehead asserted "Right here in Anacostia, they're killing people and they're not telling them about it" (AP, 1996). While the Navy admitted to some environmental damage in 1985, they were still denying that contaminants in the river could be traced to them and claiming that environmental tests in 1995 showed no problems. The Sierra Club would eventually file a civil suit against the Navy in 1998; citing a violation of the Clean Water Act. As to the ground sites, Navy environmental studies completed in 1997 in the wake of the BRAC decision to move NAVSEA to the Navy Yard would reveal the extent of the soil problems.

The results of these lawsuits and studies began to bear fruit in the form of cleanup decrees and efforts in the mid to late 1990's. In 1996, a lawsuit brought by the AWS against the Navy Yard led to an \$18 million cleanup of PCBs in the river. In March 1998, a settlement between Earth Justice Legal Defense Fund and The Navy and the GSA stipulated that those two entities would clean up the polluted sites at SEFC and the Navy Yard. Earth Justice was offering legal defense on behalf of the Barry Farm Resident Council. "The Farms," as they are known, are public housing complexes situated on the across the Anacostia River from the Navy Yard. Involved in the suit were the Kingman



Park Civic Association, the AWS, and Friends of the Earth. Also, in 1998, the EPA placed the Navy Yard on its National Priorities List due to contamination of the river and the soil, and the next year, the EPA officially placed the site into the Superfund program.

These mandates, along with a somewhat self-serving need to clean up the site to ready it for use by NAVSEA, led to site remediation by the Navy Yard and the GSA and steps toward a cleaner river but, before long, more entities became involved. The Anacostia Watershed Initiative (AWI) memorandum was signed by 19 Federal and District agencies in 2000. Signatories included D.C. entities like the Office of Planning, Water, and Transportation; federal bodies like the EPA, National Park Service, and Department of Transportation; as well as non-profits like the AWS and Earth Conservation Corps.

The AWI Framework plan, released by the D.C. government in 2003, mentioned “charting a course for the environmental healing and rejuvenation of water-dependent activities on the Anacostia” (Anacostia Waterfront Framework Plan p.3). In the plan, Mayor Williams noted that his personal interest in the river grew from his appreciation of nature and his habit of recreational kayaking. The plan also noted that “urban development and natural resource conservation will not be mutually exclusive propositions, but will go hand-in-hand” (Ibid, p. 10) and said its ultimate goal was “the creation of a waterfront cherished by the citizens of Washington and considered an international symbol for rebuilding cities” (Ibid, p. 17).

Aside from EPA and lawsuit-mandated cleanups led by the GSA and the Navy, the District of Columbia Water and Sewer Authority (WASA) settled on a Long Term Control Plan (LTCP) to solve the discharge problems, which aimed to reduce the amount of Combined Sewer Overflows (CSO's) from 80 to 2 annually. The Department of Health was tasked with adopting new standards for environmental pollution which involved advocating for reform of transportation and other systems. In the ten-year assessment of AWI's progress issued by the D.C. government in 2010, it was noted that CSO's had been reduced by 36% with further reductions expected, that oxides and sulfur concentrations had been reduced by approximately 50%, rehabilitations of WASA pump stations were completed or underway, and that 4.5 miles of storm water and sewer pipes had been replaced.

The cleanup of the river and site remediation at the Navy Yard and SEFC was, and still is, a long-term effort involving a multitude of actors in government, business, and non-profit groups with an interest in the neighborhood. It was also different from the other events in that it was not a land deal or a development. However, the path to its accomplishment was not unlike some of the other efforts in terms of its trajectory. The effort was started by community groups and then joined by government actors whose action was prompted by lawsuits, the need to ready the site for NAVSEA, and self-studies. Just as it was the case with NAVSEA, the benefits of a healthier ecosystem for the city were a clear cut example of a public good, again at very little cost to city taxpayers. Therefore, Neoliberalism, Neo-Marxism, and Growth Machine do not apply here either as there is no

direct, zero-sum quality of life or wealth transfer from the public at-large to a narrow circle of elites, if anything the transfer in quality of life went towards the public at-large from elites.

The theory that most fits would be a variant of Pluralism that progressed into a Regime-like arrangement over time for the benefit of the public good. This was a group of actors who once pursued independent interests, but when those interests collided, they eventually coalesced into a single, codified arrangement; the Anacostia Watershed Initiative. However, unlike Pluralism, various groups did not compete for the attention of government seeking some kind of decision and, unlike Regime Theory, government was not compelled to grow and nurture a coalition to accomplish their goals. What happened was more chaotic and circumstantial. The “regime” in a sense was created by a natural constellation of needs and actors who were sharing space and time, almost accidentally. It is also difficult to determine which entity was the primary, driving force in the creation of this regime-like arrangement. Was it the AWI who finally got the attention of the Navy and the D.C. Government, who then fully focused on that organization’s goals in response, or was it the Navy who used groups like the AWI and the D.C. government to pursue their own interest: that of a clean ecosystem for their new workers? This very uncertainty furthers the idea that it is hard to settle on an apt theory for this event.

### 3. The Development of Southeast Federal Center

In the early 20<sup>th</sup> century the Navy Yard facility expanded west towards South Capitol Street. For over 50 years, it made ordnance and other naval equipment. Ordnance production was halted in 1961 and in 1962 the Navy Yard was split into two parcels with the western portion, known as the Navy Yard Annex, being given to the GSA in 1963 when it became known as Southeast Federal Center. For the next quarter century, various ideas for what to do with the land were proposed, including a Reagan Administration plan to build a mall. The GSA had also long eyed the area as a potential location for federal buildings and their 1990 Master Plan envisioned a single-purpose site housing a number of large federal buildings. However, agencies continued to be reluctant to move in due to deteriorating conditions in the surrounding neighborhood.

**Figure 4:3: Southeast Federal Center in 1992<sup>17</sup>**



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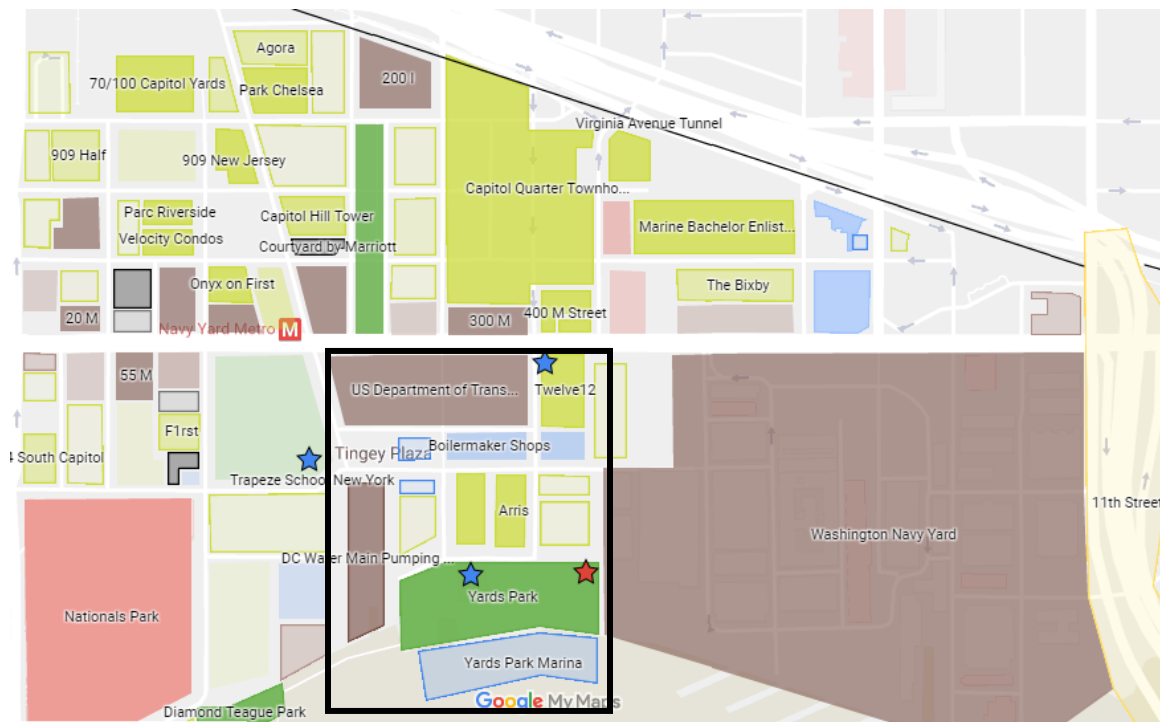
<sup>17</sup> Photo Credit: The Library of Congress via JDLand.com <http://www.jdland.com/dc/historic-photos-1992.cfm>

The promise of development was protected in 1993 when Eleanor Homes Norton and other D.C. and GSA officials fought the construction of a new Metrobus garage in the immediate area, which would have hurt the spot's chances of being developed. The plot was featured prominently in the NCPC's 1997 *Extending the Legacy* vision and a subsequent 1999 document *Washington Waterfronts: An Analysis of Issues and Opportunities Along the Potomac and Anacostia Rivers*. Both documents discussed the potential of SEFC as a waterfront destination which could be improved through better streetscapes, general greening, water transportation, and a partnership between the Navy and GSA that aimed to improve the location and increase the availability of housing. Shortly thereafter, with prodding from the D.C. Government, policy and land use think tanks, and planners, the GSA and other entities turned away from the idea of building a Federal enclave on SEFC, and instead began thinking of how they could use the land as a catalyst in the development of the entire Navy Yard neighborhood.

Despite planning and discussion by the GSA and other entities, the site lay dormant until the turn of the century, when Eleanor Holmes Norton remarked to fellow members of Congress "why don't we just let the private sector develop it" (Freed, 2013). In October 2000, bipartisan legislation introduced by Norton and Congressional Republican allies was passed to hasten plans for SEFC. The Southeast Federal Center Public-Private Development Act of 2000 gave the GSA powers to enter into a variety of agreements with private sector partners and sell or exchange property on the 55-acre site. The law noted that the need for the bill included the fact that prior attempts to develop the site had

failed, profits could be made on the valuable property, and that the land was crucial to revitalization visions of the NCPC and others; visions that were aligned with the legacies of L'Enfant and McMillan. The bill also claimed that development could generate 15,000 new jobs and would provide a public good in the form of waterfront access.

**Figure 4:4: Southeast Federal Center: The Yards and DOT Building (Enclosed in Black)**



The first 11 acres of SEFC were parceled off in February, 2002 when the GSA was finally able to convince a Federal Agency to move into the Navy Yard neighborhood. The Department of Transportation agreed to be housed on M street and New Jersey Avenue, a move that GSA Regional Administrator Donald Williams said would “provide a high quality headquarters for the Department of Transportation at the best value to

government and taxpayers” and “spur the development of GSA’s 55-acre Southeast Federal Center” (McGill, 2002).

Under the terms of the deal, the GSA leased the land to developer JBG Cos who would build the new headquarters. Princeton architect Michael Graves designed a high-rise building that the developer had an option to purchase after 15 years. D.C. officials like Mayor Williams, top planner Andy Altman, and City Council Representative Sharon Ambrose were displeased that the design consisted of a suburban-style high-rise complex on the north end of the parcel that would be empty at night, fearing that it would destroy their plans for the kind of vibrant, urban waterfront neighborhood that could be integrated into the rest of the city and would cut off the river once more from potential visitors. Despite design objections, construction on the DOT site began in 2004 and the agency moved into its new building in 2007.

The selection process to find a private sector partner to develop the remaining 44 acres took two additional years with Request for Qualifications being issued in April, 2002. A short list of five developers were notified in February, 2003 that their responses were due by September of that year. In January, 2004 the D.C. Zoning Commission approved the GSA’s site zoning plan and, shortly thereafter, Cleveland-based developer Forest City and their design and construction partners won the bid with a plan that involved 1.8 million square feet of offices, apartments, condominiums, and a waterfront park. GSA’s Tony Costa was quoted saying that the agency had “spent the last several years getting ready

for this moment” (PR Newswire, 2004) and officials asserted that the project would generate approximately \$30 million in tax revenue for D.C. Eleanor Holmes Norton boasted, “we get development that not only serves the people with amenities from housing to recreation, but we are going to profit” (Hedgepeth, 2004c) in the form of tax revenue and jobs for residents.

Forest City’s master plan for the site, named “The Yards,” envisioned a mixed use, urban, waterfront area built over the next couple of decades in phases. This neighborhood would be marked by high-density, mixed use buildings, transit-oriented design, walkability, and green space which would be connected to the rest of the city rather than isolated as it had been before. The centerpiece of the project was Yards Park, a 5-acre waterfront park featuring a riverwalk, fountains, and walkways which was built by the developer, funded and owned by the D.C. government, and managed by the Capitol Riverfront BID.

This vision for the site and surrounding neighborhood was strongly influenced by the ideas of the Congress for New Urbanism and the Urban Land Institute and remained true to the neighborhood charrettes hosted a few years earlier by the D.C. Government, the Brookings Institution, and other entities. Indeed, the developer would not have been picked if they had not set forth a proposal in line with the vision for the neighborhood that they could then implement as an example to others who followed. As Gary McManus of Forest City later remarked “We felt that we had the responsibility to set the tone for



development to come in the neighborhood and lead the way" (McManus, personal communication, April 4, 2016) and that they initially got involved because of the "waterfront aspect and sturdy former industrial buildings on site that provided adaptive reuse opportunities, Forest City became convinced to participate in the GSA's RFP process" (McManus, personal communication, April 4, 2016).

Construction on the project officially began on October 3, 2007 with a groundbreaking event attended by Norton, Mayor Adrian Fenty, Forest City representative Deborah Ratner Salzberg, City Council Representative Tommy Wells, and other officials. At the event, Fenty called the Yards "a testament to what can happen when we work in partnership with federal agencies and the private sector" (Spivey, 2007) and Salzberg added that "this has, and will continue to be a very significant public/private partnership that will pay dividends to District residents for a long time to come" (Spivey, 2007).

Much of the Yards came to fruition after the case period ended and Yards Park won an open space award from the Urban Land Institute in 2013. At that point, it was estimated that \$14 million, or 55% of total construction costs, were spent on D.C. certified business enterprises and that the site would eventually provide \$83 million in annual taxes for the city. In sum, it was claimed that the total public valuation of the project was \$2 billion which came from a cost of only \$1 billion in public expenditure. It was the first public-private partnership between the Federal government and a developer. The Yards, more so than any of the other events, could be categorized appropriately as an example of

Regime Theory. This was a site that government wanted to develop for years, but could not implement until they leveraged a relationship with a developer who made it a reality and was able to turn a profit.

Neoliberalism often lays claim to the public-private partnership, and this may be the way development proceeded in other locations or between other partnerships. However, the partnership here was clearly led by the entities such as federal agencies like the GSA and the DOT and both the Federal and District government. At each step in the process, government was able to dictate their vision for the neighborhood and was ultimately able to choose among a number of developers. Their ability to choose from a number of willing partners and to dictate the terms of the arrangement demonstrates that government held the power of central decision-making in the case of SEFC.

Additionally, the development of SEFC was a clear public good, paid for by non-city taxpayers, and leading to no displacement while creating amenities in the form of open space, river access, and additional revenue for the city. There was no direct zero-sum transfer of wealth or quality of life to elite actors in the private sector. Finally, while this “regime” was able to collaborate and implement a shared vision, it was not without conflict, such as D.C. official’s reaction to the plans for the DOT building. Therefore, even though this was a public-private partnership, Neoliberalism does not appear to apply since the primary beneficiaries were the city and its residents, not private sector actors. Growth Machine or Neo-Marxism do not apply either as there was no direct, zero sum

transfer of quality of life or wealth. Instead, this is a clear-cut example of Regime Theory, whereby Eleanor Holmes Norton and Congress saw a need that they could not fulfill, development of a huge empty parcel of land, and reached out to private sector partners to accomplish a goal that they could not accomplish alone.

#### 4. Baseball Comes to the Navy Yard

The story of baseball's return to D.C. begins with the tale of how the city lost America's pastime. In 1971, the Washington Senators' owner Bob Short took the team to Arlington, Texas. It was the second time in a decade that a D.C. franchise had moved to another city after the original Senators moved to Minnesota in 1961. Attempts to bring a team back to the Nation's capital began immediately and the city got so close to convincing the San Diego Padres to come for the 1974 season that baseball cards printed for Padres players that year said they played for "Washington, Nat'l League." Other attempts to get an expansion team would come in 1976 and in the 1990's. However, by then, public-private partnership The Virginia Baseball Club was attempting to secure an area team that might be located in Northern Virginia rather than the District.

Before long, public-private partnerships in both Northern Virginia and D.C. were simultaneously vying for a team. Local businessman Fred Malek, who had baseball connections, was tapped to run the Washington Baseball Club which entered into a public-private partnership with the D.C. Sports and Entertainment Commission in 2002. The two organizations agreed to share the cost of wooing a team and D.C. promised

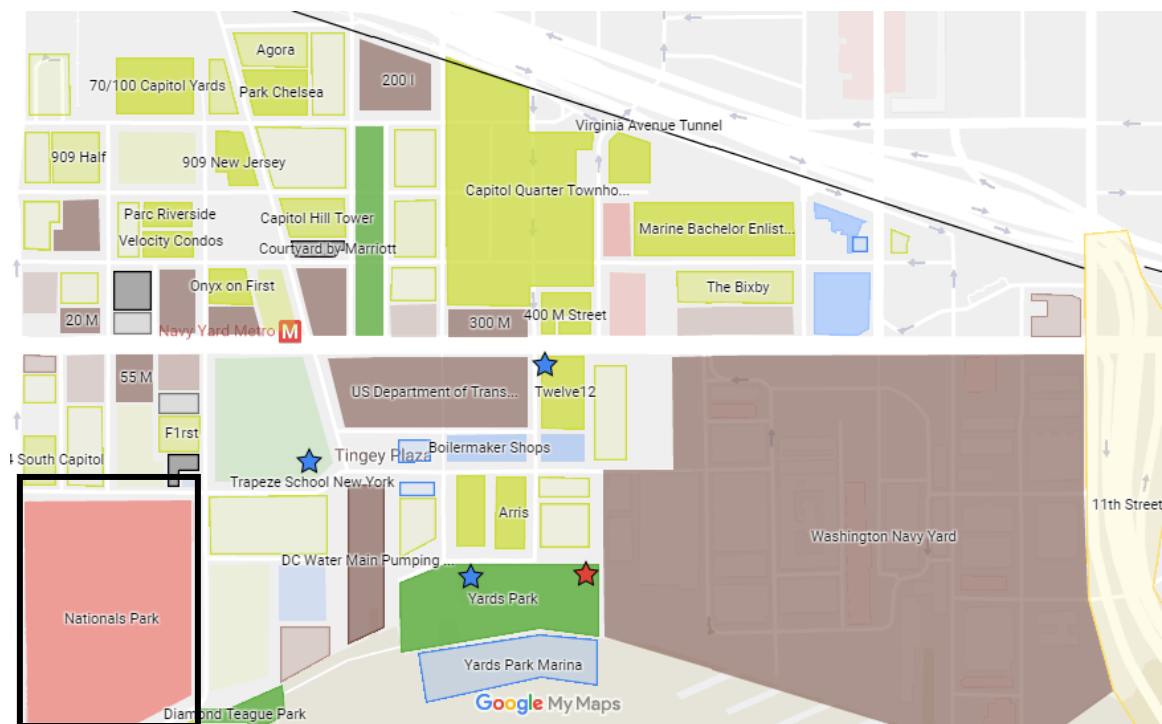
Malek's group preferred ownership and rights to RFK stadium or any other new site. Opportunity presented itself in 2003, when the Montreal Expos were purchased by Major League Baseball and began to look for a new home. Joining the D.C. and Virginia groups, other contenders for the team included Portland, Oregon, Monterey, Mexico, and San Juan, Puerto Rico.

It soon became clear that in order to land a team, the winning group would have to agree to build a publicly-financed stadium. Mayor Williams defended this potential price, asserting that the team and the facility would boost the local economy, spur economic development, and employ D.C. residents. Opposition to such a plan came from groups like the D.C. Fiscal Policy Institute's Ed Lazere, who would later form a group called No D.C. Taxes for Baseball. Lazere and others countered, saying that prior experience with stadiums in other cities did not boost the economy, that it would produce only low-paying jobs, and that despite claims that the stadium would pay for itself, it would result in a net fiscal loss for the city.

In September, 2004 D.C. got the news it was hoping for, as MLB notified them that they would get the Expos. Mayor Williams had told MLB that the city would publicly finance a \$440 million stadium in the Navy Yard neighborhood in return for rights to the team. However, the move was contingent upon getting a stadium contract, a construction agreement, and a license to play temporarily at RFK stadium legislated through the D.C. City Council by the end of the year. Despite William's deal with MLB, council members

were not sold on the idea of financing a stadium, especially after three members who backed the plan lost their seats in November. Constituents were concerned that such a public expenditure was corporate welfare the city couldn't afford, especially given existing needs for services, housing, and infrastructure.

**Figure 4:5: Nationals Park (Enclosed in Black)**



This disagreement soon manifest itself in a split within the city council. Adding to the political maneuvering was the fact that Council Chair Linda Cropp (D-Ward 4) was planning a bid for Mayor in 2006. In early November, Cropp proposed that the stadium site be shifted to the area adjacent to RFK stadium a couple of miles upriver from the Navy Yard, citing a savings of about \$80 million. Mayor Williams was furious, saying Cropp's plan would destroy his deal with MLB. Explaining her reasoning for shifting the

stadium to the RFK area, Cropp asserted that it was a better deal for the city as “the business community are willing to support baseball, but not at any cost” (Jaffe, 2005). In the aftermath of the announcement the vote on the stadium issue, which was supposed to occur a mere four days later, was tabled until the next month.

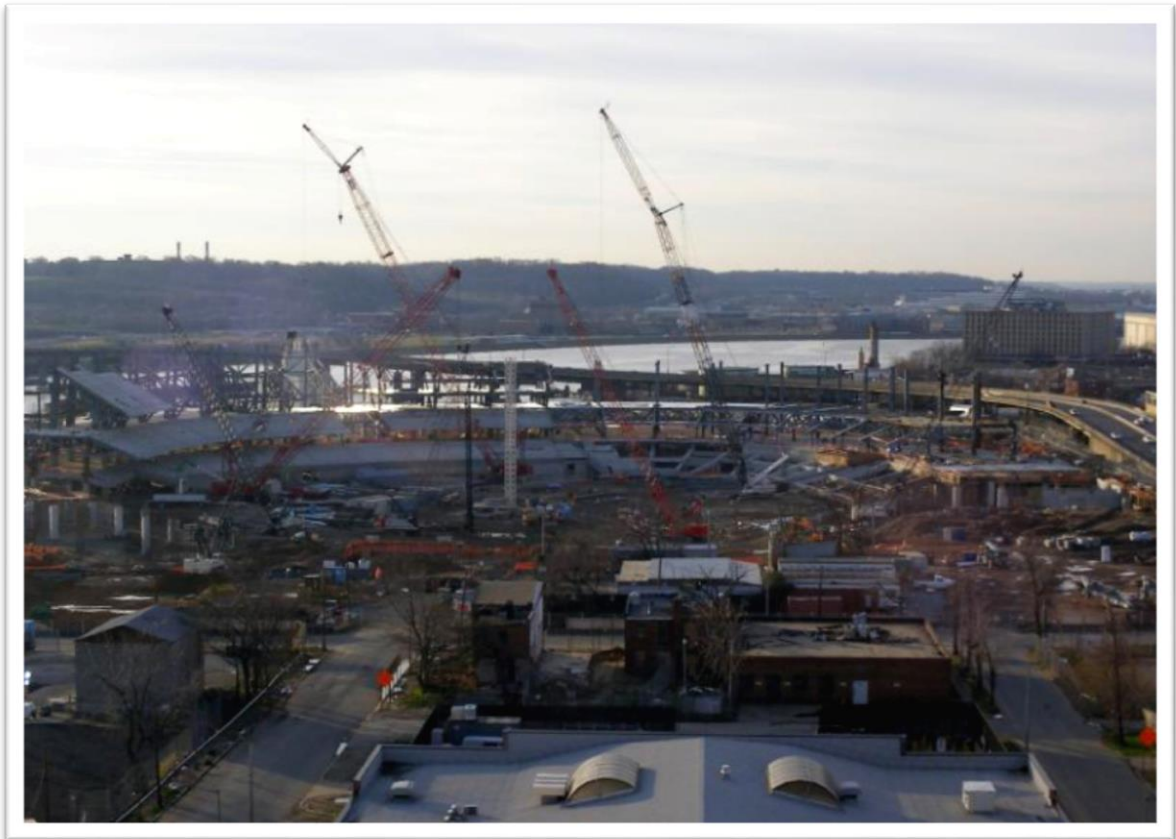
On December 14<sup>th</sup>, Cropp added a measure that would require \$142 million in private financing to supplement the cost to the city. MLB officials were furious and gave the city until the end of the year to return to the initial deal. At the eleventh hour on December 29<sup>th</sup> the council passed a law allowing \$535 million in bonds to build the stadium. The Ballpark Omnibus Financing and Revenue Act of 2004 allowed the Mayor and the Sports and Entertainment Commission to buy land, build a ballpark, and lease it to a team.

Even after the stadium financing was set, the city and MLB would have more than a year of disputes over stadium contracts and other details which eventually required the services of a mediator. Eventually, in March of 2006, the final bond amount of \$611 million was approved which included further expenditures on the purchase of land and Navy Yard Metro station refurbishment. These bonds, which were \$171 million more than the initial estimates, would be paid down through a mix of rent from the team ownership, ticket user fees, utility taxes, and a tax on large businesses.

Governmental action was called upon again to purchase and clear the land for the stadium. To acquire the necessary 14 acres in the preferred Navy Yard site, 23 landowners

had to be either bought off or removed. The city was offering a total of \$98 million for the land but only a few owners took the deal. On October 25<sup>th</sup> the city decided to use eminent domain, notifying the 16 holdout owners that they had 90 days to vacate their property. The city paid \$84 million for the remaining land, saying that it was “taken for an authorized municipal use, namely the construction and operation of a publicly owned baseball stadium complex” (Nakamura, 2005I).

**Figure 4:6: Nationals Park Under Construction<sup>18</sup>**



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<sup>18</sup> Photo Credit: Nationals Park Construction Page: [http://www.stadiumpage.com/construction/NatsPark\\_C.html](http://www.stadiumpage.com/construction/NatsPark_C.html)

Construction of the stadium was handed over to Clark/Hunt/Smoot by Sports and Entertainment Commission CEO Allan Lew. The project was delivered on time and within budget before the 2008 baseball season. Additionally, per the D.C. Government, 50% of the work was given to a total of 88 Certified Business Entities and the stadium was the first sports facility to achieve Leadership in Energy and Environmental Design (LEED) certification for environmental friendliness.

A Penn University for Urban Research report released in 2012 asserted that the public private partnerships that had produced the ballpark were a resounding success. By that point, the stadium had begun generating revenue, the city's bond rating was stellar, and the Navy Yard benefitted from additional visitors because of publicly funded Metro upgrades. Additionally, restaurants and other amenities began to open after the recession passed which, along with the ballpark, employed local residents.

The entities involved in the Navy Yard stadium deal were perhaps the most numerous and intertwined of all of the five events; including D.C. officials, Major League Baseball, local public/private partnerships, developers, construction teams, business interests, community groups, and more. Disentangling who benefitted and who lost from the stadium deal is also a complex question. While taxpayers footed the bill for the public stadium, the lion's share of the cost to pay down the bonds was allocated to elites in the private sector through the tax on businesses. Surely this money was passed on to developers and builders in the construction of the stadium and the additional economic



benefits were also given to the same elites who paid down the bonds, in the form of added business. There is also the matter of the payment to landowners after the use of eminent domain, but even that is hard to judge. While these people lost their property, most of them likely made a handsome profit.

Because of the ambiguity of who won and lost on the stadium, it is hard to find an urban development model that fits. Added to the uncertainty is the inability to quantify in monetary terms the level of public good conferred from having a baseball team for a city to rally around. Regime Theory does not fit because government did most of the work to acquire the team, fund a stadium, clear the land, and house a baseball team on their own. They relied on the private sector only during the initial lobbying for a team and to build the stadium and entertainment district, all of which was done with private monies. Unlike the model Neoliberal public-private partnership, Mayor Williams and the City Council did not transfer responsibility for their decision-making to a small cadre of unaccountable entities. Indeed, City councilmembers and Mayor Williams lost popularity, and perhaps elections, due to their stance on a publicly financed stadium.

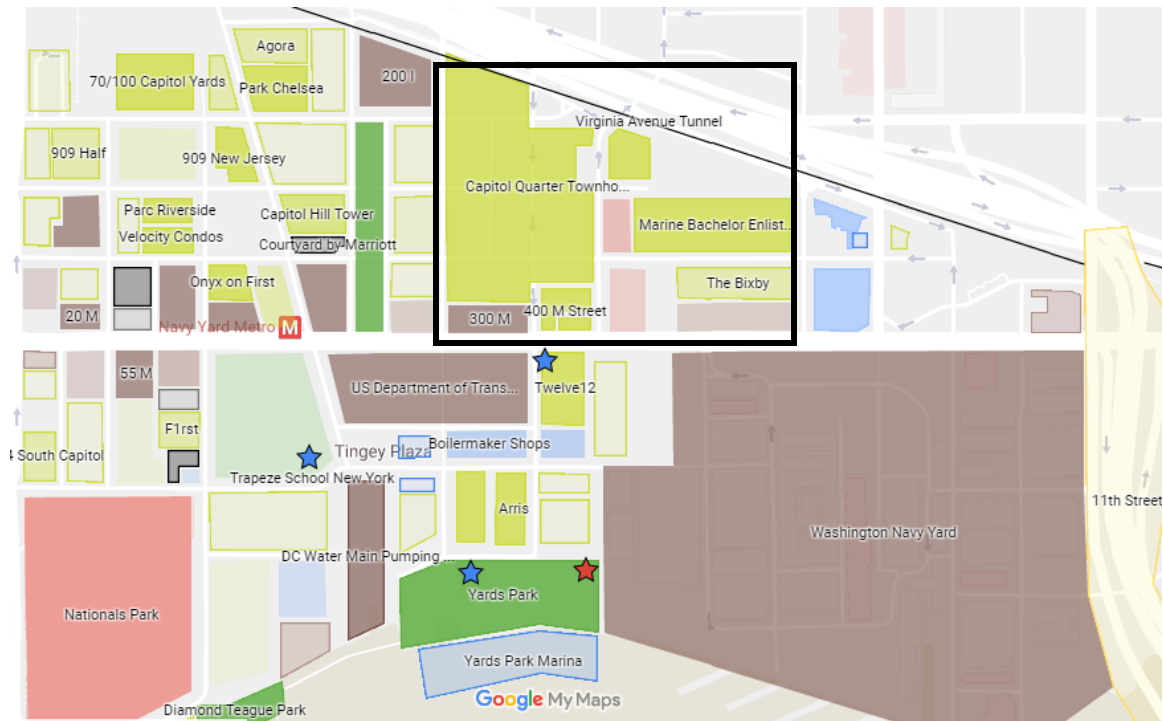
At first, Growth Machine theory appears to fit as landed interests, government, and media all had an interest in the funding and building of a stadium. However, there was very little evidence of cooperation between these entities. In fact, MLB was frustrated by the inability of any governmental figure to gain control over the process and the media often actively lobbied against a stadium. This kind of conflict and chaos is further evidence that

Regime Theory does not fit what happened with Nationals Park. If any theory fits, it is Public Choice, as government decided to pursue a perceived public good in order to make what they believed would be a better, more unified city. In sum, there is no simple theoretical fit for this event because what happened was more of an accidental and extremely complex confluence of activities with many actors working in concert sometimes and in conflict at other times with no clear pattern and no common cause except the simple goal of housing a team.

#### 5. Capper/Carrollsborg Hope VI Conversion

The story of the Hope VI program began long before its use in the Capper/Carrollsborg dwellings. As noted, Hope VI grew out of need to rehabilitate existing, and deteriorating, public housing stock but also as a response to research by William Julius Wilson and others on the effects of concentrated poverty. Additionally, public housing residents had long complained about the condition of the units they lived in. Hope VI was created in 1992 with the aim to recreate public housing as mixed-income communities, and its use near the case area was not restricted to Capper/Carrollsborg. The city took advantage of the program extensively in the 1990's after HUD called 20% of the DCHA housing stock uninhabitable and in 1993 the Ellen Wilson dwellings, which were directly adjacent to the case boundary of the Southeast/Southwest Freeway, were rehabbed.

**Figure 4:7: Site of Capper Carrollsburg Projects (Enclosed in Black)**



Capper/Carrollsburg, low-rise barracks housing and units for seniors in a high-rise were built in the late 1950s to replace sub-standard housing that stood on the land. Despite efforts to renovate the structures in the 1970's, the 707 units had long been a scene of drug sales and crime by the mid 1990's. However, the complex was also a place of community, with ball fields, a recreation center, and schools within a few blocks where long-term bonds between residents abounded in the complex know familiarly as The Cappers.

**Figure 4:8: Capper Carrollsburg Complex in the 1990s<sup>19</sup>**



In 2001, the Hope VI award of \$35 million was given to replace The Capers with senior housing and a mixed-income townhome development. The bid to acquire the funds included the team of the DCHA and developers Forest City and Mid-City Urban. The grant's text asserted that "The revitalized development will provide housing and programs that will foster self-sufficiency among residents with a range of incomes" (Hope VI Grant Summary, 2001). It also cited the creation of Community and Supportive Services Programs related to job training, employment, education, and recreation; claiming that 1,565 families would receive the benefit of these programs during the rehabilitation.

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<sup>19</sup> Photo Credit: The Library of Congress via JDLand.com <http://www.jdland.com/dc/historic-photos-1992.cfm>

Before the award was even given, existing residents lobbied HUD to allow them to take control of the rehabilitation process, asserting that the DCHA was prone to “gross mismanagement,” “deferred maintenance,” “physical deterioration,” “recurrent vandalism and criminal activity,” and that Mid-City was a questionable partner with convicted white collar criminals in their ranks (DeVault, 2001). While HUD was technically allowed to hand over control to residents it was the first time they had received such a request from a community.

President Mary Ann Barrett of the Arthur Capper resident council stated her concern over the process, saying that she was “sure a lot of residents won’t be able to come back. In all of the Hope VI’s that have been done, that’s what happened” (DeVault, 2001). Additionally, the city’s legacy of 1950’s renewal in Southwest made residents skeptical that this was being done for their benefit. The plan was to replace the public housing in one-for-one style, with every demolition leading to a new unit. Partly because of the logistics of replacing such a large site and the 2007-2008 recession, this process took a long time to implement and the slow-moving process further fed resident anxiety.

Construction on the senior units began in 2003 with building #1 completed in 2005 and building #2 completed one year later. Resident relocation did not begin until 2003 and took place over a period of several years. Residents were told that they could return to the site, but in the intermediate term were given Section 8 vouchers to find housing in

the public or private market. This was a source of added apprehension for many residents who were overwhelmed with navigating the private market using a voucher and skeptical of moving into a different public housing unit with strangers. Meanwhile, constant demolitions and reconstruction projects by builder EYA occurred on the site.

Around 2009, almost a decade after the initial award, resident finally began occupying the structures now known as The Townhomes on Capitol Hill. As of 2012 only 114 of 386 affordable units are occupied by returning residents. This was criticized by many opponents of the restoration and led to a sense of loss, so much so that there is a website that honor's memories of the apartments<sup>20</sup>, documentaries about the cost of leaving<sup>21</sup>, and performance art pieces<sup>22</sup> that tell the story. In response to criticism of how the process was handled in terms of the loss of community and the low return rates of ex residents, ex-DCHA housing director Michael Kelly said that the old units were “not a healthy place – any family, one family, that’s gotten to return to this gorgeous stuff is a success story” (Weiner, 2012).

Hope VI’s conversion of Capper/Carrollsborg involved government, the private sector, and the community. It began with the DCHA using a program designed to rehabilitate public housing and de-concentrate poverty in response to a mandated need to improve conditions in public housing they managed. In order to win the \$36 million grant, they

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<sup>20</sup> Arthur Capper <https://arthurcapper.omeka.net/>

<sup>21</sup> Chocolate City <https://vimeo.com/20792787>

<sup>22</sup> Capers, Ana Yudov <http://www.phoenixnewtimes.com/arts/anu-yadav-on-outsider-politics-activist-theater-and-her-show-capers-7482315>

were compelled to select private sector development partners Forest City and Mid-City Urban in advance. Once the work began, private sector developers were partnered with to accomplish the complex's makeover into a mixed income townhome community.

The beginning of this process echoes Pluralism, as residents of public housing lobbied governments for improvements in both physical structures and safety and research scholars theorized that the kind of concentrated poverty situations endemic to public housing projects as they were constituted. These two strains of complaints led the government to create a program to alleviate the problems in response. However, implementation of the Capers reconstruction more resembled theories like Neoliberalism or Growth Machine, as a public-private partnership was formed that would enrich partners from the private sector and transfer quality of life from current residents to future residents of the land where The Capers stood.

The bifurcated nature of the temporal development of the use of Hope VI in the Navy Yard further complicates what theories would fit this event. Unless there is evidence that developers and future residents of the land knew that they could benefit financially and in terms of quality of life from the displacement of current public housing residents, and were able to plant the seeds of this desire in the work of poverty researchers and in the complaints of public housing residents alike decades before, it is difficult to argue that this was some all some kind of coordinated effort to transfer quality of life from the

community to elites. Instead, it is likely that a Pluralistic desire to reform public housing evolved into a Neoliberal chance to feed the Growth Machine.

However, even this scenario is complicated, as it would depend on whose quality of life was transferred, which public is prioritized, and how the public good is defined. First, it is uncertain that the quality of life of previous residents was better than when after they were either relocated to other publicly-funded housing, or in some instances, resettled in the new incarnation of the Capers. Second, is the quality of life for past residents more important than the quality of life for future residents, and does it depend on the income levels of each? Third, what is the public good, is it better to pursue equity of outcomes for past and future residents alike or is it more important to pursue economic growth which might conceivably benefit all parties?

The answers to these questions will undoubtedly dictate how the Hope VI renewal of The Capers is viewed to the outside observer and/or researcher. Was it a Pluralistic, grass roots development that ultimately benefitted more people than it hurt or was it a Neoliberal takeover of potentially valuable land from powerless residents done in order to feed the Growth Machine and benefit a narrow slice of the elite? Finally, and crucially, dependent on how one answers the questions above, could all of the theories potentially be an apt descriptor of this event?



## Summary of Event-Level Analysis

The related five events occurred during the case period. Thus, any attempt to analyze them individually is somewhat artificial, as their meaning only makes sense within a broader context. This shortcoming is one of the problems with many elements of theory on urban development; a single process, such as a decision, a project, or a stand-alone goal, cannot tell an accurate, and complete, story about what is occurring within a place. For example, looking at a single project like the redevelopment of Capper/Carrollsborg cannot accurately explain what was going on in that city in that particular time, nor can it explain how that singular process fit within the larger context of time and place. Additionally, attempting to say something about the politics of a city, or the reasoning of city leaders is very difficult for a number of reasons, not just because the scope of a single event is too limited, but because even the examination of a single event can be faulty due to use of selective evidence and or subjective reasoning.

When looking at the Navy Yard, there are echoes of multiple theories of urban development within each event and cases could be made that others would apply as well (Table 4:1). Often, there is a multitude of evidence that can point to any one of the theories as an apt descriptor so there is often the temptation to use selective evidence to support any theory. For example, did the Hope VI at Capper Carrollsborg displace people? Certainly, but how does one weigh what is really in the common good, as many different types of people inhabit the housing that stands where the Capers once stood. Therefore, applying a theory of urban development to an event like The Capers reveals more about

the researcher's definition of who the public is, what is the public good, and how much of the process is considered. It also produces a faulty explanation of the urban development process; one that favors the brevity, simplicity, and cleanliness of a linear explanation, such as a neoliberal city leader uses a neoliberal tool to accomplish a neoliberal objective. In reality, there are too many entities involved and the process is far too messy, chaotic, and unpredictable to have occurred through something this simple.

**Table 4:1: Potential Theories Fitting Each Event**

<b>Event</b>	<b>Plausible Theories</b>
<b>NAVSEA</b>	Regime Theory, Pluralism
<b>Environmental Cleanup</b>	Regime Theory, Pluralism
<b>SEFC</b>	Regime Theory
<b>Baseball</b>	Public Choice
<b>The Capers</b>	Neoliberalism, Regime Theory, Pluralism

Other conclusions can be drawn from analysis of these five events. The unpredictable nature of urban development is apparent in the SEFC site conversion. The GSA had plans to develop the area for a very long time, but what was eventually built there bore very little resemblance to the Federal enclave they envisioned for so long. The GSA certainly led the charge to develop the site which shows that government can matter, but in terms of what they received, they were more like someone fumbling around in the dark until they found the light switch. Unpredictability was also apparent in the case of environmental cleanup, as groups like the AWS could not have imagined how large and well-funded their efforts would become.

Chaos and messiness is probably most apparent in the situation with Nationals Park, where the conflict between the “partners” in its development was so ubiquitous that it frustrated MLB to the point that they did not know who to turn to, or who they were actually partnering with. This messiness and chaos manifests itself in an inability to characterize Nationals Park in terms of which theory might fit, except Public Choice, which is also one of the most general theories. This may indicate that the more entities involved, and as the events complexity grows, it becomes harder to find a theory that fits.

### Transition-Level Analysis

These five concurrent events, along with other smaller processes, all involving the entirety of the list of case players and entities, together produced the Navy Yard’s cumulative development and place change. Like the history of D.C. that was presented earlier, the case period can be broken into eras, each of which differed in character, that tell the story of the arc of the evolution of the Navy Yard neighborhood. These eras include 1) Parallel Developments, 2) Gathering Forces, 3) Joining Behaviors, and 4) Codification, Contracts, and Consolidation. These eras are not neatly delineated, but can be roughly dated and thought to include a certain number of years before a single development, or a small series of concurrent developments, ushered in the new era.

## 1. Parallel Developments (1991-1997)

The era of parallel developments actually begins before the case period and includes a series of individual, mostly uncoordinated, events occurring proximately to each other in physical space. The first of these would be the opening of the Navy Yard Metro in 1991, which connected the neighborhood to the rest of the city where before it had been largely inaccessible other than by vehicle or bus. While speculative land positions in the neighborhood by developers and real estate firms were taken before the opening of the station they accelerated afterwards. Land in this part of the city at the time was quite affordable and positions could be staked out by anyone with the capital to wait. However, it is vital to note that speculative land positions were by no means a guarantee, there was plenty of developable land at the time in other parts of D.C., the city was widely considered to be in fiscally unsound, there had been no widespread “return to the city” movement yet, and it was still considered to be a dangerous area.

A small event was the protection of what was possible in the neighborhood when Mayor Kelly’s plan to expand the WMATA bus garage on Half Street was stopped. This plan was stopped by other entities which had been making different plans for the neighborhood for some time. One of these interested entities was the GSA who had drawn up master plans for the neighborhood for decades and at the time, planned an enclave of federal buildings for the area. The NCPC was another interested entity, who eyed the area for the potential expansion of Monumental Washington and other aspects of city life which had very little infill land available. Congresswoman Norton was also a champion of the

promise of the neighborhood at the time, looking to restore the Navy Yard area to being a central, economic node of the city.

The biggest independent event occurring in this era was the decision by BRAC to relocate Federal Workers to the area as part of their 1995 round of base decisions. This event was almost accidental, and occurred as no part of a widely planned and coordinated attempt to woo the workers. However, it was a momentous decision, which would have ripple effects for two decades. Immediately after this decision, the Navy began reaching out to city officials and other entities looking to make changes in the neighborhood, such as streetscape improvements, incentives for business, and more. Finally, another independent event which was occurring in the River and the neighborhood was the attempts by the AWS, the Navy, and others to clean up the river and remediate the damage done to the area when it was an industrial center.

## 2. Gathering Forces (1997-2000)

Before 1997, the Navy Yard experienced numerous examples of simultaneous entities either working on single-goal projects or individual level neighborhood investment. While these entities may have been aware of what each other were doing, there is no evidence that there was widespread and/or active collaboration. As the millennium neared these individual forces began to become more aware of each other and of the potential for partnership in the area. A number of concrete advances drew this awareness closer in 1998; including the official release of the NCPC Extending the Legacy plan, actions by

Mayor Anthony Williams and the City Council, legislation by Eleanor Holmes Norton and the U.S. Congress, GSA efforts to lure a Federal Agency into the area, and the growing realization that environmental cleanup could be good for all involved.

The largest central node of grand vision for the Navy Yard was outlined in the Extending the Legacy plan. Released in draft form and public exhibitions prior, the plan was finally released in its entirety in 1997 and outlined what was possible in the Navy Yard. Viewing the area as a place ripe for redevelopment within a growing D.C. that had very little room for expansion in its monumental core. The plan mentioned the potential for restaurants, concert venues, marinas and waterfront activity. It also stressed the environmental benefits of restoring the health of the ecosystem and set forth a recommendation for how such a redevelopment could take place, through reliance on a web of public and private cooperation and a healthy mix of funding sources and strategies to create a place whose promise could be shared by all.

To underscore the impact that the plan had on what occurred in the neighborhood, the NCPC's current website highlights the fulfillment of their vision, boasting

"The revitalization of South Capitol Street is realizing the potential of this central city neighborhood. The Washington Nationals baseball stadium and The Yards (the former Southeast Federal Center) are spurring development of office buildings, housing, and attractive public spaces. Current efforts are transforming the riverfront with recreation trails, parks, and commercial activity that will help revitalize adjacent neighborhoods and restore the health of the river" (NCPC.Gov).

The incoming administration of Mayor Anthony Williams was an immediate boost to neighborhood development. A kayaker and lover of the outdoors, Mayor Williams also

recognized the potential for the Navy Yard and began discussions with other entities about how to bring about change as soon as 1998. His most influential meetings were with Admiral Chris Weaver about how the Navy and the D.C. Government could partner on converting the surrounding streets into something that the incoming BRAC workers would enjoy. Additionally, his administration targeted the area as specifically being ripe for development and revitalization. The City Council aided the Mayor in his efforts, boosting the money for the Office of Planning, which soon found a new Director, Andy Altman, who would help lead the effort to develop the waterfront.

City officials were not the only ones to push for development as Eleanor Holmes Norton and her Republican allies in Congress worked to craft legislation that boosted the chances of a developer coming in as a partner to a resource-limited government. These efforts came to fruit in the form of the Southeast Federal Center Public-Private Development Act of 2000, which began its march toward becoming a law in the late fall of 1999. This Congressional action complemented GSA efforts to lure a Federal Agency into the neighborhood, which ended in failure with the ATF but eventually achieved success with the USDOT.

All of these plans were somewhat contingent on the health of the ecosystem. Long considered a dirty and potentially dangerous environmental area, a number of forces convened during this era to boost the chances of remediation. Earth Conservation Corporation arrived on the waterfront to aid in the stewardship efforts long performed

by the Anacostia Watershed Society alone. Additionally, legal actions by national level advocacy groups such as the Sierra Club began to bear fruit in the form of compulsory cleanup decrees and Superfund designation of the area by the EPA would bring awareness to the problem and speed up the urgency of remediation. Ultimately, cleanup of the industrial pollution in the Navy Yard Facility and the River led to a changing perception of the area as AWS' Robert Boone noted, "after the Navy Yard cleaned up the PCB's in the parking lots and storm drains, we saw the potential of a revitalized community driven by the Yard as an anchor" (Boone, R. Personal Communication, April 3, 2016).

These five types of gathering forces actions by government, the private sector, and community groups were no longer disconnected. As the arc of the neighborhood's development potential and the web of partners grew longer, the burgeoning realization that these gathering forces could turn into something large, coordinated, and mutually beneficial was apparent in the changing media narrative about the Navy Yard. No longer deemed a war zone, an eyesore, or a junkyard, prominent officials including Eleanor Holmes Norton, Anthony Williams, and entities from the real estate sector were quoted in the Washington Post and other outlets discussing the latent potential of the neighborhood. These statements would add to the belief that development was going to happen and that it could be positive and their positioning were no accident, but instead had all the hallmarks of a public relations campaign to convince city citizens that the Navy Yard was a feasible place to make a life.



### 3. Joining Behaviors (2000-2003)

While the last years of the millennium were characterized by the gathering nature of once-independent entities beginning to develop partnerships and realizing the mutual benefits they could have, the new century began with semi-official meetings and discussions over the nature and the goal of such partnerships. Examples of these joining behaviors included the initial outlines of the Anacostia Waterfront Initiative, the workshops and charrettes held in the Navy Yard with planners, government officials and residents, the growing involvement of policy and land use think tanks and organizations, the evolution of the vision of the GSA for the neighborhood, and the arrival of the BRAC workers and contractors. These joining behaviors were made possible through propinquity, although they were not entirely without conflict.

The AWI was officially launched in March of 2000, envisioned as a partnership of the D.C. government, quasi-governmental organizations, and federal agencies. The goal was to revitalize and restore the river and the neighborhood around and signatories included, but were not limited to the D.C. Office of Planning, the District Department of Transportation, the EPA, the National Park Service, the Anacostia Watershed Society, and Earth Conservation Corps. The partnership was sealed with a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU). However, the first tangible results would not be achieved until three years later.

A series of workshops and charrettes held throughout the neighborhood in 2000 provided propinquity and a place to join visions and see what was possible through partnerships. One, held at Van Ness Elementary School, in May was especially noteworthy as 200 stakeholders with various interests in the area participated including those from the D.C. Government, Federal Agencies like the GSA, land use experts from the Congress for New Urbanism, and residents. As noted in the case timeline, workshop leader Ken Greenberg stated that this meeting was the time when plans for the area began to move from simply an area where federal office buildings could be deposited, to a cohesive urban, waterfront, mixed use neighborhood.

However, not everyone in the Navy Yard bought into this vision, thus it could not be characterized as “shared.” Current residents, especially those at The Capers, were concerned that this new future would not include them. Promises were made that these residents would continue to be part of a mixed-income neighborhood but as the event analysis of the Hope VI rehab of the Capers showed, but this would not come to pass.

The growing interest in the Navy Yard as a viable new kind of neighborhood that could be built through partnerships was apparent in the involvement of policy and land use think tanks that weighed in on what visions could be fulfilled in the neighborhood. One example of this was the Brookings Institution, whose June 2000 report recommended that D.C. pursue a strategy of luring 100,000 residents who were less service needy such as young professionals without children. These new residents would need housing in

order to move to the city and the D.C. government found the Navy Yard a hospitable place to build. When it was clear that there could be a brand new neighborhood built in the city, land use think tanks and groups like the Urban Land Institute and the Congress for New Urbanism saw an opportunity to advocate for their preferred environment: mixed use, incorporating nature, and walkable. These groups sought to influence the charrettes, forums, and the thinking of all entities involved because they saw this the Navy Yard as a chance to showcase their vision of the ideal city.

These ideas were infused into the GSA's strategy for the neighborhood and what they felt could be accomplished there. Long an advocate for a federal enclave of buildings in the area, their vision moved away from this during this joining era. This evolved thinking was demonstrated in their document *Catalyzing a Waterfront Neighborhood*, which was influenced by the Brookings Institution, and stressed how the GSA had a commitment to the area to be good neighbors and that government could be a major influence on what was built in the neighborhood and how.

Their choice of Forest City to develop the SEFC site was clearly in line with their thinking. Forest City was also committed to that vision and would follow the government's lead. Additionally, the document included some information from Admiral Chris Weaver who was able to discuss how the Navy was committed to the surrounding area and what they would do to produce a place that worked for them. However, their decision to build a

Federal tower for the US DOT on the SEFC site was not well received by many in the D.C. government, as they felt it jeopardized the possibility of a waterfront neighborhood.

Finally, the arrival of BRAC workers and their contractors put people on the ground in the Navy Yard who could advocate for themselves for what they wanted to see. Their purchasing decisions and perceived consumer tastes would also dictate what was built. These joining behaviors were made possible through the propinquity provided by all of these entities being in common space and sharing ideas, whether that space be found written in a planning MOU, within the halls of a land use or policy think tank, on the ground at a neighborhood charrette or workshop, at a Federal agency like the GSA, or simply in the streets as new people began to use the physical space in the Navy Yard. It should be noted that, along with the evolution of the plans for the neighborhood, as the joining behaviors grew, so did conflicts over what to do in the neighborhood, such as those between the GSA and the D.C. government, and between current residents and the D.C. government.

#### 4. Codification, Contracts, and Consolidation (2003-2008)

After the entities involved in the Navy Yard's transition began to become aware of each other and either joined forces or experienced conflict while interacting in the area's physical space, there began a period where these relationships became codified and contracted until the future shape of the neighborhood, and who would be involved, experienced a consolidation. These codifications, contracts, and consolidations were

apparent in the Mayor's plans for the city and the neighborhood, the finalization of the Anacostia Waterfront Initiative, formal plans for the development of the rest of SEFC, and finally the process of placing a publicly-funded baseball stadium in the neighborhood.

At his second inauguration in 2003, Anthony Williams spoke about the need to increase the District's population by 100,000 residents over the next decade. This plan was strongly influenced by Brookings Institution research and was released in an official document titled *Ten Strategies for a Stronger Washington*, which codified his administration's plans for the Navy Yard. The specific strategy for the neighborhood included new construction, schools, growth of civic and retail centers, and taking advantage of transit. Much of this housing would be built where The Capers once stood.

Another planning document finalized in 2003 was the Anacostia Waterfront Initiative Plan which stressed the need for environmental remediation and restoration, improved transportation for river access, waterfront parks, incorporating cultural heritage into the waterfront, and sustainable economic development. Positive reinforcement as to the soundness of the plan arrived in the form of an outstanding planning award from the American Planning Association. The AWI, and the other document put forth by Mayor William's office earlier, represent a codification of the parameters outlined in earlier eras for the neighborhood and they represented a commitment to a vision built over time by many partners.

In line with the Mayor's document and the AWI, Forest City was chosen to develop the remaining 44 acres of the SEFC parcel into the massive "Yards" project, which was expected to unfold in three phases over the next 10-20 years. The project would feature apartments, condos, shops, and a waterfront park. This project was the manifestation of the planning vision with Forest City as the implementation instrument. The developer was clear that they were following the goals of the city, stating "because of the waterfront aspect and sturdy former industrial buildings on site that provided adaptive reuse opportunities, Forest City became convinced to participate in the GSA's RFP process" (McManus, G. Personal Communication, April 4, 2016).

In previous eras planning documents and officials had long discussed the prospect of the Navy Yard neighborhood being anchored by some centerpiece; perhaps a monument, a museum, a set of Federal Agencies, or some other attraction. The potential arrival of the Montreal Expos was exactly the centerpiece that was desired, but it was a harder road to reality than expected. The promise of a \$440 million dollar publicly funded stadium was the sweetener that Anthony Williams used to lure MLB to D.C., but his plan soon met with opposition from multiple city groups; including politicians, interest groups, representatives from think tanks like Brookings, and ordinary citizens. Amid escalating costs and conflicts over location, financing and city priorities, deadlines that the city was supposed to meet with its partners in MLB were continually missed.

Finally, after the initial stadium funding deal cemented the Expos move to D.C., more conflict ensued over the design of the ballpark, parking, and the surrounding neighborhood. Skyrocketing real estate prices around the stadium let loose a gold rush on real estate and government worked to clear land for the stadium through legislation and eminent domain. They also worked out the financing for the necessary upgrades to the Navy Yard metro stop. All of these deals between government, the private sector, and community groups eventually resulted in a stadium being built.

While most of this era could be said to have been characterized by partnership and cooperation on multiple fronts, it was not entirely conflict-free. The case of the baseball stadium drama showed how multiple interests could be in conflict while attempting to accomplish a similar goal, that of housing a baseball team in a stadium. The stadium approval process was so chaotic and uncoordinated that MLB and private sector partners were flustered and, at times, did not know who they were negotiating with. However, the total effect of this era was that government, along with its partners in the private sector and the community, went all-in on the Navy Yard. While the previous era were characterized by the slow evolution of independent entities finding each other and joining together, this era was more of a culmination of all of those processes, and once done, the neighborhood's future form was nearly inevitable.

## Summary of Transition-Level Analysis

The transition level story of the neighborhood is even harder to place neatly into a theory of urban development than the event level stories, largely because of the number of entities involved. Given how difficult it is to determine which theory might fit an event level process, because of selective evidence and subjective reasoning, very few theories could even be found to resemble the case of the Navy Yard appropriately. It is likely that when confronted with such a large process involving so many entities that only the most general urban development theories could be thought to fit and theories like Public Choice, Pluralism, Neo-Marxism, and Neoliberalism are too narrowly defined.

The only theories general enough to even be considered are Growth Machine and Regime Theory. Since the biggest difference between these theories is the assumption that quality of life is transferred directly to a narrow slice of elites from the general public, Regime Theory is the most appropriate for this case. It is the best characterization of what happened in the Navy Yard because government worked with private sector partners to accomplish the goal of developing a neighborhood that they could not implement alone. While there was definitely a loss of community for the residents who were displaced, how can that be measured against the gaining of a community for all of those who followed into the newly revitalized neighborhood. These residents surely have more wealth than those they displaced but they could hardly be considered a narrow slice of the elite. Additionally, while relatively few former residents were able to return, some



were, and those that did gained all of the amenities the latest incarnation of the Navy Yard had to offer.

However, the primary critique of Regime Theory is that it is too broad, and thus can be used to fit any process, and this shortcoming applies to this case. The theory can explain everything about what happened in the Navy Yard but it really explains very little. Instead, what it does is offer a fairly simple and broad explanation; that government and private sector partners worked together on a common goal, but it is an explanation that is almost tautological, and it is only true because the land was developed. Without a deeper understanding of exactly how and why this constellation of public and private sector actors worked together, failed, or succeeded very little utility can be drawn from applying Regime Theory to this case other than the satisfaction derived from feeling that a nice conceptual bowtie has been wrapped around it.

Despite the fact that it is very hard to apply a specific theory of urban development in this case; there are a number of things that the transition level analysis does demonstrate: including 1) amid a process of urban development government can, and does matter, 2) the process is messy, chaotic, and unpredictable, and 3) the process of urban development plays out in a way that depends more on conditional, context specific factors than any purposive actions by actors in government, the private sector, or the community.

First, and perhaps most importantly, the transition level analysis demonstrates that government can, and does, matter. Government entities were the most important players in the development of the Navy Yard. However, this government was not a monolith, there were five primary agents from the public sector who held the most power over what would happen in the neighborhood. These agents worked in concert, and in conflict at times, in order to accomplish the goal of redeveloping the Navy Yard. Additionally, public sector agents led the process of development and the private sector only played an implementation role, albeit a lucrative one. However, these agents did not always have common goals and visions for the area, as explained below.

The primary government entity that played a role in the case was the D.C. Government, or more specifically Mayor Anthony Williams and Andy Altman's Office of Planning. Williams immediately set upon the goal of developing the Navy Yard as a way to help the city as soon as he took office and his hiring of Andy Altman to be the planning director was in line with his expectation that the neighborhood could become a revitalized waterfront destination. The Williams administration reached out to partners inside government, in the private sector, and the community relentlessly in pursuit of this goal, acting as the central node through which all of the other players interacted. They spearheaded the Anacostia Waterfront Initiative, started the Anacostia Waterfront Corporation, and were the biggest force in advocating for baseball's return to the Nation's Capital and for a stadium to be the centerpiece of the Navy Yard.

The Williams administration were not the only governmental players in the case. The Navy, and Admiral Chris Weaver, played a large role in advocating for neighborhood improvements to accommodate BRAC workers and Navy contractors. Their advocacy included, but was not limited to, lobbying for infrastructure improvements, reaching out to the private sector to spur investment and commercialism, and general cheerleading for the neighborhood. They also played a direct role in environmental remediation and worked closely with the Williams administration to accomplish many of their goals.

Other government entities were important in long-term planning for development in the Navy Yard. The GSA held vacant land in the area for decades attempting, often without success, to alter the place. The National Capital Planning Commission set forth a vision for the area which was broader than the one conceived by the GSA and the Extending the Legacy plan highlighted what was possible in the neighborhood beyond just a Federal enclave that would be deserted at night. Another who lobbied for the Navy Yard's redevelopment was Eleanor Holmes Norton who pushed for the area's improvement for at least a decade before her signature legislation, which led to the GSA's success in developing their 55 acres of land that lay vacant since 1963. The sustained and long-term efforts of these three entities were given a surge by the election of Anthony Williams and the Navy's need to advocate for its workers. Although, while these entities often coordinated their efforts, aside from the D.C. government, who played the role of central node for neighborhood redevelopment, they were more often independently pursuing goals mainly in their own interest. It was only when these goals could be accomplished

with another's help that interlocking collaboration would occur. There is no evidence of a long-term conspiracy to work together to accomplish a single objective in the neighborhood. Instead, the vision and its subsequent implementation for the Navy Yard was produced by these many hands through interaction.

While the relationship between these central five governmental entities was mostly characterized by cooperation, and even close collaboration, there were other parts of government that were often in conflict with each other over the process of redeveloping the Navy Yard. One example of this conflict were the disagreement over the design and nature of the DOT headquarters, where the GSA's desire to place a Federal Agency threatened the D.C. Government's plan to make the Navy Yard into a mixed use, waterfront, neighborhood. However, the best example of conflict was what occurred during the drive to put a stadium in the neighborhood. The city council was at odds with itself and the Mayor to the point that MLB most likely regretted their decision to place the team in D.C. There were also conflicts between branches of government with regard to the stadium design, what to do with the surrounding neighborhood, parking, and other details about who would pay for improvements and how much. This open conflict is in opposition to the idea of a collaborating regime.

Conflict was only one of the aspects demonstrating that the process of urban development is messy, chaotic, and unpredictable as opposed to controlled, managed, and conspiratorial as many of the theories on urban development suggest. There is a

certain messiness inherent in any process because of the sheer numbers of entities playing a role. The case narrative named at least 5 political positions and/or bodies, 14 government agencies, over 10 developers and real estate companies, countless private sector companies including Major League Baseball, 10 interest groups, and media such as the two D.C. daily papers and others. The notion that there could be some way to control this many number of entities and actors, and that any theory could encapsulate what happens between them when they interact is facile.

The process of urban development is a complex animal of competing and cooperating agendas and visions and, at best, theory can only describe the outcome of how this process ended rather than explaining the mechanics of such a neighborhood level transition. Additionally, the case of the Navy Yard played out in an unpredictable fashion. The speculators who purchased land in the early 1990's could not have possibly known how lucrative the neighborhood ultimately turned out. Very few could have predicted that the Anacostia would be subject to cleanup efforts, BRAC would move workers there, or that baseball would come. These developments were simply the products of a collision of time and space that no Growth Machine or Regime could have possibly or purposefully produced.

Given that the process of urban development relies on a collision of actors in space and time, it is important to note that such processes are extremely conditional and context specific. The case of the Navy Yard transition could not possibly occurred without a

number of coincidental contexts colliding at a certain place in a certain time. Specifically, five conditions that the Navy Yard could not have proceeded without include the history of planning in Washington D.C., the cities complex history of race, external macro-economic factors, national level poverty policy, and the “back to the city” movement occurring in the late 1990’s.

As noted in Chapter Two, Washington, D.C. has a long legacy as a planned city. From L’Enfant to McMillan, Boss Shepherd, and beyond, the city’s form has been shaped less by modes of production and immigration patterns than it has by concrete, governmental plans laid out in advance of implementation. Without this legacy of planning dictating place, it is doubtful that an entity such as the NCPC could have possibly laid out such a grand vision that could become reality. Additionally, the path to implementation of this vision was so dictated by government entities that it is possible that such a process could only have occurred in a place where government is prominent and holds sway.

The cities complex history with race, which is also discussed in Chapter 2 had an effect on what occurred in the Navy Yard. While the distasteful legacy of urban renewal in the 1950’s in Southwest led government planners to try to assuage the concerns of long-term residents in the neighborhood and to try to improve on the unfortunate mass displacements experienced prior, this same legacy led many residents of Capper/Carrollsborg and other city residents to be skeptical of the plans. Additionally, fears of “The Plan” in a rapidly gentrifying city fed fears of African-American residents

both in the Navy Yard neighborhood and the city at large that they would be priced out of the new D.C. Ultimately, while the new townhomes where the Capers once stood were able to retain many more residents than 1950's urban renewal, there were many underprivileged families who lost unfathomable amounts of social capital through the redevelopment of their community.

In a related context, the redevelopment of the Capers could not have occurred without the nature of national poverty policy occurring in the 1990's. The deconcentration of poverty was an idea which had been building for some time. There was no way that any government planners, private sector partners, or community groups could have predicted that the rehabilitation of public housing and dispersal of residents could have fueled a neighborhood renewal. Additionally, the boom and bust economics of the 1990's and the early 2000's provided historically low interest rates and created opportunities for investment impossible under other economic conditions. Also, as all of these external factors were occurring, culturally, the 1990's were part of a nation-wide "back to the city" movement, where young professionals and other formerly suburban demographic groups either decided to stay in urban areas or moved back to them from their suburban venues. The effect was hyper-accelerated gentrification in the D.C area, which was apparent in the changing demographics of the Navy Yard neighborhood.

Finally, D.C. was a city poised to make great changes in the late 1990's as the Marion Barry era drew to a close. The city had recovered from the fiscal crisis that led to the institution

of the control board, it was infused with money from the growth of government and the creation of the Homeland Security Department, and Mayor Williams and the Office of Planning rode the wave of the back to the city movement. The city was poised to capture its market share of millennials and empty nesters and was able to capitalize on these trends to lure residents who could grow the tax base without putting a heavy toll on city services. During the time of the case, D.C. was a city that was able to ride external and internal spatial and chronological trends to become a 21<sup>st</sup> century global player.



## CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION

This final chapter first gives a brief overview the research effort followed by the conclusions gleaned, lessons for theory and practice, limitations, and recommendations for future study.

### Summary of Research

This research began with three central research questions, What is the nature of the transition in the Navy Yard neighborhood, what was the process of this transition, and what role did government play; which correspond to roughly to asking what, how, and why did a neighborhood-level transition occur in the Navy Yard between 1995 and 2008? The site of the case was chosen purposefully because of Washington D.C.'s unique nature, given its rich history of government-led planning efforts, the level and complexity of government entities who hold influence over urban planning, and the fact that there were sufficient public, private, and community interests for a deep, rich, and textured analysis.

This case was situated theoretically in the literature on urban development and utilized a geographic understanding of how places are made and remade. It was asserted that the current body of literature on urban development was underdeveloped in terms of how it viewed the role of government and of limited utility, given its embedded unit of analysis problem and methodological propensity to use selective evidence and rely on a

subjective, value-laden analysis. It also was positioned around the assumption that any study of urban development, such as the case of the Navy Yard, should delve into the complexity of relationships as well as contexts across time and space in order to provide a pathway toward a more useful, and applicable, understanding.

The literature review examined theories of urban development, such as Elite Theory, Pluralism, NeoMarxism, Public Choice, Growth Machine, Regime Theory, Neoliberalism, and New Institutionalism. While all of these theories are rooted in a search for determining who truly governs and share the idea that public, private, and community interests vie for the future of places, they diverge on a number of planes: their context-specific and conditional roots in specific cities, their view of the distribution of power when public and private sector partners interact, their assertions of who receives the primary benefits from urban development, and their implications for understanding the nature of government's role amid development. The goal was not to select which urban development theory was more appropriate or to adjudicate between them. It was to instead investigate the case using methods that could lead to a deeper understanding of how these theories work, or do not work, when examining urban development in order to understand the practical application of their use and their implications for how we view development and what planners and people believe is possible.

Methods were selected in order to produce a deep, rich, textured narrative for analysis. The central feature of the method was the case narrative, which resembled a timeline;

constructed from its initial stages as a chronological skeleton to a rich document utilizing media reports, mainly from the Washington Post, and further enriched with the use of other texts, government statistics, relevant planning or other kinds of documents, surveys, and visual evidence. Once this narrative was constructed it was used to analyze how well theories on urban development fit the case and to determine their shortcomings.

Before the narrative was presented, a history of Washington D.C. was given that familiarized the reader with historical context. D.C. has a rather unique past because it is a city unattached to a state, urban planning has long held a large role in determining the city form, and a racial context that, together, surely set the parameters for how the case proceeded. This historical context was accompanied by spatial context, including external economic factors, poverty policy, development in urban city-making, and the role of cities globally. Both of these contexts together represent the confluence of chronological and spatial space in which the Navy Yard was nested when the case began in 1995.

Also, before the narrative began, a static comparison of the neighborhood during the case period was presented with an eye toward demographic and economic characteristics. Additionally, a brief historical summary of the neighborhood supplied perspective on how this neighborhood fit into the unique history and spatial politics of Washington D.C.

In order to fully understand the narrative, a section preceded the text with a presentation of the entities that were involved in the case; including public-sector entities, private-sector entities, and community interests. Then, the case narrative began, telling the story of the Navy Yard's evolution in a year-by-year summary of events. After this narrative was completed, analysis of its selected parts proceeded, taking a detailed look at both event and transition level processes to see how the case compared to what was asserted about processes of urban development in the literature and what it could reveal about the future direction of the study of urban development.

## Conclusions

There were three primary conclusions drawn from the event and transition level analysis.

- 1) Government can, and does, matter, even in the era of the decentralized state;
- 2) Urban development is messy, chaotic, unpredictable, conditional upon context and coincidence, and beset by conflict and conflict resolution, and;
- 3) Theory on urban development is prone to two main problems; an inherent unit of analysis problem and the issue of selective evidence in the data collection stage and subjective assessment at the analysis stage.

### 1. Government Matters, Even In the Era of The Decentralized State

First, and most important, the event and transition level analysis demonstrates that government can, and does, matter even in a diffused and weakened national state. The

five main government entities outlined in the transition level analysis each had independent goals and engaged in partnership formation during the case. This formation of partnerships was largely contingent on coincidence, or the external spatial and historical factors which made alliances easier to create given an atmosphere of opportunity like the Navy Yard. However, whether this partnership was the product of hard work by government, chance, or the intersection of chance and hard work is not something that can be ascertained comprehensively using the case methods.

Would such efforts from government in a time and a place different than the Nation's Capital amid a development-friendly context have succeeded? It is difficult to tell, but what can be said for certain is that many entities in government, from politicians to officials at agencies, worked very hard to produce the vision of the Navy Yard that they held. However, it was not a shared vision, but a shared collaboration that stemmed from propinquity. In this sense, the collaboration was manifest in a cooperating constellation of entities from government and the private sector that did not enrich the few at the expense of the many. Therefore, this case is most like an example of Regime Theory, however imperfect and tautological that theory tends to be. Would a similar constellation of actors who attempted and failed to develop the area be labeled a regime? It is unlikely that it would, largely due to regime theories inability to be predictive, it can only aptly, albeit generally, describe what has already happened.

There is not enough evidence at present to draw unequivocal conclusions about who was the most powerful government entity that produced the Navy Yard transition, however we can tentatively assert that the Williams administration was the central node for urban development efforts and the impetus for the collaborative constellation that produced the neighborhood's transition. With limited evidence it appears that while the GSA, Eleanor Holmes Norton, the NCPC, and the Navy long held plans for the area, it was only when Anthony Williams took office that efforts accelerated.

For his part, the Mayor asserts that they were indeed the central node that catalyzed the Navy Yard's transition through relentless and steady pursuit of their goal. He notes:

“Early in my term, Congressman Steny Hoyer gave me a great organizing principle for approaching a big challenge in a difficult political environment. He got it from the late great Lou Goldstein, former Comptroller of the State of Maryland. Come together, work together and succeed together. We took this approach to the Anacostia, and the results continue to roll in” (Williams, A., Personal Communication, May 5, 2016).

Even if the Williams administration did not hold the most power, they played a central role, and their behavior can be characterized in a manner not yet suggested. As MacLeod and Goodwin (1999) asked, could the era of governance, the decentralized state, and public-private partnerships “actually enhance the role of the state, as the one agency charged with overall responsibility for securing socioeconomic and political cohesion” (p. 2522)? Could this new era allow government to act not as an assembler of coalitions as Regime Theory suggests, nor as an arbiter between competing sects as Pluralism suggests, and definitely not as the nefarious handmaiden of capital, as Neoliberalism and Neomarxism suggest? But instead, government can act in a yet unsuggested manner; that of

a broker mediating between competing visions of place, where the very act of mediation serves as the primary catalyst for urban development.

## 2. Urban Development is messy, chaotic, unpredictable, contextual, and subject to coincidence

Even with governmental officials or entities steering efforts to develop a place there is still much out of their control. They may attempt purposive action but there is no guarantee of success, nor is there a guarantee that things will work out as planned. Therefore, urban development is messy, chaotic, difficult to predict, conditional upon context and coincidence, and beset as much by conflict as by collaboration.

Both the event and transition level analysis show that there is an inherent messiness and chaos due simply to the number of entities involved in, and staking out their visions for, a place. Multitudes of actors from government, the private sector, and the community participated in urban development in the Navy Yard. This messiness often produced chaos, most apparent in the twists and turns of the baseball stadium saga. There were so many public and private sector entities involved in the attempt to build, or thwart, a baseball stadium in the Navy Yard that Major League Baseball often had no idea what the future would hold and probably regretted their decision to place the team in the city. In addition, interest groups and community groups also lobbied for and against the stadium, stadium design, attempts to clear the land, and the surrounding neighborhood.

Perhaps more importantly, this messiness and chaos is almost completely unpredictable. In the case of the Navy Yard, the neighborhood was very unfriendly to real estate speculation during the early case period. Private sector speculators investing in land in the early 1990's could not possibly have known how the neighborhood would turn out. Certainly, plans were made by the GSA, the NCPC, and officials in government, but there was no guarantee that any of these plans would bear fruit. The relocation of NAVSEA was almost a serendipitous event produced by BRAC closures that drove the neighborhood in an entirely new direction. Additionally, environmental groups who began cleanup efforts in the beginning of the case period could not have known that, in less than a decade, their goals would be adopted by multiple government agencies and private sector partners.

The ability to use federal grants to replace the Capper/Carrollsborg dwellings was also an unpredictable event, not driven by private sector developers but instead national poverty policy. As to SEFC, the GSA long had plans to develop the neighborhood, but their plans bore little resemblance to the Yards. Finally, none of these actors who began the process of redeveloping the neighborhood could have known that the Montreal Expos would bankrupt themselves and look for their new home. In sum, all of these intertwined events could not possibly have been predicted, other than in some general, hopeful fashion, such as offered in the Extending the Legacy plan. Instead the specifics of what happened in the Navy Yard can only be described after the fact that no urban development theory can predict.



The fact that unpredictability is inherent in a place undergoing transition was apparent in the conflict over the future of the Navy Yard. It is not difficult to know whose vision of the future will be fulfilled, as it is most often dictated by who has the most power. But, the very presence of conflict demonstrates that participants of all power levels are aware that the future is unknowable and that they must work to influence the process. In the Navy Yard, the prime examples of this conflict were the disagreements between the GSA and the D.C. government on the design of the new DOT headquarters at SEFC, the battles between the Mayor and the City Council and others over the plans for the stadium, and the struggle between DCHA and the residents of Capper/Carrolsburg over the future of their community.

This inherent messiness, chaos, unpredictability, and conflict that characterizes urban development is part of the reason why, when more details of the process are uncovered, very few theories can be neatly applied to a single case. No theory can encompass the complexity of such an individual and unique process and no theory can account for the unpredictability of how a place will turn out without becoming too broad and/or too tautological to be of any utility. They can only examine the end result and subjectively trace motivations and decisions to assumptions ingrained within the theory itself.

### 3. Trouble in the Theory

This analysis reveals that the literature on urban development is beset by two main difficulties: an embedded unit of analysis problem and a selectivity/subjectivity problem which distorts what happened in the case and limits belief about what is possible.

The embedded unit of analysis problem apparent in the analysis chapter shows that some theories fit better on the micro, or event level. Neoliberalism, Neo-Marxism, Regime Theory Pluralism, Public Choice ostensibly appear to fit when decisions are confined to a minimum of complexity and more control is available. But, as the unit of analysis proceeds to the transition level, and complexity deepens, other theories tend to work better, such as Growth Machine or Regime Theory. However, in complex processes the theories become more generalized and vague as to what specifically happens amidst urban transition and what role government plays. Therefore their utility is limited.

Another problem in the theory is a selective evidence and subjective analysis problem, which relates to the unit of analysis issue. Realistically, no theories fit precisely because they can all fit based on the evidence gathered and the motives imputed on the actors. The decision on the fit of a single theory is less related to what actually happened in the case but instead on the researcher or observer's definition of the public good and who they consider to be the most important segment of the public. If the researcher's subjective definition of the public good trends toward a belief in equity they will look at urban development and see it as Neo-Marxist, Neoliberal, or Growth Machine and if they

define the public good as belief in growth that helps most people, they will see Pluralism, Public Choice, or Regime Theory. Also, if they consider the most important segment of the public to be the disadvantaged, they will likely see urban development as Neo-Marxist, Neoliberal, or Growth Machine, but if they consider the broader public beyond just the disadvantaged they will likely see Pluralism, Public Choice, or Regime Theory.

These basic value judgments held by the researcher in terms of what defines the public good and who they consider to be the most important segment of the public are important because these perspectives dictate which kind of evidence is gathered, as well as who it is gathered from, during the data collection phase. Therefore, the resultant analysis becomes a foregone conclusion where what is revealed is not what occurred, but instead the basic values and belief system of the researcher. This becomes a practical problem because the theories in the literature automatically shoehorn what we see, limit what is possible, and dictate characterizations of reality for professionals and the public alike.

## Lessons for Practice and Theory

Lessons for theory and practice informed by the conclusions are presented below in turn. Generally, theory builds a framework for what can happen in practice, both in terms of how urban development is pursued and how both researchers and the public view it.

## *Theory*

Lessons for theory are threefold. There is a need to re-examine the approach to the study of urban development, utilize different methodologies, and understand how prior theory and personal views on urban development are unhelpful, limiting what is possible and pigeon-holing the way an urban development process is perceived.

The primary issues with the theory are the unit of analysis problem and the limited, context-dependent manner in which prior research efforts have pursued its study. At present, the current literature makes no distinction to the size and complexity of the process of urban development. This research has raised the issue of whether single cases and/or processes of different scopes can even be reasonably compared. There has been a tendency to overgeneralize about urban development based on specific case studies which belong to unique chronological and spatial contexts. This attempt at generalization is a vain effort and only clouds thinking about urban development and how it progresses.

A potential alternative way to think of how these smaller processes fit into larger, more complex processes is that when a set of small scale Neoliberal or Neo-Marxist events collide in time and space, cumulatively they may resemble Growth Machine, and when Pluralist, or Public Choice events collide in time and space, cumulatively they may resemble Regime Theory. Ultimately, what theories like Neo-Marxism, Neoliberalism, Public Choice, and Pluralism can appear useful for is describing simplistic decisions or

single event processes and what theories like Regime Theory or Growth Machine can appear to describe are more complex, neighborhood level processes.

Therefore, researchers need to rethink how we connect these theories to urban development. Instead of trying to apply one to a single case of urban development in a vain attempt to characterize it, the theories should instead be thought of models, or a menu of options, available to policy makers when faced with what to do about the urban places they wish to remake. Accordingly, these theories should be a menu of options available to researchers when they attempt to characterize a case of urban development.

A potential remedy is to abandon the search for overgeneralizations and examine each case separately using a different approach. Instead of viewing a single case as a chance to supply evidence for a rule, it is more advantageous to examine each case much in the same manner as has been done here. It may seem limiting to set your goal at description, but it is more valuable to have a micro-level understanding of many situations that can guide thinking about urban development in general rather than attempting to construct a rule that works at a more macro-level. To truly understand the urban development process it requires the perspective of a geography-based understanding of place as process, one that views any transition as a space and time collision of both purposive action and circumstantial factors. As Pred (1984) notes, places are not picture windows to gaze at, but constantly-shifting landscapes which unfold in a specific, chronological fashion, and these places are in constant flux that no theory can fully account for.

A useful way to examine urban development in future research would be to utilize much the same framework as Kingdon (2003) does in analyzing the political process. Urban development can be viewed as a process which pulls together many different streams of actors and exists within a particular context. This understanding of the process would be subject to the same criticisms of Kingdon, that it is merely descriptive and tautological, however it would be more useful for those who wish to engage in urban development to understand what general sets of circumstances work to their advantage in forming working partnerships and which sets of circumstances are difficult to overcome.

Perhaps the most useful aspect of this Kingdonian approach is that it would be more objective and rely less upon the observer's value judgements. Mere description would lay out the parameters of a phenomenon but avoid the negative consequences of having to decide which generalized rule applies. Characterizing a neighborhood's transition as Neo-liberal or a Public Good is simply too loaded and forces participants and observers to make unnecessary choices about how they perceive it, based largely in what ideas have trickled down to them from theory.

### *Practice*

The lessons of this research for practice are largely rooted in the pragmatic pursuit of urban development for policymakers and the implications for a public that wants to embrace or resist an attempt at development. If you are a policymaker or an interested agency like the GSA that wants to pursue urban development in a given place and time,

this Kingdonian, spatial-geographic understanding of how places transition is very useful. A comprehensive examination and deep understanding of the historical and spatial context in which you are working is essential to experiencing success or failure. This understanding requires a detailed look at the political, economic, and social forces involved in your case. This will help policymakers understand who their potential allies are as well as which entities or factors which might become obstacles.

If you are government figure, like Anthony Williams or Chris Weaver, you must be armed with contextual awareness and continually walk forward, adjusting your approach as shifting context dictates. Do not assume that you have control over a situation, simply push forward and apply constant pressure toward a loose set of goals. If you are a developer, work with government and the public, adjusting your style and design to fit the context. In short, a rigid approach by any actor that expects the world to conform to its parameters will probably experience resistance, whereas a collaborative vision-forming relationship will always fit into the context, because it respects and adjusts to it.

If you are a member of the public whose neighborhood is experiencing development and transition, do not assume what will happen based on theoretical expectations. What you have learned from theory and the trickle-down of theory into other corners of discourse is not necessarily reality. Examine your context as well, the approach of the government body or developer who are involved, and adjust your understanding to the detailed facts

of your specific situation as opposed to general acceptance or reticence of the effort based on theoretical understanding, your personal values, or knee jerk reactions.

### Limitations and Future Study

There are a number of limitations to this study that affect the ability to analyze and draw conclusions. These include the kinds of sources used, the ability to obtain original insight into the case, and the effects of the researcher as data collection instrument.

The data collection limitations are related to the general limitations of how theory on urban development is prone to selective evidence at the evidence gathering stage. A heavy reliance on the Washington Post while constructing the narrative could have biased the conclusions. While hundreds of articles were downloaded and read in an attempt to study all relevant events occurring during the case period, a mainstream media source is always is selective when covering any issue and their story will trend towards the official version of events. The quotes in these articles and used in the narrative were often from representatives in the government or the private sector as opposed to the community.

Attempts were made to remedy this shortcoming as the narrative was enriched through the addition of official documents and web searches for alternative sources. However, especially in the case of the official documents, these records also would also contain bias towards the standard version of the case events. This was a particular problem with approaching the Capper-Carrollsborg conversion. While the Washington Post quoted



residents of the complex, as did the City Paper and other outlets, these voices were less often heard. Attempts were made to alleviate this limitation through contacting the Capper-Carrollsborg remembrance page and a phone conversation with an action research sociologist who wished to remain anonymous. However, no reply came from the inquiry to the page and the sociologist was unable to provide contact information for former residents.

It was especially limiting not to be able to interview any former Capers residents about their experiences dealing with government agencies like the DCHA and their representatives in City Council and the ANC. Additionally, there was a generalized problem with obtaining interviews during this research. The original plan to conduct face-to-face interviews was reduced to structured web surveys, which were also harder to obtain than initially presumed. While some officials immediately responded and completed the questionnaire online, others were unresponsive despite numerous attempts to contact them through multiple modes. This limitation is asserted to be mitigated because no facts about the case were revealed through any of the surveys that ran counter to the conclusions drawn from other sources. Therefore, they were confirmatory in terms of what was already believed about the case and served as triangulation. Also, Mayor Williams was the most sought after interview in the sample and the chance to interview him on the phone was crucial.

Finally, a prime limitation of this research deals with the researcher-as-instrument. While researchers strive to be as objective as possible, their identities affect the beliefs they hold as they approach the case, what kind of evidence they gather, and how their external identity affects opportunities to interview research subjects. This relates to the theoretical limitations of the study of urban development in general. I tend to personally value growth for most of the citizens over equity in terms of what constitutes the public good and I do not necessarily prioritize disadvantaged segments of the public.

Additionally, I have a personal history with this case, spending my formative years about a mile from the Navy Yard in Capitol Hill during the 1980's and early 1990s. I spent very little time in the neighborhood during the early parts of the case period aside from a few limited forays to some of the clubs. I am also a baseball fan and appreciate what Anthony Williams accomplished in the city that I grew up in and still consider to be my true home. I have tried to be as cognizant of my identity and personal sets of values and how it might affect the research throughout the project but it is better to be forthcoming about my connection to the case than to omit it.

Ideas for future study related to the case itself are connected to the limitations. Since there is so much content available on the Navy Yard case, there are very few events which were not chronicled, but it would be ideal if face-to-face, in-depth, and frank discussions could occur with all of the people that were originally on the list of interviewees. This

could reveal more about their original intentions toward the neighborhood and how those intentions changed during the case period in response to shifting context.

This information could be used to understand more about how these coalitions and partnerships come to exist so that advice could be given to officials in other localities on how to accomplish partnership goals. However, since all people on the interview list were public officials it would be difficult to get them to divulge more about their involvement in the case than they had already provided in their official capacities. Additionally, as time passes, many people with knowledge of the case are already deceased, infirm, or will have recall issues with regard to events that occurred up to two decades prior.

In terms of future study, it would be ideal if these theories or models were understood more as ideal types, or tentative context-dependent propositions rather than predictive explanations for how and why urban development proceeds. Additionally, researchers should abandon the idea that they need to decide which of these theories or models are most true and develop the perspective that they are simply a menu of potential options for how urban development proceeds and can be combined when characterizing a case of urban development. The application of this Kingdonian, geography-based approach towards understanding urban development would be a welcome change.

## APPENDIX A: SURVEY

### Invite

[Participant Name]

We are inviting yourself and about 10 to 20 other figures from Government, Business, and Community Groups/Associations to participate in a study about development occurring in the Navy Yard neighborhood between 1990 and 2008 in Washington D.C. This research will be used to understand more about the process of development in urban areas generally and in D.C. specifically. Participation is voluntary and if you do decide to participate you do not have to answer every question.

The potential risk to participation is minimal, since these are public policy issues that you have likely discussed with others. You will not receive direct benefit from participation, however you may receive indirect benefit related to a further understanding of what happened in the Navy Yard. This survey's level of confidentiality is entirely up to you to decide. You may elect to have your quotes used by me in my dissertation at will, have your quotes and information be confidential (i.e. you are supplying information "on background"), or you may decide that you do not want to participate.

Completed survey data will be kept on Qualtrics servers and my personal hard drive where only myself, and perhaps, the Institutional Review Board at Rutgers University will be allowed access except as may be required by law. This survey should take no more than one hour of your time and your answers will be of great assistance to the project. If you have any questions about the survey, please contact the Principal Investigator: If you

have any questions about your rights as a research subject, you may contact the IRB Administrator at Rutgers University:

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**Survey**

Q1) Please select your level of participation below, be it allowing me to quote you at will, confidential participation on background only, or no participation at all. Thank you very much.

- a) You may quote me at will
- b) You may use the information, but only quote me with my permission
- c) I do not wish to participate

**[Only Ask Q2 if Q1 Was I do not wish to participate]**

Q2) Are you certain that you do not consent to participate in this research? If you do not consent, this survey will close and you will not be allowed to voice your opinions.

- a) Yes, I am certain (1)
- b) No, I would like to take the survey (2)

**[If Yes, I am certain Is Selected, Then Skip To End of Survey]**

The following questions will ask you about your experiences with the Navy Yard neighborhood in Washington D.C., which is defined as the area bounded by South Capitol Street to the West, The Southeast/Southwest Freeway to the North and East, and the Anacostia River to the South.

Q3) Can you recall the first year, approximately, that you began to be involved in environmental restoration, planning, policy, economic development, or other significant events occurring in the Navy Yard area?

Please enter a 4-digit year \_ \_ \_ \_

Q4) What were your impressions of the neighborhood at the time?

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Q5) What did you think could happen in the future in the neighborhood?

Q6) What did you consider your role in terms of what was occurring in the neighborhood between 1990 and 2008, what goals did you want to accomplish?

Q6a Were you able to accomplish these goals and to what extent? Why or why not?

Q7) During the period of 1990 to 2008, did you have significant interactions with government entities, defined as any local, federal, or specially designated jurisdictional representatives (e.g Mayor, City Council) or agencies (e.g Planning Offices, Housing Authorities), with regard to accomplishing your goals in the neighborhood?

- a) Yes
- b) No

**[Only Ask Q7a if Q7 Was Yes]**

Q7a) Can you describe these interactions in terms of answering:

*Which specific government entities did you interact with?*

*What kinds of things did you interact with them about (i.e. what was the process like)?*

*Was the interaction collaborative, conflictual, or a mix of these (i.e. what was their nature)?*

--

Q8) During the period of 1990 to 2008, did you have significant interactions with members of the private sector, defined as developers, real estate representatives, or others with an interest in commerce, with regard to accomplishing your goals in the neighborhood?

- a) Yes
- b) No



**[Only Ask Q8a if Q8 Was Yes]**

Q8a Can you describe these interactions in terms of answering:

*Which specific developers, real estate agents, or commerce entities did you interact with?*

*What kinds of things did you interact with them about, what was the process like?*

*Was the interaction collaborative, conflictual, or a mix of these, what was their nature?*

Q9) During the period of 1990 to 2008, did you have significant interactions with members of the Navy Yard community, including residents, community-based groups, or otherwise with regard to accomplishing your goals in the neighborhood?

- a) Yes
- b) No

**[Only Ask Q9a if Q Was Yes]**

Q9a Can you describe these interactions in terms of answering:

*Which specific community groups or resident factions did you interact with?*

*What kinds of things did you interact with them about? (what was the process like)?*

*Was the interaction collaborative, conflictual, or a mix of these (i.e. what was their nature)?*

Q10) Is there anything else that you would like to add about the transition in the Navy Yard neighborhood between 1990 and 2008?

Q17 Thank you so much for your assistance with the project You may contact me at the future if you wish at [tmmck1975@gmail.com](mailto:tmmck1975@gmail.com) or by cell phone: 732-266-2062.

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