GO-GO MUSIC AND PLACE IDENTITY: THE PERSEVERANCE OF THE

CHOCOLATE CITY

By

ADRIANA HALL

A thesis submitted to the

School of Graduate Studies

Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey

In partial fulfillment of the requirements

For the degree of

Master of Landscape Architecture

Graduate Program in Landscape Architecture

Written under the direction of

Richard Alomar

And approved by

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

New Brunswick, New Jersey

May 2021
ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS

Go-Go Music and Place Identity: The Perseverance of the Chocolate City

By: ADRIANA HALL

Thesis Director:
Richard Alomar

Washington, D.C. has two sides: Washington and D.C. Washington is a melting pot with powerful leaders and newcomers working their way through the political scene. D.C., or The Chocolate City, is a space for Black people by Black people. It has a unique culture that sets trends in fashion, dance, and music. Unfortunately, gentrification in the city is diminishing D.C.’s Black population, giving way to physical and cultural displacement.

This thesis analyzes how the identity and sound of D.C. as represented through Go-Go music, is a catalyst for organization and activism in response to intense development pressures. It also explores streets in D.C. as public spaces that activate public awareness and response. The analysis and exploration are guided by the following questions:

How can music show Black people how to exist outside of their pain?
How can design include self-identity or place identity in a landscape?

These questions will be answered through a reflection of current events, historical research, and musical mapping.

Through an analysis of the history of Black music, from enslavement to Go-Go, this thesis illustrates how music is a form of unrestrained expression and
empowerment. This history validates music as a documentation of place identity and as an activism tool to gather and strengthen communities. The main vehicle for this activism is the street, which through different methods of design, can be manipulated to support resilient placemaking.

A documentary\(^1\) was produced as a means to convey the exploration into music and place identity. Through the use of archival material, spatial genre mapping, and the development of a template for music genres, this accompanying visual component allows for an ephemeral analysis on place and how its identity can develop over time. It views Washington, D.C. through the first-person lens while simultaneously explaining the found research. In addition, a design toolkit that includes the parameters of modularity, display of historical and cultural identity, a space for performance and artistic freedom, and a network of history are the building blocks to help create resilient Black spaces that support activism in the landscape.

\(^1\) [https://youtu.be/Zofsf34FaS-0](https://youtu.be/Zofsf34FaS-0)
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to take the time to thank everyone who has helped through this journey. Specifically:

My committee: Richard Alomar, Laura Lawson, Anita Bakshi, and Amber Wiley. I’m so grateful to have such an intelligent and supportive team that helped me through my many non-traditional ideas.

My Rutgers roommates: Zoe Orlino and Yat Chan. Thank you for always being so encouraging and supportive. I’m happy to have experienced this with you.

My family members for their input in the documentary. It means a lot to have your stories intertwined with this thesis.

Kenneth Staton and Katherine Rodriguez for talking through every idea with me and emotionally supporting me through this process.

My dual degree cohort. I couldn’t imagine a better group to be a part of.

Gail Mckenzie for encouraging me to apply to achieve this master’s degree.

Without all the support from these people, this thesis would have not been possible. I am so very grateful for all of you. Thank you so much!
# Table of Contents

ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS ........................................................................................................... ii

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS ................................................................................................................ iv

List of Illustrations ..................................................................................................................... vii

Chapter 1: Introduction .................................................................................................................. 1

Chapter 2: Reflection ................................................................................................................... 4

2.1: Current Music Activism in Washington DC ................................................................. 4

Chapter 3: Street Life and Activism ......................................................................................... 7

3.1: Streets as Public Space in Urban Areas ........................................................................... 7

Chapter 4: Place Identity ............................................................................................................. 11

4.1: The Theory of Place Identity ......................................................................................... 11

4.2: Place Identity in Washington DC .................................................................................. 11

4.3: Music as the Documentation of Place Identity .............................................................. 12

Chapter 5: The History of the Chocolate City ......................................................................... 26

5.1: Historic Land Use ............................................................................................................. 26

5.2: Redlining .......................................................................................................................... 27

5.3: Urban Renewal and the 1968 Riots ................................................................................. 29

5.4: Gentrification ...................................................................................................................... 30

Chapter 6: Design Toolkit ......................................................................................................... 32

6.1 Modularity ............................................................................................................................. 33
6.2 Identity .......................................................... 35
6.3 Performance and Art ........................................ 37
6.4 Network of History .......................................... 39
Chapter 7: Documentary Video ............................... 40
Chapter 8: Discussion and Conclusions .................... 44
Bibliography ........................................................ 46
Illustration Credits ................................................. 49
Appendix ............................................................. 51
   Glossary of Terms ............................................. 51
   Reading Notes .................................................. 61
   Population Maps .............................................. 70
List of Illustrations

Figure 1. Metro PCS in the U St./Shaw neighborhood ..............................................4
Figure 2. Go-Go band playing at the Moechella protests ............................................5
Figure 3. Long Live Go-Go music truck in Washington, DC street ..............................6
Figure 4. Black Live Matter protest in D.C. ..................................................................9
Figure 5. Spatial Genre Map for Gospel Music .............................................................13
Figure 6. Genre Info-Poster detailing Gospel Music .....................................................14
Figure 7. Spatial Genre Map for Blues Music ...............................................................15
Figure 8. Genre Info-Poster detailing Blues Music ......................................................16
Figure 9. Spatial Genre Map for Soul Music .................................................................17
Figure 10. Genre Info-Poster detailing Soul Music ......................................................18
Figure 11. Spatial Genre Map for Funk Music ...............................................................19
Figure 12. Genre Info-Poster detailing Funk Music ......................................................20
Figure 13. Spatial Genre Map for Salsa Music ...............................................................21
Figure 14. Genre Info-Poster detailing Salsa Music ......................................................22
Figure 15. Spatial Genre Map for Go-Go Music ............................................................23
Figure 16. Genre Info-Map detailing Go-Go Music .......................................................24
Figure 17. Washington, D.C. in before it was the Capital .............................................26
Figure 18. Washington DC Redlining map from 1937 .................................................28
Figure 19. Washington, DC after the 1968 Riots .........................................................29
Figure 20. Washington DC Gentrification from 2000-2013 ........................................30
Figure 21. Historical picture of the Howard Theatre ...................................................32
Figure 22. Design Toolkit Tableau focusing on Modularity .........................................33
Figure 23. Design Toolkit Tableau focusing on Identity ..................................... 35
Figure 24. Africatown volunteers painting the parking lot ................................. 36
Figure 25. Design Toolkit Tableau focusing on Performance and Art ................. 37
Figure 26. Andrea Bowers’s installation at Project Row Houses ....................... 38
Figure 27. Design Toolkit Tableau focusing on a Network of History ................. 39
Figure 28. Archival footage of the street being used as a public space in D.C. ..... 41
Figure 29. Public footage of people beating their feet to Go-Go music ............... 41
Figure 30. Public footage of the Moechella protest ........................................... 42
Figure 31. An example of subtitles used in the narrative documentary ............... 43
Figure 32. Population Map of Washington, D.C. in 1940 .................................... 70
Figure 33. Population Map of Washington, D.C. in 1950 .................................... 71
Figure 34. Population Map of Washington, D.C. in 1960 .................................... 71
Figure 35. Population Map of Washington, D.C. in 1970 .................................... 71
Chapter 1: Introduction

Washington, D.C. is a city with memorials, museums, and political leaders that are influential in world of politics. Parallel to this city of politics and power is one with a rich culture of music, fashion, art, and food created by Black people. This city is known as the “Chocolate City.” In 1970, 70% of the population of Washington D.C. was African American. That population has decreased rapidly after development pressures and gentrification.

This thesis explores the connection between history, urban development and “The Chocolate City” to recognize the contribution of Black music and culture to Washington, D.C. and recommend design processes that will demonstrate the connections to create resilient Black public spaces in the landscape.

Chapter 2 reflects on music activism in D.C., focusing on the Metro PCS incident in the U Street/Shaw neighborhood where in 2019, new residents made a noise complaint about Go-Go music being played outside the store. It forced the owner to turn the music off after a tradition of doing so for 24 years. In response, D.C. residents came together to protest using the official sound of Washington DC, Go-Go music. These protests became Go-Go concerts in the street, using music as a form of activism to fight for their city and their culture.

From this point, Chapter 3 analyzes the role of street life in the protests, and the dwindling urban Black community’s relationship to the street. Historically, Black communities had limited access to public spaces due to the fluctuating value of land and discriminatory practices. Instead, front stoops,
sidewalks, and the streets were used as spaces for social life, community interaction, and political demonstration.

In addition to street life, music is integral to place identity in D.C. as explained in Chapter 4. This chapter adds on to the studies of authors like Natalie Hopkinson who, in her book *Go-Go Live: The Musical Life and Death of a Chocolate City*, tells the story of Black Washington D.C.’s social history through Go-Go music and culture.

Music is essential to the Black experience, dating back to before the Transatlantic Slave Trade and has transformed over time. During and in response to slavery, music began to hold feelings, faith, and the pain that resulted from being stripped of family, identity and landscape in what has become over 400 years of brutality and genocide. With Go-Go music having roots in Gospel, Blues, Soul, Funk, and Salsa, it holds information that can not only tell us about the identity of Washington, D.C. but also about the pain, suffering, hopes, and dreams of its Black population. Genre Info-Posters develop a legend that documents the identity of each root genre of Go-Go. This visually explains the connections between each genre and displays how music takes part in placemaking.

Chapter 5 uses historical research of D.C. to understand the importance of cultural displacement. It highlights the historic land use of D.C. as viewed through the Black lens, from the plantations that existed before the planning and construction of the nation’s capital to present day, including redlining, the Federal Housing Administration practice that devalued blackness, the 1968 riots
that caused disinvestment in Black communities and the current development
that has displaced the residents of the Chocolate City.

Finally, Chapter 6 presents a design toolkit that recommends spatial
interventions that supports, recognizes and engages the immediate Washington
D.C. community in the resistance to gentrification and displacement.

This thesis culminates in a documentary video\(^2\) as a means to share the
story of D.C. though a personal lens and visually supplement all the topics
discussed in these chapters. This exploration serves as a platform for this
research, as it allows for a tangible explanation for an ephemeral topic using
sound and video documentation.

\(^2\) [https://youtu.be/Zofs34FaS-O](https://youtu.be/Zofs34FaS-O)
Chapter 2: Reflection

2.1: Current Music Activism in Washington DC

The recent wave of activism in Washington, D.C. that combats cultural displacement from gentrification began with one incident in the U Street/Shaw neighborhood. The Metro PCS on 7th Street and Florida Ave NW had been playing Go-Go music outside its storefront for 24 years. But, in April of 2019 the store was forced to stop playing it due to a call-in noise complaint from a newcomer in the neighborhood. This newcomer threatened the company with a lawsuit over the music which forced the higher-ups to reach out to the owner of the Metro PCS to shut the music off. Although the owner, Donald Campbell, still played the music inside the store, the tradition was broken because of people who moved in but refused to accept the Black culture that is ingrained in the U St./Shaw
neighborhood’s DNA. Activists in the community began organizing on behalf of Campbell as he still wanted to keep his store. According Kurzius from the DCist, community leader Ron Moten stated that Campbell wanted “to save his culture, but this is his livelihood.” Moten started a petition to call on T-Mobile to “bring back the music.” From this petition, the topic ignited on social media platforms using the hashtag #DontMuteDC. This discussion was so popular that the community organized an emergency protest rally in the form of a Go-Go concert. These “pop-up” protest concerts occurred for weeks until it received high-profile press with the name Moechella.

Moechella shut down 14th and U St, with Go-Go music used to protest the silencing of D.C.’s culture. Go-Go bands and famous music artists from the area

---

like Backyard Band, Wale, and New Impressionz came to fight the erasure of D.C. culture.

Music activism using Go-Go has continued in streets all over D.C. Long Live Go-Go curate and produce mini Moechella Rallies, half concerts and half political rallies, that mix music and activism. They travel all over D.C. and address issues facing the Black community and expose a new generation to D.C.’s music. These rallies use a mobile Go-Go truck to communicate information and messaging to the community.

Figure 3. Long Live Go-Go music truck in Washington, DC street
Chapter 3: Street Life and Activism

3.1: Streets as Public Space in Urban Areas

The street life seen at the Moechella rallies are part of the urban Black community’s lived experience since the urbanization of D.C. To understand the living spaces of urban Black communities, one must first look at how they were developed.

As urban historians note, population growth in cities due to industrial development created opportunities for economic prosperity. But under a supportive capitalist economic system and the eventual flight of the white population to the suburbs, inequities were found in urban cities, especially for the working-class poor. In Urbanization, Orum explains that:

“\textit{The inequalities characteristic of urban areas, such as the wide differential in values between suburban and inner-city areas, are also the product of how capitalism manipulates the value of land. There is nothing natural to the disparate values of suburban and inner-city land; it is simply that bankers and real estate developers constantly seek to divest themselves of property that produces little income, as within the interior of the city, and reinvest their funds in other portions of the city, those especially in the outlying areas, where they can expect both to set higher prices and secure greater profits from the sales of land and housing.”}\textsuperscript{4}

This manipulation on the value of land creates trends in property locations, making some parts of the city decline while other parts excelled. The parts that decline, usually the inner city, were mostly “inhabited by black residents.” These inner cities, which often lack green space and are in close quarters, were the beginnings of the city street neighborhoods that demonstrate the street, the sidewalk, and the front stoop as public space.

Jane Jacobs writes about these city street neighborhoods in her book “The Death and Life of Great American Cities.” In her work, she describes why the street and sidewalks, “the main public places of a city, are its most vital organs.” The main point Jacobs presents in her writing is the purpose of social life in the street and the sidewalk in urban cities. She explains that “The point of...social life of city sidewalks is precisely that they are public. They bring together people who do not know each other in an intimate, private social fashion and in most cases do not care to know each other in that fashion.”

The idea of the street and sidewalk as a public space means it offers opportunities to meet people who you wouldn’t otherwise meet in a private setting. Since Black people didn’t have access to parks and other forms of public space, the street becomes the vehicle to make connections with other people in their neighborhood. This creates more comfortability in their “public space” because it’s intimate yet still public. The sidewalk and street can then be seen as a front yard where kids are allowed to play, and gatherings take place.

---

5 Ibid, 7-8
7 Ibid, 55.
In the 1960s, the street becomes a stomping ground to make sure the voices of America get heard. Specifically, for Black people, they were in the streets walking and protesting for the right to be free from racism and systematic oppression. The Civil Rights Movement allowed Black people to use streets to actualize human rights. This is an aspect of spatial rights. Spatial rights, as defined by Hossein Sadri and Sadri Senem Zeybekoğlu in *The Right to Appropriation: Spatial Rights and the Use of Space*, includes “all the principles that should fulfil, respect, protect and promote the rights of every human being in the process of formation, representation and use of spaces.” Every single public space should protect and promote human rights for every person in that community.

These protests are still happening today, mainly with the Black Lives Matter (BLM) movement. Recently, in the summer of 2020, BLM protests were

---

ignited all over the world in response to the murder of George Floyd and COVID-19. But because of the injustices around spatial rights, the relationship to the streets has been dampened. It is clear that any and every marginalized group has had space itself used as part of the terrain through which they experience injustice in their day to day lives.⁹ Black people feel less safe in public space from this constant trauma of living in the same spaces that they die in. This is especially true for the street because that is the common location of police brutality.

---

4.1: The Theory of Place Identity

Place identity is the relationship between identity and the environment. According to *Section 3: Place and Identity* by authors from The People, Place, and Space Reader, place identity can be defined as a sub-structure of self-identity: one’s knowledge and feelings developed through experiences in physical space. These attachments are said to be made in childhood, by perceiving and engaging in a space using the five senses. This allows one to understand and remember the landscape. Eventually, these spaces inform “a sense of belonging, construct meaning, foster attachments, and mediate change. This then, can help one form opinions about other places.”

4.2: Place Identity in Washington DC

In the physical environment of the larger city, place identity is represented through the diagonal grid layout and buildings from monumental to residential, identifiers in material construction, color variations and characteristic southern vegetation.

Place identity for Black people in D.C. exists in the physical environment and through the culture and mannerisms seen in the dwindling Black population. One exploration of place identity in this thesis will focus on D.C.’s culture, specifically music. Although music is not physical, Black spaces in D.C. are filled

---

with the sound, movement, speech and mannerisms that grow with and from its music.

Exploring and connecting physical space to music and the ephemeral representations of sounds, movements and mannerisms are key to understanding place identity for Black people in D.C.

**4.3: Music as the Documentation of Place Identity**

This thesis uses music to develop a new approach to understanding place identity. Music provides insight to what it’s like to live in a specific place through a specific lens. Go-Go music is used as the genre to analyze and provide insight into the resident’s experience in D.C.

Go-Go music is a genre specific to Black people in D.C. Like other musical genres, it is a combination of genres before it that creates an original sound. It is made up of Gospel, Blues, Soul, Funk and Salsa. After a thorough historical review of each root genre of Go-Go, a template approach was used to synthesize the information. This template takes the form of a concert poster, inspired by an archival poster of a Chuck Brown concert from 1997. The archival poster is used to create a legend to document identity, with information like location, time, host of the event, guest stars, title, and sponsors being displayed. Using this template to describe each root genre can then fully explain the origin, location, and its elements.
In the Deep South around the time of the Transatlantic Slave Trade, Negro Spirituals were the beginnings of gospel music. The two main elements of
spirituals are “call n’ response,” and improvisation. These songs helped slaves to express their pain and hopes while also helping them to embrace Christianity.

Figure 6. Genre Info-Poster detailing Gospel Music
Around the 1860s, Blues music was created, influenced by the Negro spirituals and field hollers. The main elements that make up the genre are the bass line, “call n’ response,” and the AAB structure (which entail 2 verses and a
refrain). As a raw expression of feelings, it became an expression of solidarity that fueled social movements.

Figure 8. Genre Info-Poster detailing Blues Music
Soul Music was created in the 1950s in Memphis, with one of the first recordings by Ray Charles. As a combination of Blues and Gospel, it has the element of “call n’ response.” It adds on the vocal aspect of melisma and various
instrumentation like horns, bass, piano, etc. The melodic but conscious genre led to new styles of music and made communities proud to be Black.

Figure 10. Genre Info-Poster detailing Soul Music
Funk music started in New Orleans in the 1960s and was made popular by James Brown. Syncopated bass lines, horns, and improvisation are the main elements and Soul music as an inspiration. Lyrically, funk expresses everything.
from vulgarness to the politically militant, serving as one of the most influential musical affirmations of cultural “blackness” in America.

Figure 12. Genre Info-Poster detailing Funk Music
Concurrently, Salsa music was rising in the Puerto Rican and Afro-Cuban neighborhoods in New York City. The main components are “call n’ response,” percussion (like congas, bongos, and cowbells), and a brass section. Salsa offered
liberation of the body and mind through the experience of dance and challenged the oppressive hierarchies of cultural and musical values.

Figure 14. Genre Info-Poster detailing Salsa Music
Go-GO music in DC begins in the mid-1970s from the works of Chuck Brown. Combining the elements of the 5 genres before it, it’s main parts are “call n’ response,” congas and snare drums. The music flourishes because it represents
experiences in the blue-collar Black communities and brought joy as a fun social expression.

Figure 16. Genre Info-Map detailing Go-Go Music
Go-Go music holds the pain and suffering, hopes and dreams of Black people because of the rich history embedded in it. Through this music passed down from ancestors, Black people are able to survive anything they are going through.
Chapter 5: The History of the Chocolate City

5.1: Historic Land Use

This thesis looks at the history of the Chocolate City through the lens of its Black residents. This approach allows for a historic review that prioritizes the Black experience and its relationship to space, place and development.

African Americans were 25 percent of the population in 1800, and the majority of them were enslaved.11 The image most have of slavery is large plantations in the rural South with large groups of laborers. In the District, as it

---

was mostly swampland with plantations, Black people often lived singly or in small numbers.

As the nation’s capital grew, there was a need for skilled and unskilled labor. African Americans helped to construct the U.S. Capitol building, the White House and other projects throughout the forthcoming city. Of course, the majority of slaves did not earn any money from this labor, but there were some who were allowed to earn money, and they eventually purchased their freedom. This population became the building blocks for the thriving Black communities to come in the future.

On April 16, 1862, Congress passed the District of Columbia Emancipation Act, making Washington, D.C. the first freed place in the country. This happened just nine months before President Lincoln signed the Emancipation Proclamation in the beginning of 1863. After, during the Civil War (1861-1865) and Reconstruction (1865-1877), more than 25,000 African Americans moved to Washington, D.C.¹⁴

### 5.2: Redlining

In 1937, the Federal Housing Administration (FHA) committed the crime of redlining using a grading system to devalue blackness. This map grades sections of D.C. and its suburbs, using race as a criterion.¹⁵

---

¹⁴ Ibid.
Figure 18 shows where the FHA invested, confirming that they had an outstanding role in the development of Washington, D.C.’s whitest neighborhoods. FHA-insured housing was concentrated north and northwestern parts of D.C. A report on such housing built for African Americans in 1940-49—all of which were rental apartments in far northeast and southeast D.C.—lists a total of nine projects, or 1,807 units.\(^\text{16}\) This information is consistent with the demographics in those areas today.

\(^{16}\) Ibid.
The FHA also subsidized individual mortgages almost exclusively for white homebuyers and denied loans for purchasing or improving houses in neighborhoods deemed too Black.\textsuperscript{17}

\textbf{5.3: Urban Renewal and the 1968 Riots}

The assassination of Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., on April 4, 1968, triggered immediate and intense riots and looting throughout the nation and Washington, D.C. During these riots, when buildings were burned and destroyed, many African Americans rebelled against continued racism, injustice, and the federal government’s abandonment of the city.\textsuperscript{18} This caused most of the upper and working classes to flee the city to suburbia.

![Figure 19. Washington, DC after the 1968 Riots](image)

\textsuperscript{17} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{18} Ibid.
From this trauma, the Black population reaches a maximum of 70% in 1970. African Americans were politically and culturally leading the city. The Black Arts, Black Power, Women's, and Statehood movements flowered here. Go-go resonated from private and public spaces. With the uniting of activism and creative ventures, African Americans were building up the city, as they did in the mid-1800s.

5.4: Gentrification

![Gentrification Map](image)

Figure 20. Washington DC Gentrification from 2000-2013

Figure 20 (provided by the National Community Reinvestment Coalition) displays the gentrified areas with and without displacement in DC from 2000-2013.

---

19 Ibid.
It’s important to look at gentrification as a sequence that happens in a city. That sequence begins with neglect, which involves disinvestment in low-income communities from discriminatory practices like redlining as discussed in section 5.3. Specific to Washington, D.C., the 1968 riots also left areas like Columbia Heights and on U Street in Northwest DC and along H Street, Northeast, were badly damaged and that caused for major disinvestment.

Hallie Mellendorf from WTOP News says that the:

“next stage in the cycle is political. When city governments develop policies that encourage investment in neglected neighborhoods, money and resources start flowing in. As property values rise, so do rents. Job growth leads to population increase, which leads to rising demand for housing. There’s only so much land in the city, and the rate that people are moving in is greater. It’s the underlying land values that are increasing that are driving the prices of everything else.”

---

Circling back to the U St/Shaw neighborhood where the Moechella rallies started, the Black population there has diminished over time, but it left behind music venues that serve as important sites that keep the memory of the Chocolate City alive. Howard Theatre is the oldest one among them.

Although it was constructed in 1910, it cemented its reputation as the largest colored theatre in the world when Duke Ellington performed in 1931. It transformed from a jazz venue to a rock ‘n’ roll and R&B venue in the 50s and 60s, until it closed due to the 1968 riots. The theatre was revived, and Go-Go bands played there in the 70s and 80s. The curtains fell and the theatre remained closed until 2012. Now, in 2020-2021, it welcomes a diverse lineup of well-known acts from many different genres.
It’s important to look at these historically cultural spaces like The Howard Theatre, as they can tell us characteristics of successful and resilient Black spaces. From this, a design tool kit can be created using these characteristics in order to be more supportive of the resistance against gentrification in DC. Some recommendations in this design tool kit include modularity, the display of historical and cultural identity, the allowance of performance and art, and a network of history.

6.1 Modularity

![Modularity](image-url)
Creating temporary moveable "installations" in the street would be beneficial for transforming the space at the community's leisure. Modularity would promote putting activism directly in the landscape and reflects the fluidity of music. It also allows these installations to remain autonomous during the evolutions of street due to development and displacement. This way, the programming designated for the moveable component can continue no matter what the surroundings look like. It can allow educational activities like a moveable library, as shown in Figure 22, to still continue even if the area becomes gentrified.
6.2 Identity

Displaying the historical and cultural identity of a space helps to keep the place identity alive. An example of this can be seen in the Midtown Activation Project in Africatown, located in Seattle, WA.

The Africatown Community Land Trust (ACLT) had the idea to create an activation space on a 2.4-acre parcel to display that a historically Black community could design and build a future for itself in the context of intense development pressures. This design evolved into an outdoor living room, in
which the 20,000 sq. ft. of parking lots were painted in graphics that celebrate the existence of the people who gather there today.

In collaboration with Africatown, Studio Zewde was able to hire young people from the community to build formwork and pour concrete. After, hundreds more people from the community volunteered, creating a spectacle of community powered construction of a future for Africatown.
6.3 Performance and Art

By allowing music performance and other forms of expression from the community, it can both support the community and add to activism against gentrification. Project Row Houses is the perfect example of this.

Project Rowhouses is a community platform that uplifts lives through art with an emphasis on cultural identity and its impact on the urban landscape of Houston, TX in Third Ward. Their goal is to engage the community in a collective creative action to create sustainable opportunities in marginalized communities. Located in one of Houston’s oldest Black neighborhoods, the houses encompass
five blocks and 39 structures that provide a variety of community initiatives, art programs, and neighborhood development activities. Some programs they offer are affordable studio spaces for artists in the community, a community market for new entrepreneurs to gain more customers, providing space to creatives and entrepreneurs that are in the early stages of product development, free tutoring for all ages that need help with their studies, and a young mothers residential program to help young mothers get affordable housing and counseling.

Figure 26. Andrea Bowers’s installation at Project Row Houses
6.4 Network of History

Creating a network of historical spaces throughout the city using the street and public spaces can help to educate both the existing Black communities and newcomers to learn the importance of the spaces they live in. Because the Black population has built not only the physical environment but the culture of Washington, D.C., a network that chronologically connects these spaces of history together to help citizens understand the place that they live in on a deeper level. It also provides a more interactive aspect to displaying history because these spaces connect and relate to one another.
Chapter 7: Documentary Video

Because this thesis topic is so intangible without experiencing Go-Go music directly, it was important for me to incorporate a multimedia component. This way, non-natives can grasp the essence of liberation that Go-Go music provides for people in the Washington, D.C. metropolitan area. Explaining song components, as discussed in chapter 4.3, was also clearer as it is possible to physically hear the elements of each genre in accompaniment to text explanation. Without the factors of video and sound, the main topics of this thesis would be very unclear and disconnected.

My process began with an outline of what the documentary should cover. It was imperative to visually display each topic covered in the same order as the written portion of the thesis so that they weave the same story. From there, I wrote an informal script based off of those topics. I wanted to be very transparent in this film, so I wrote in a narrative voice to portray a personal empathic voice. I also included a first-person view of D.C. and its Black culture as I wanted to depict my personal connection to this thesis. After writing a loose script, it helped to storyboard what each video frame could look like while reading the script.

The next step was to start gathering archival and public footage that corresponds to the storyboard discussed above. Most public videos can be found on social media platforms like YouTube and Twitter. D.C. focused archival footage was easily found on the National Archives’ Catalog. I tried to compiled frames that I thought best represented the place identity of D.C. like kids playing
in the street,

*Figure 28. Archival footage of the street being used as a public space in D.C.*

people beating their feet to Go-Go music,

*Figure 29. Public footage of people beating their feet to Go-Go music*
and the huge crowd that gathered at Moechella.

Figure 30. Public footage of the Moechella protest

After these two components, I started to upload and edit the chosen videos together in Adobe Premiere. To make some of my graphics more readable for film, I completed basic moving and transition animations using After Effects. For the audio portion of the film, I chose to narrate the entire thing with subtitles.
being displayed at the same time. After this, I inserted original instrumental music and then chose specific songs that aligned with the topic of the thesis.

The biggest lesson I learned from creating a documentary with video and sound was cohesion. Coordinating the video and audio to work together to create a seamless story helped the documentary to be meaningful. For example, when discussing each root genre of Go-Go music, the music has to also sonically display each element as they are being narrated so that the viewer can connect them to the visual component. Overall, the journey of filmmaking entails a consistent level of storytelling. I enjoyed putting together my experience of music technology with the newness of film and video to create a beautiful narrative of a topic that means so much to me.
Chapter 8: Discussion and Conclusions

To sum up everything that has been stated, Washington, D.C. is special because the capital was chosen to be in a fairly southern state which caused the city to be built and sustained by Black people. But now, with gentrification, this history is gradually fading away, along with the people and culture that built it. This is shown in the example of the Moechella rallies that stemmed from the silencing of Go-Go music at Metro PCS in D.C. by newcomers to the neighborhood. These rallies clearly reflect the idea of the street as a public space that is embedded in urban Black communities in cities at the start or urbanization. These characteristics of Washington, D.C. make up the place identity, with Go-Go music serving as the documentation of that. It’s vibrant history as the recording of Black people’s suffering makes it a valid measurement of place identity.

Because of the constant erasure of history and culture in Washington, D.C., streets and public space designs should reflect modularity, the cultural identity, allows for performance and art display, and creating a network of history can help to build more resilient Black spaces that can survive the pressures of development and gentrification.

As a Black woman from the Maryland suburbs, I have a deep appreciation for the culture that I share with Washington, D.C. Through this process, I was able to understand the roots of the many problems that are displayed in the landscape of D.C. Specifically, understanding the movement of the Black population in D.C. throughout history that now bleeds into the area that I have
lived in all my life. Personally, I feel honored to have come from a place that not only had one of the biggest Black populations in America but has been able to fight through every threatening situation by using Go-Go music and other creative platforms. It was important to highlight that unique situation of music activism and displacement that no one is seemingly discussing outside of the Washington, D.C. metropolitan area.

Fred Moten questions if there “Is there a secret in how we dance (or express) that could tell us how we should live and take up space...or be embedded in the places that we are?”

Music allows unrestrained expression of the self and in turn provides a glimpse into a life free from bondage. Even though police brutality has dampened our relationship to streets and public space, music activism is a way to unapologetically present our true selves while simultaneously fight for our right to live. Because we deserve to live.

---

Bibliography

Adams, Joshua. *We Need to Stop Saying 'People of Color' When We Mean 'Black'*. Medium. LEVEL, December 18, 2019. https://level.medium.com/we-should-stop-saying-people-of-color-when-we-mean-black-people-29c2b18e6267.


Bailey, Kenneth, Lobenstine, Lori, and Nagel, Kiara. *Spatial Justice: A frame for reclaiming our rights to be, thrive, express and connect*. Design Studio for Social Intervention. PDF file. https://static1.squarespace.com/static/53c7166ee4b0e7db2be69480/t/540d0e6be4b0d0f54988ce42/1410141803393/SpatialJustice_ds4si.pdf


Fullilove, Mindy Thompson “Root Shock: How Tearing Up City Neighborhoods Hurts America, And What We Can Do About It”, NYU Press, 2016. p. 10-43


Illustration Credits


Appendix

Glossary of Terms

“People of Color”

Let’s consider the evolution of that ubiquitous phrase, "people of color."

It’s not new. A little research into early sources turns up "An Act to Prohibit the Importation of Slaves into any Port or Place Within the Jurisdiction of the United States" (signed in 1807), which applied to "any negro, mulatto, or person of colour" — indicating that the term was well-enough established to be used in the text of legislation. People who fit this broad category could no longer legally be brought into the country for the purpose of involuntary servitude. But the precise definition of "person of color" has varied among the states and over time...

"Usually considered offensive ... Coloured was adopted in the United States by emancipated slaves as a term of racial pride after the end of the American Civil War. It was rapidly replaced from the late 1960s as a self-designation by black and later by African American, although it is retained in the name of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. "People of color explicitly suggests a social relationship among racial and ethnic minority groups. ... [It is] is a term most often used outside of traditional academic circles, often infused by activist frameworks, but it is slowly replacing terms such as racial and ethnic minorities. ... In the United
States in particular, there is a trajectory to the term — from more derogatory terms such as negroes, to colored, to people of color. ... People of color is, however it is viewed, a political term, but it is also a term that allows for a more complex set of identity for the individual — a relational one that is in constant flux."22

Where does it come from? The Oxford English Dictionary says that it derived from a term used in the French colonial era in the Caribbean and in La Louisianne in North America. It traditionally referred to gens de couleur libres, or people of mixed African and European ancestry who were freed from slavery or born into freedom. In the late 20th century, the term “person of color” was adopted as a preferable replacement to “non-white.” Unfortunately, the contrast pits all people who have a “color” against people who do not have a color or who possess “whiteness.” However, the word “minority” has also come to have a negative meaning attached to it, especially in places like California, Texas, New York City, and Florida where people of color are not a numerical minority anymore.23

---


While every minority group faces its own challenges in America, a “one size fits all” mentality toward diversity erases the specific needs of the most vulnerable communities. The reality is that not all “people of color” suffer equally from the effects of institutional racism. **Black women are least likely to be promoted and supported by their managers in the workplace.** Police kill unarmed black people at higher rates than other races, especially black women. According to the Sentencing Project, black women represent roughly 14% of the female population of the United States, but 30% of all females incarcerated. Black children are also almost 9 times more likely than white children to have a parent in prison while Hispanic children are three times more likely. Research also suggests that black women are more likely to be publicly objectified, harassed and dehumanized. Meanwhile, in 2016, Asians were the highest-earning racial and ethnic group in the U.S. The **median annual income** for Asian adults was $51,288, compared with $47,958 for whites and $31,082 for blacks. None of this is to say that the interracial and ethnic solidarity implied by the earnest use of “people of color” isn’t important. Of course, they are. Our struggles share commonalities. But even more important is doing the hard work of understanding and fighting to overcome the distinct layers of injustice that face people of different identities — and different layers within those identities. ---Parsing the implications of these differences,
instead of flattening them, is what it means to be “intersectional,” an important but widely misunderstood concept.\textsuperscript{24}

The public use of the term person of color (POC) seems to have become less about solidarity and instead about lessening negative connotations and implicit anti-Black reactions like fear, scorn, disdain, and apathy. In popular discourse, “POC” is often a shorthand for “This issue affects Black people most directly and disproportionately, but other non-White people are affected, too. So, we need to include them for the majority to listen and understand we aren’t talking about a solely Black vs. White issue.” Saying “POC” when we mean “Black people” concedes that there’s a need to describe a marginalized group as “less” Black for people to have empathy for an issue.\textsuperscript{25}

The phrase derives from “colored” people which was used to describe people of mixed race (similar to mulatto). It then evolved to people of color to describe everyone who was nonwhite in the 1900s. Minority was used after but then became a problem where the minority in America wasn’t the minority in specific states. “People of color” has since become a phrase to try to be more inclusive and lump together marginalized communities with similar issues. Overall, using the


\textsuperscript{25} Joshua Adams, “We Need to Stop Saying 'People of Color' When We Mean 'Black','” LEVEL, October 17, 2018 https://level.medium.com/we-should-stop-saying-people-of-color-when-we-mean-black-people-29c2b18e6267.
phrase “people of color” can serve as an erasure to issues that are happening to Black people in everyday life. Is it really inclusive if people mostly use it to describe Black problems?

“Rights to a Space”/Spatial Rights

These principles can be developed on the basis of the idea of the right to the city which was introduced by Henri Lefebvre. Lefebvre argues that, the right to the city should modify, concretize and make more practical the rights of the citizens as urban dwellers (citadin) and users of multiple services. It would affirm, on the one hand, the right of users to make known their ideas on the space and time of their activities in the urban area; it would also cover the right to the use of the centre, a privileged place, instead of being dispersed and stuck into ghettos (for workers, immigrants, the ’marginal’, the ’other’ and even for the ’privileged’). In other words, the right to the city imagines inhabitants to have two main rights: (1) the right to participate centrally in the production of urban space; and (2) the right to appropriate urban space.26

Spatial justice, most simply, is the intersection of space and social justice. As Henry Lefebvre first pointed out forty years ago, human societies

organize spaces, and when we inspect these spaces, we can see how justice and injustice are played out in the visible and invisible structural arrangements of space. (An example of a visible arrangement would be looking at the history of a town and seeing who got to use the most and best land areas. Researching further, we might find invisible arrangements like the fact that women weren’t allowed to own land or the richest land owners also owned slaves to work their land.).

Generally, spatial rights express the same rights that citizens have in the country but applied spatially. So, citizens and users have a right to participate in the production of a space and have the right to “appropriate” space (which I’m not sure what definition of appropriation they are using). They also have a right to do this to spaces seen as “privileged.” Alternatively the space should actualize human rights and allow users to express themselves. Of course, marginalized groups aren’t allowed this same privilege because of the history of injustice that has happened in space.

Gentrification/Development Pressures

At its most basic, gentrification is the influx of money and resources that lead to demographic shifts associated with new investment — rising

---

27 Kenneth Bailey, Lori Lobenstine, and Kiara Nagel, “Spatial Justice: A frame for reclaiming our rights to be, thrive, express and connect,” Accessed June 2020, https://static1.squarespace.com/static/53c7166ee4b0e7db2be69480/t/540d0e6be4b0d0f5498ce42/1410141803393/SpatialJustice_ds4si.pdf
neighborhood incomes, home values and educational levels. Gentrification is different from displacement, but is a very direct cause. In order to determine which cities are experiencing gentrification, the NCRC study used census data from 2000 to 2013. Neighborhoods were considered “eligible” for gentrification if their median home values and family incomes were in the lower 40th percentile at the beginning of the study period. If a neighborhood was in the top 60% for increases in both percentage of college graduates and median home value — after adjustment for inflation — by the end of the study period, that neighborhood was considered gentrified, or gentrifying. When city governments develop policies that encourage investment in neglected neighborhoods, money and resources start flowing in. As property values rise, so do rents. Before long, it becomes impossible for longtime residents to afford to stay, she added. “Job growth leads to population increase, which leads to rising demand for housing. There’s only so much land in the city, and there’s more and more people moving here ... it’s the underlying land values that are increasing that are driving the prices of everything else.”

Gentrification is an increase of money and resources in an area that causes a demographic shift. This causes a rise in neighborhood income, home values, and education. In order to determine whether a city/neighborhood is experiencing

---

gentrification, census data is analyzed. If neighborhoods that are in the lower 40th percentile in income and median home value (at the beginning of the study) experience a 60% increase in college graduates and median home value (with inflation taken into consideration), they are considered gentrified/gentrifying.

Displacement

According to the study, displacement tends to fall along racial lines. “Cultural displacement occurs when minority areas see a rapid decline in their numbers as affluent white gentrifiers replace the incumbent residents,” the study reads.29

Displacement also may take different forms: either racial/ethnic or by class and culture. Finally, Marcuse (1986) argues that in many cases displacement due to systematic urban disinvestment, which resulted in the abandonment of many downtown neighborhoods, often precedes gentrification.30

The most common problem people associate with gentrification is the displacement of residents from a neighborhood experiencing redevelopment. Displacement happens in various ways. “Direct displacement” is when residents are forced to move because of rent

29 Ibid.
increases and/or building renovations. “Exclusionary displacement” is when housing choices for low-income residents are limited. “Displacement pressures” are when supports and services that low-income families rely on disappear from the neighborhood.31

Displacement from gentrification involves people, often low-income/minority areas, being forced to move from their homes/businesses.

Place Identity

Place identity is a core concept in the field of environmental psychology which proposes that identities form in relation to environments. The term was introduced by environmental and social psychologists Harold M. Proshansky, Abbe K. Fabian, and Robert Kaminoff, who argue that place identity is a sub-structure of a person’s self-identity, and consists of knowledge and feelings developed through everyday experiences of physical spaces. A sense of place identity derives from the multiple ways in which place functions to provide a sense of belonging, construct meaning, foster attachments, and mediate change. The place identity of a person can inform their experiences, behaviors, and attitudes about other places.

Place identity is a versatile concept upon which many psychological theories of human–environment relations are built.\textsuperscript{32}

Self-identity in the landscape, or defined as place identity by People Place Space, is the relationship between identities and the environment. It involves a person’s self-identity and the feelings developed through everyday experiences in physical space. Place identity is what connects a human to their environment.

“Emotional Ecosystem”

The principle is simple: we—that is to say, all people—live in an emotional ecosystem that attaches us to the environment, not just as our individual selves, but as beings caught in a single, universal net of consciousness anchored in small niches we call neighborhoods or hamlets or villages. Because of the interconnectedness of the net, if your place is destroyed today, I will feel it hereafter.\textsuperscript{33}

Emotional ecosystem refers to a system that stems from the emotional attachment formed with a person’s environment. Through these emotional attachments to smaller parts of an ecosystem (neighborhoods, villages, etc.), a universal net of consciousness is created that connects everything today.


\textsuperscript{33} Mindy Thompson Fullilove, “Root Shock: How Tearing Up City Neighborhoods Hurts America, And What We Can Do About It (NYU Press, 2016), 20
Reading Notes

Chocolate City, A History of Race and Democracy in the Nation's Capital

White Washingtonians generally did not fear negative consequences of such integration, perhaps because they believed, as the Star’s E. C. Kohn wrote in 1927, “The homogeneous character of the Chinese precludes any probability of their assimilation, and an oriental will likely always be an oriental wherever he is.”

I find this very interesting because they think that Chinese people have no possible way of assimilating because they will always be an “oriental” regardless. It's very ironic that some Chinese immigrants assimilate totally in order to become successful. But...why is the idea of Black people integrating so threatening? Won’t we always still be Black wherever we go? If anything, I think we have proven to be creatives and innovators instead of trying to assimilate to a culture that is different than ours.

---

“It’s not just a hospital,” insisted activist Sherry Brown. “A lot of people have an emotional attachment to it.”

This speaks to the emotional ecosystem term that I included in my glossary. The fact that so many people were born there, worked there, cared for there, creates an attachment to it. That then contributed to the place identity of that community which is webbed into the emotional ecosystem that connects Black DC together. And taking this connection away from the residents can cause psychological damage (aka root shock).

“While they, like all residents, appreciated the improved city services and economic condition, much of that progress was made by pushing them and their chosen leadership aside. The city’s balanced budgets were achieved, in part, by firing hundreds of city workers, most of whom were Black. Service improvements often came after privatization, which removed public services from the control of public employees, most of whom were black.”

Firing most of the Black employees can be considered the phase of displacement in the city. If people don’t have jobs, how can they afford to live in an area that is constantly raising rent prices. This also starts to turn the residents against the people in charge of the city.

36 Ibid, 452.
“To the delight of Thomas and her neighbors, city inspectors arrived at their building to look into their complaints. But rather than force the landlord to make improvements while residents remained in their apartments, the inspectors condemned the building and gave the residents twenty-four hours to evacuate. The city offered no moving or replacement housing assistance.”\footnote{Ibid, 454.}

This is very unfortunate to read. The fact that they were given 24 hours (which has to be illegal?), with no housing assistance? This was a major let down on the city’s behalf because the residents eventually resent you.

“After months of “hot properties” enforcement, the Williams administration had issued eviction notices to dozens of tenants in Adams Morgan, Columbia Heights, and Shaw but had yet to sue a single landlord, leading many renters to fear that the city was working with white developers to displace the poor from gentrifying neighborhoods.”\footnote{Ibid.}

“The subsequent report concluded that D.C. needed to attract new middle-class residents to increase tax revenue. It urged city officials to “complement and extend Washington’s tourist and city beautiful amenities” to shed its image as a home to “bureaucrats and poor people.”\footnote{Ibid, 456.}
“All this money drew legions of young tech workers, lobbyists, office staffers, military bureaucrats, lawyers, and contractors into the Washington region. ... portion of these new workers moved into older neighborhoods within the city. There they expanded on the centers of stalled gentrification in Capitol Hill, Logan Circle, Adams Morgan, Columbia Heights, LeDroit Park, and Shaw.”

“But 60 percent of D.C. residents were renters, most on low or fixed incomes. For them the burst of early twenty-first-century gentrification generated an affordable housing crisis. By 2004, the average rent on a two-bedroom apartment in downtown D.C. had risen to $1,187. For minimum-wage workers earning $6.60 per hour, an affordable rent constituting 30 percent of their income would have been just $343 per month.”

“Kurt Ehrman, a white transplant from Kensington, Maryland, purchased one of the half-million-dollar row houses across the street from 1418 W Street, and he certainly hoped that Louise Thomas and her low-income neighbors would leave. “Change has been very slow,” he complained. “The [Section 8 and cooperatively owned] buildings are an eyesore. How much

40 Ibid, 457.
41 Ibid, 458.
are we willing to compromise to maintain affordable housing in the city?” 42

“The economic pressure and alienation from new residents moved many African American residents to assert their claims on the city. Some took to the streets to harass newcomers or paint pointed graffiti—“Go Home Rich White People” read one tag. Local activists engaged in a wave of cooperative organizing and called on the D.C. Council to strengthen rent control legislation. Others demanded that new residents defer to their rich history and long tenure in the neighborhood.” 43

“Tensions flared, for example, between older African American residents of eastern Shaw and their Ethiopian neighbors over what to call a strip that once was home to flourishing jazz clubs. The Washington area had been a magnet for Ethiopian immigrants since a Soviet-backed coup overthrew Emperor Haile Selassie in 1974. By the early 2000s, Ethiopian and Eritrean merchants dominated the storefronts on Ninth Street between U and T Streets, and in 2005 they petitioned Councilman Jim Graham to rename the block “Little Ethiopia….Their was a simple branding campaign designed to bring business to their cluster of storefronts, but many African American residents saw it as a threat to the neighborhood’s history and identity. “Where were they during the riots?

42 Ibid.
43 Ibid.
They're Johnny-come-lately. What gives them the right?” The local Advisory Neighborhood Commission, dominated by longtime black residents, urged the council to reject the Ethiopians’ request. It did.”

This, in my opinion, is an erasure of culture. Yes, I understand that change is a good thing but at least the Ethiopian merchants could have worked together with the Black residents to come to an integration plan instead of just trying to take the whole thing over. It also seems as if they wanted to be recognized as separate (putting emphasis on their ethnicity) even though they are ultimately the same race.

“No sooner had Louise Thomas and her 1418 W Street neighbors become homeowners than developers began soliciting them to sell the building. It was a heady experience. People who had never had two pennies to rub together were being offered upwards of $110,000 per household.”

The fact that they were being pressured to move out in order to make room for this last-minute affordable housing plan under the Williams administration.

“mounds of badly needed supplies sat forgotten and unused while students and teachers went without. “Teachers go out and spend their own money on this stuff,” she seethed. The council stripped some of these workers of

44 Ibid, 458-459.
union protections, and Rhee immediately fired nearly a hundred of them.”

Isn’t it illegal to strip someone of union rights? I thought everyone had the right to be a part of a union. And she fired the teachers for spending their own money??? I’m so confused.

“Rhee also sought to use test scores to measure teacher performance. She bypassed the teachers’ union by using obscure credentialing rules already on the books to implement parts of her system and, she hoped, to fire hundreds of teachers she considered ineffective....but student scores jumped ten percentage points across the board in her first year, many teachers received bonuses, and Rhee earned lavish praise (though later investigations discovered that the jump in scores was attributable, be fired).”

I think that test scores are a horrible way to judge teacher performances because some students don’t perform well on tests regardless of learned knowledge. It also is very reliant on a student’s environment outside of school (how much sleep they got, if they had breakfast, if they have accurate help at home, etc.) that teachers have no control over.

47 Ibid.
“Many expressed a love for their neighborhood schools, praised hard working local teachers, and worried that the school closings would endanger their children or fail to improve their education.”48

This again is an example of an emotional connection to a place that is a part of Black DC’s emotional ecosystem.

“Indeed, she pursued her agenda with an almost reckless disregard for the racial implications of her actions. She brought all-white teams of administrators with her to explain school closings to overwhelmingly black and Latino crowds. At the same time, she actively courted middle-class white parents.”49

I really don’t appreciate this action, if I’m being honest. I think this emphasizes the importance of at least having an advisor from the community (if not, a person in charge from the community) so that insensitive things like this can’t happen.

“Similar problems existed at the other New Communities sites, and the affordable housing crisis worsened. Between 2008 and 2010, the low-income housing voucher and public housing wait lists grew by 47 percent and 61 percent, respectively.”50

---

48 Ibid, 467.
49 Ibid.
50 Ibid, 470.
“In the end, Fenty’s efforts to ignore race ultimately undid his political career. Like the Financial Control Board and Mayor Williams before him, Fenty had delivered his black constituents badly needed services, which many enjoyed, but he often did so in a manner that disempowered, denigrated, or even displaced them.”

Looking back to when Fenty was first introduced in the chapter, he mentioned that he “did not see color.” I think that’s important TO see color because how else are you able to recognize the constant issues that the DC Black community faces in order to try and make things better. In this case, Fenty lied to the residents' faces by going door to door and showing minor improvements just to screw them over like the Williams administration did. So there was really no progression for them.

\[51\] Ibid, 472.
Population Maps

1940

Figure 32. Population Map of Washington, D.C. in 1940
Figure 33. Population Map of Washington, D.C. in 1950
Figure 34. Population Map of Washington, D.C. in 1960
Figure 35. Population Map of Washington, D.C. in 1970